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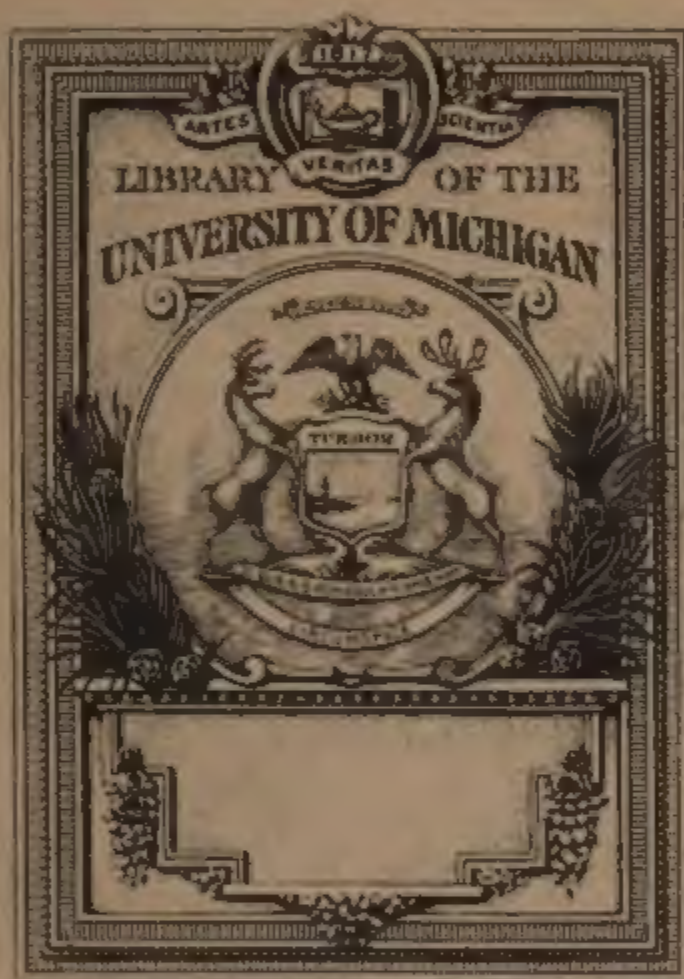
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THE
Eclectic Review,

MDCCCXVII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. VIII.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρικὴν τὴν καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἵρεσεων τούτων καλῶς, δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδασκοῦσα, τούτῳ συμπαντὸν Ἐκλεκτικὸν Φιλοσοφίαν φημι.

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111

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1817.

Art. I. *Christian Essays*: By the Reverend Samuel Charles Wilks, A. M. of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 2 vols. Price 14s. Baldwin and Co. 1817.

THE Church of Christ has passed through successive ages under widely different circumstances. Would it be going too far to say, that the condition most natural to her, in this 'evil world,' is as that of the 'bush burning but not consumed?' that her appropriate dwelling is the shelter of 'dens and caves of the earth;' and that she is then the most suitably vested, when 'sheep skins and goats' skins' are her clothing? It is at least under these circumstances, that Christianity has produced all its 'twelve manner of fruit,' and shewn most unquestionably that it is a plant from above.

But for a long period, the Church, no where visible as a collected body, but like the seven thousand of Israel, reserved by sovereign grace amid surrounding corruption, has consisted of scattered individuals whose piety, appearing where it did, has been the most striking illustration of the truth, that "with God nothing is impossible." Lights they were, indeed, but so obscured were their own minds by ignorance and prejudice, that, had it been at once presented to them without extraordinary teachings from above, they would probably have shrunk back with horror at the aspect of Christianity itself, such as it was left to the world by the Apostles.

In our own country, for a considerable length of time, and up to a date not very distant, the knowledge and consistent profession of true religion were, as we will venture to assert, almost confined within the enclosures of two or three reviled sects, and every expedient was resorted to,—outrage according to law, and outrage according to no law,—which might hedge the hated contagion within the spots already incurably contaminated.

But in these days, all bounds have been overpast, all partitions have been thrown down, religion, the religion of the *Bible*, has abounded under dividing names; it has appeared with a frequency that attracts attention in every rank among us: "The sign of the Son of Man" has been seen in the *Heavens*: and

the many, who can see goodness only when it is well dressed, have been brought to do an homage to the very thing upon which they have long been accustomed to trample. We question indeed if the truth has not at present a greater chance of being listened to with respect, or, at least, whether it has not a *wider* opportunity of being heard, than at any time since the early days of the Reformation, when princes, and nobles, and great captains, were heard to quote the Bible, and to defer to its authority, and when many of them seemed to think the Gospel worthy even of *their* acceptance. Compared with times that are past, an unusual number of circumstances appear tending at present to bring the unthinking or little-thinking mass within the reach of a vivifying influence. The kingdom of darkness stands exposed on many sides to the beams of day. But as a concomitant effect of these circumstances, those eternally distinct parties, the World and the Church, are undergoing a kind of amalgamation in which the peculiar and stronger features of both are somewhat softened down. The world is civil, conceding, complimentary, and professing. The Church is pleased with the concession, and willing to hope well of the profession, but grieved, (and the more as she has the opportunity of knowing more,) at the 'evil manners' of her new acquaintance, and often perplexed with the difficulty of drawing the line between zeal and prudence, in improving the golden moments of the world's good will.

A question therefore of the first moment is pressed upon the attention of serious Christians, by the peculiar circumstances of the times. Under what impression, and by what plan of address, shall they be most likely, as far as the means are concerned, to improve the concessions towards religion, of a large class of persons, who, while they acknowledge a form of words, are essentially erroneous in principle, and far removed in spirit and temper from any thing that would allow the hope that they are Christians? It will not for a moment be imagined that we are here putting in question the *means* of bringing men to repentance, with those who are not convinced that the proclamation of peace with God, through the sacrifice of his Son, is the only thing that will ever turn a sinner from the error of his way; —with such persons we have not now to do;—but those who are agreed upon this essential article, and who are equally anxious for the result, may differ materially in the point they fix upon, in that space that separates worldly prudence from unwise zeal. To treat such a question would obviously lead us out far beyond our limits, and we shall content ourselves at present with directing the attention of those persons who, like Mr. Wilks, are expressly aiming at the conviction of nominal Christians, towards a subject, in their views of which we think there is an

observable deficiency with many writers and teachers of religion in our day, arising in great measure, as we imagine, from that sort of artificial *fruce* between the World and the Church, to which we have referred.

We consider then, that in a time of widely spread nominal Christianity, and of general lax profession, the line of conduct the most *seasonable* on the part of serious Christians, is, not simply that they should “testify of the truth,” but that in doing so, they should invariably make the highest assertion of the claims of the Gospel in general, and rest with undiverted firmness upon those *particular declarations* of Scripture, which seem placed there on purpose to straiten the narrow way, and to furnish the direct and infallible means of detecting a heartless and empty profession.

And we are decidedly of opinion, that those calculations which would suggest the adoption of a lower *tone*, while the truth is still maintained, from the apprehension of losing entirely the opportunity of doing good, are unfounded; and even if they were not, that to act upon them would be inconsistent with the simplicity of faith, and is in fact a course that can stop no where till every thing essential is conceded.

Perhaps there is no definition that would apply more generally and exclusively to the highest order of Christians, than this, that they are *those who believe every word of the Divine testimony*. And as to inferior Christians, the supposition that they are such, implies of course, that they believe and obey so far as is essential to their escaping the “wrath to come;” but with respect to a large portion of that which is revealed for our instruction, it is quite overlooked: if it be presented to them, if it be urged upon them, they seek only how they may evade the inference that follows directly from the plain and proper sense of the words; they turn on every side in search of pleas of mitigation, and as the illumination of truth, where it is resisted, is transient as the glare of a meteor, though it be as the sun in the heavens to those who rejoice in the light, a reason is easily found that will hold together till the flash is past, and the mind presently returns to its comfortable twilight. But to descend to those who are Christians *only* in name; though they profess to believe the Bible as a whole, they, in fact, believe none of its parts, and they require therefore to be shewn, that they are *unbelievers*, and exposed to the judgement declared against those who reject the testimony of God.

We say then, that it is peculiarly incumbent upon those who address themselves to such persons, that they bring their own minds up to the highest point of conviction as to the certainty and authority of every particular declaration of Scripture; and that they take care that in their full and proper sense they re-

ceive all those words, to each of which an infinite consequence is attached. And in their addresses to others this comprehensive faith, this impressive persuasion concerning every iota, that it shall be fulfilled, will give to their words a weight, (we are speaking only of the means,) that will carry them down into the consciences of men, with a convincing, or an intolerable force. It is found that men will bear to hear of the claims of the Bible in general; but unless they are Christians, unless indeed they are Christians who have well learned the lesson of humility, they will not bear that this claim should be urged upon its single declarations. The Bible is the word of God: no doubt. But, "if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." These are hard sayings; who can hear them?

That which is presented with timidity, is likely to be rejected with contempt. If one half of the message, (for instance, its supreme and unbending claims,) be conceded or concealed, to meet the disinclination of those to whom it is delivered, those to whom it is delivered will learn at least that the message is a thing that may be halved; and they will soon be bold to confess, that the one half of it suits them as little as the other.

We believe that in the instance of some writers and teachers, the habit of calculating too much upon the probable result of their efforts, though it may not go so far as to make them conceal or disguise the truth, gives them perpetually an air of hesitation in asserting and insisting upon its sovereign claims; and thus the previous fear operates directly as a negative cause of the neglect, or of the rejection it had anticipated.

There is no true courage without calmness; and there is no calmness like that which is the result of *knowledge*. And here we think we can again trace the disadvantageous influence upon many minds, of the present external condition of the Church. In arduous times, when the relation of true Christians to those about them, is that of declared hostility, when they are expecting at every turn to meet the lion and the bear, when days of suffering and nights of fear are appointed to them, their understandings, their tempers are corroborated. In their religious opinions they build lower, they rise higher, they feel that they want the whole of the truth, they seek for it with the *simplicity of hunger*, they find it, for all who seek shall find, and they profess the truth, as without hope of conciliating, so without care of offending. There is no room left with them for that feeble hesitancy, that reluctance to drawing strong but inevitable conclusions; that intellectual pusillanimity, which in easier

times detains the judgements of Christians perpetually shivering in the shallows of theology. Teachers therefore thus educated, in addressing those whom they would designate by no softer terms than such as they had learned from Paul and Peter, would boldly enforce what they boldly declare, and that in the *deepened tone* that results from the persuasion that "their word *shall prosper to the end for which it is sent*;" and their faith is but confirmed by the anticipated consequence: "The wise understand, but none of the wicked do understand." When Gabriel descends to our world upon some errand of mercy, could we observe his cheerful flight, every movement would signify the fulness of his confidence, that the intended benefit, however apparently suspended upon conditions and contingencies, shall actually be enjoyed by the objects of his mission. But when the opinions are deficient, or vague, or unsettled, upon the important parts of the Christian system to which we make an allusion, there will be a constant disposition to calculate results upon *natural principles*, to the disparagement of that wisdom which is from above; and the mind will suffer in its Christian simplicity, and in its self-possession, from an anxiety that would be proper only if we were responsible for the effect, as well as for the endeavour.

It would, however, be an act of great injustice to Mr. Wilks, were we to allow our readers to imagine, from the nature of the preceding remarks, that he is chargeable with the attempt to compromise the doctrines of the Gospel, with the view of conciliating those whom he would gain. We may safely say that his *Essays* are decidedly evangelical, and we have pleasure in adding, that they indicate a serious spirit, an impression of the importance of his subject, and a desire to *do good*. But yet we must confess we have felt a dissatisfaction in the perusal of these volumes, the nature of which may be gathered from the observations we have taken this occasion to make. Though Mr. W. appears to understand, and fully to appreciate the remedy, he seems deficient, (not, we dare say, as a matter of *doctrine*, but rather of impression,) in his estimate of the inveterate and insidious character of the disease. Throughout we have wished that his statements had been corroborated, that his attempts to expose and to dissipate fallacious hopes, had been carried much farther home, so as to have left less possibility of continued deception. And particularly we have regretted, that in several instances, the passages of Scripture adduced in support of his positions, are not the most striking that might have been brought forward, nor those which are the least easily evaded, and that too little use is made of those hard and intolerable sayings, with which the *Divine wisdom* has furnished us for the express purpose of exposing the hypocrite, and con-

victing the self-deceived. We would rather that he had lashed his deluded reader into avowed irreligion, than merely chastised him into the feigned acknowledgement, that he is not quite so *good* a Christian as he ought to be.

Even had he not placed the respected name of Mrs. Hannah More, in the front of his work, Mr. Wilks would not have been surprised that his 'Christian Essays' should recall it to our recollection: he labours upon much the same field, but we will not say directly as an imitator of that very eminent and useful writer.

The Essays are on the following subjects: Sources of Error in Opinion—Full Assurance of Understanding—Full Assurance of Faith—Full Assurance of Hope—Christian Obedience—The Form, and the Power of Religion—True, and False Repose in Death—False Modesty in Religion—The Duty of Christian Affection between Ministers and their Flock—Comparative View of Natural and Revealed Religion. We must pass over the observations we might have made upon particular passages, and give our readers a specimen of the volumes. We extract the following passage from the essay on 'The Full Assurance of Faith.'

'To renounce ourselves,—to conquer all the natural ideas of the fallen mind relative to the attainment of Heaven; to trust to the mercy of God conveyed to us solely through Jesus Christ, not for any worthiness in ourselves, but gratuitously on account of his own sovereign favour and loving-kindness,—to rely as humble penitents upon the Saviour of mankind for the application of his obedience and merits to us, as our claim to pardon, justification, and eternal glory, with a firm belief that such reliance will not be in vain,—all this, however difficult, however apparently humiliating, however opposed to the natural suggestions of the unrenewed mind, seems to be included in the scriptural idea of the full assurance of faith. It cannot therefore excite wonder that so exalted a principle should suppose as exalted an agent, or that an apostle should in consequence affirm, that "faith is the gift of God." Ignorance may vaguely depend upon the divine mercy, because it does not perceive the heinousness of sin, or estimate aright the justice of God in decreeing its punishment;—presumption may arrogantly hope to obtain Heaven, because it magnifies our supposed excellence, and extenuates our real guilt, till it has formed such a character as it imagines deserves the Creator's approbation;—but for the humble penitent, feeling and acknowledging on the one hand his inherent depravity, his actual transgressions, and his utter unworthiness, (all which will appear more aggravated as his repentance is more profound,)—and perceiving on the other the infinite holiness and inflexible integrity of the Creator, who has inseparably appended misery to sin,—for a person thus penitent and thus instructed, possessing a tender conscience with an enlightened understanding, to enjoy the full assurance of faith, is a paradox resolvable only on the principles of the Christian revelation.

Faith and hope thus implanted where, humanly speaking, despair appeared inevitable, evince themselves to be indeed the gift of God.' p. 90.

On the subject of worldly amusements, Mr. Wilks says,

'Were we always to live in the full assurance of faith, the most trivial occurrences of life would be consecrated by its influence; but "whatsoever is not of faith is sin," so that every pursuit on which we cannot consistently expect the divine blessing becomes a crime. The true Christian does not any stronger argument against questionable amusements than the words of Saint John; "these things are not of the Father but of the world." To him who desires to live up to the spirit of his baptismal engagements this Apostle could urge no stronger objection against the world than that it is worldly; as Saint Paul in describing the malignity of sin, says only that it is "exceeding sinful." p. 108.

Perhaps from the impression which remains upon our minds from the perusal of his first publication, and we will add from many indications in the present volume, we have strongly the idea, that these *Essays* do not exhibit what Mr. Wilks could do if he were to expend more of time and of effort upon writing; or to use plain terms, that he might have done much better had he taken more pains. Sometimes, from the extensiveness of an author's connexions, or his situation in life, or his having already gained a portion of the public attention, the temptation to *publish* is disadvantageously strong. Something, enough to make up one volume, or two volumes, is *written off* under the influence of the most ill-boding of all evil stars, the presumption of success; and as effects are as their causes, the result is that he does not succeed.

Now, we have to complain of many paragraphs in these volumes, that they appear to have cost Mr. Wilks *too little*. Unmeaning expressions, inappropriate and very trite illustrations, are too frequent. We believe we hazard nothing in saying, that the best writers are those who take the most pains, and that no man, whatever his powers may be, who does not always endeavour to do as well as he can, ay, and we might almost say, better than he can, will ever write well.

However far we might go in our estimate of any writer's native powers of mind, we should still recommend him to act upon a supposition that will render it at least highly desirable, that when he writes—and *prints* it, he should do his *best*.

Art. II. *The History of the Church of Scotland; from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution: illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurencekirk. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1457. Longman and Co. 1815.

HISTORY, while, in its exhibition of the origin and progress of human society, the successive improvements in the arts of government and living, the workings of human interests, passions, vices, and virtues, it offers to the mind an entertaining and truly magnificent spectacle, is also the easiest, the most agreeable, and a certain mode of acquiring useful knowledge. Experience instructs at great expense, sometimes of virtue, usually of enjoyment. The most extensive observation is comparatively narrow, and affords not examples sufficiently numerous to prevent erroneous conclusions. In acquiring knowledge by the means of history, we do not expose even the most delicate moral sentiments to rudeness, while we multiply innocent pleasures. The field under view is amply extensive; so many examples occur as to prevent the groundless inferences that might be drawn from a few; and a multitude of useful observations that would never otherwise have been suggested, arise from the varying aspect of human affairs, human society, and human manners.

The subject of the present volumes abounds with various and striking incidents, which are intimately connected with the most signal revolutions in British history, and are pregnant with salutary lessons. Valuable and copious materials are accessible. To counterbalance these advantages, however, the whole period exhibits a scene of controversy; the events of it having been differently represented by parties still in existence, who imagine that their own reputation is concerned in the colouring assumed by the transactions of past ages. On this account, we own, we are glad that Dr. Cook has undertaken to narrate the affairs of the Scottish Church, during the time of its greatest convulsions. His qualifications for this delicate task, were fully displayed in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*;* of which the present work may properly be deemed the sequel. With diligence and accuracy, the fundamental virtues of an historian, judgement in combining the events that he records, and penetration in tracing them to their proper causes, Dr. Cook discovers a singular superiority to the prejudices of faction. He has treated all parties with most exemplary candour and moderation; doing ample justice to their merits and virtues, and exposing with becoming severity their follies, vices, and crimes.

* See Eclectic Review: Old Series: Jan. and Feb. 1812.

Throughout the work, which is written in a style at once clear, elegant, and flowing, are diffused sentiments of humanity, freedom, and piety.

Although the doctrine introduced into Scotland by the Reformers, has, with little variation, continued to be the national faith the polity of the Scottish Church has been subject to great mutations. Of these changes, which it is the object of the present history to detail, we shall endeavour to present our readers a succinct account.

When the Parliament of 1560, gave its sanction to the Confession of Faith drawn up by the reformed teachers, the most eminent of them were requested to frame a plan for the government of the new church. Knox and his associates, thinking that the Scriptures had in a great measure left the form and discipline of the Church to be determined by circumstances, described, in the First Book of Discipline, a platform of ecclesiastical polity, holding a middle place between episcopacy and presbytery. According to this plan, every parish was to be provided with a *pastor* to instruct the people, and administer the sacraments; *ruling elders* to assist the pastor in exercising church discipline; and *deacons* to manage the revenues of the church and the poor. These offices were generally conferred by the suffrages of the people, and persons were admitted to them, after examination, by prayer and exhortation. The kingdom was divided into provinces, which were entrusted to the care of superintendants authorized to preach in any part of them, to establish new churches, and to inspect the conduct of the ecclesiastical officers in their respective districts. The affairs of separate congregations were conducted by the ministers, elders, and deacons, who constituted the church session, and those of the provinces by the superintendants with a delegation from the pastors and elders within their jurisdiction; while the General Assembly, consisting of pastors and elders from all parts of the kingdom, exercised control over the whole national church. A plan was likewise proposed, for enlightening the community, by establishing schools in every parish, and colleges in the large towns, and appropriating the riches of the hierarchy to the support of the new teachers, the education of youth, and the relief of the poor. As this last part of the Book of Discipline was peculiarly offensive to the nobles and gentry who had seized on the spoils of the religious foundations, or expected to share the revenues of the church that were untouched, when the work was presented for the sanction of the nobility and barons, they contemptuously rejected it as altogether visionary. The mercenary motives which, they perceived, actuated their adherents, filled the ministers with indignation and regret; but though they were disappointed, and were without any regular provision for

their support, they diligently discharged the duties of their office, and proceeded with alacrity to carry into effect so much of their religious polity, as depended on themselves. They appointed superintendants, held general assemblies, and took vigorous measures to extirpate entirely the remains of the ancient superstition.

Meanwhile, they ceased not to urge their claims to provision for their maintenance, which, as they were so evidently founded in justice, it was impossible decently to disregard. It was accordingly determined that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts, two parts to be retained by the Popish incumbents, the third to be assigned to the queen, on condition of affording a sufficient subsistence to the reformed teachers. This arrangement, though highly advantageous to the Catholic incumbents, who, as their offices were abolished, were likely to be entirely stripped of their revenues, was little adapted to satisfy the ministers; since the stipends in consequence allotted them, were extremely scanty, and irregularly paid. The remonstrances of the General Assembly, in June 1566, induced the Court to grant money and grain to supply the urgent necessities of the preachers. On the accession of Murray to the regency, in the subsequent year, and the final establishment of the reformed faith, they conceived hopes of meliorating their condition; but the difficulties with which Murray had at first to struggle, and his unfortunate assassination when he had composed the distractions of the nation, frustrated their expectations. To gain the concurrence of the reformers to the elevation of James to the throne, it had been stipulated to restore the patrimony of the church. As the most powerful of the king's party shewed no disposition to fulfil this condition, the General Assembly of August, 1571, appointed several of the most respectable of the clergy, to represent their grievances to Parliament. The regent Lenox favoured the claims of the ministers; but Morton, who shared largely in the plunder of the church, and anticipated new acquisitions, defeated their application. Though this indecent and impolitic treatment of the preachers, was adapted to alienate their minds from the Government, as they considered the preservation of the king's authority to be essential to the security of the national liberty as well as the reformed religion, they discovered a zealous and unshaken loyalty. Far from attempting to better their circumstances by means incompatible with the discharge of their duty, they enacted that no minister should hold a plurality of benefices, or engage in secular employment.

The pecuniary difficulties which harassed the reformed teachers, concurred, with other causes, to suggest the expediency of modifying the ecclesiastical constitution. From an early period the ecclesiastical state had formed a part of the national

council, and though Catholic bishops were prohibited the exercise of their clerical functions, they still retained their seats in parliament. The decease of many of them, made it likely that the spiritual branch of the legislature would become extinct; and it was apprehended that, if this were the case, those acts which had, during the minority of the king, been passed to secure both the religion and the liberty of the nation, might be deemed illegal. An attempt to obviate this inconvenience, by appointing to the vacant sees nominal prelates, with the privilege of meeting with the states, as it was subversive of ecclesiastical rights, excited such opposition as to induce the regent Mar to think of a different arrangement.

‘ More interested motives swayed a number of the nobility, and rendered them eager for new modelling the ecclesiastical polity. The Earl of Morton had succeeded in obtaining from the Regent the ample revenues which had been enjoyed by the archbishops of St. Andrews, and many of his order anticipated similar grants. This gift, however, it was evident, was illegal. The patrimony of the see could in no sense be considered as having been forfeited; and it was apparent that if, from any change of affairs, episcopacy should be restored, the prelates would have an undoubted claim, not only to recover the annual rents of the benefice, but to prosecute those by whom the revenue had, without the authority of a regular Parliament, been appropriated. To guard against this, the most effectual expedient seemed to be to restore the order of bishops; to appropriate, with their concurrence, a certain part of the original patrimony to each of the sees, and to convey, by a formal statute, the remainder to the nobility by whom it had been seized. In this way, the best possible right that, in the circumstances of the case, could exist, would be created; and, what probably had still more force, it was not unnaturally imagined, that, if the bishops were satisfied with what was assigned to them, no new investigation into the state of ecclesiastical wealth would be instituted, but the church would, in all time coming, be considered as having received an ample provision, and as having abandoned its claim to the immense possessions of the popish hierarchy. To these mercenary considerations, on the part of the nobility, the zealous ministers ascribed the change of polity which soon was introduced, and a contemptuous appellation, originating from this opinion, was applied to the bishops who were first appointed.

‘ The clergy were, upon different grounds, equally desirous with the nobles, that there should be some modification of the form of church government. The original form, admirable as it in many respects was, had never been universally acceptable. Deviating very far from what had long been the general sentiments with regard to ecclesiastical polity, there were not wanting some who wished that it should be calmly revised, and the expediency of such a revisal was increased by the opposition which the council had uniformly made to a great part of the first book of discipline. But the chief objection to the scheme proposed in that book, arose from the conviction that

it presented the most formidable obstacles to the comfort and the independence which the ministers were naturally anxious to secure. The poverty which shackled their efforts and harassed their feelings, far from being removed, continued to press upon them with unabated severity; and venerable as were the superintendants, no hope could be entertained that men, struggling with want, would be willing to succeed to an office which required the most arduous exertion, and was attended with expence, which could be defrayed only from the private fortunes of those by whom it was filled. There was even some reason for apprehending that the little which they had hitherto received would be diminished or taken away. If the possessions of convents, and of the different orders of the regular clergy, had been vested in the crown, because these convents and these orders no longer existed, the same argument might be urged with equal force for assigning to the laity the revenues of the prelates under the Popish establishment; for as they had not been succeeded by men vested with the episcopal character, there were none entitled to what had been appropriated to the bishops of the Romish communion.

There was another consideration which also had great weight with the Protestant clergy. It was impossible for them not to be sensible how important it was to their interest to be represented in Parliament. Without this they could not directly influence the decisions of that Assembly, and in the unsettled state of the church, measures in the highest degree prejudicial to its welfare might be adopted. From these causes, although they were sensible that the lords entertained views not favourable to a liberal provision for the ministers, they were anxious that the expediency of introducing a new system of polity should be maturely weighed, trusting that the independence of the clergy would thus be secured, and that they might rely upon the representatives of their own order obtaining enough to remove the apprehension or the experience of pecuniary embarrassment.* pp. 170—173.

As all parties so generally concurred in favour of revising the ecclesiastical constitution, a convention having the force of a general assembly, met at Leith, Jan. 12th, 1572, and after mature deliberation agreed

“ 1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, or the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue, in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King's Majesty's minority, or consent of parliament. 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3. That, to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within a year and day after the vacancy took place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5. That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried as to their qualification and their aptness to give voice in parliament by the bishop or superintendant of

the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise. 6. That the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his Majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefice should fall void. 7. That all benefices with cure under prelaties, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and, where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendant of the bounds. 9. That the bishops and superintendants, at the ordination of ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things."

' In addition to these regulations there were several others of much importance, ascertaining the nature and extent of the powers with which the bishops were to be invested. It was agreed that all archbishops and bishops hereafter to be admitted, should exercise no farther jurisdiction in spiritual function than the superintendants exercised; that they were to be subject to the church in spiritual matters, as to the king in those that were temporal; and that they should consult some of the most learned of the chapter, not fewer than six, with regard to the admission of such as were to have function in the church.' Vol. I. pp. 175—176.

Knox, who was so exhausted by age and infirmities, as to be prevented from taking an active part in these arrangements, at last, after some difficulties, acquiesced, in a letter to the General Assembly, in the projected changes. Of the last days of this extraordinary man, whose death took place at the close of this year, Dr. Cook has given a very interesting account, and has delineated his character with great impartiality and judgement.

The new scheme of religious polity was speedily carried into effect; but it seems from the first to have been viewed with suspicion and fear. The members of the General Assembly, in which it was confirmed, protested that the articles to which they agreed, ' were received only till farther and more perfect order might be obtained at the hand of the King's Majesty's Regent, and the nobility.' As the innovation was so plainly owing to the desire of the courtiers to possess themselves of the riches of the church, those who were appointed to the vacant sees, were contemptuously styled *tulchan** bishops. In the first general assembly after the appointment of the bishops, a parochial clergyman was chosen to preside in the presence of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and no authority was allowed the bishops. This jealousy of episcopacy was by various causes soon ripened into an opposition too vigorous to be resisted.

* A *tulchan* is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, to be presented to a cow to induce her to give milk freely.

The avarice of Morton who endeavoured by the most oppressive expedients to increase his immense riches, began to prey on the reformed teachers.

By various acts of the legislature, the thirds of the revenues of benefices were set apart for the clergy, upon condition of their paying a certain proportion for the support of the King's household. These thirds were collected by men appointed by the superintendants, who, according to certain regulations, distributed the amount amongst the different classes of public instructors. One great inconvenience resulted from this arrangement. Stipends were not allocated, as it is termed in Scotch law,—that is, made payable from the parishes in which those who received them officiated; but it was necessary to wait upon the superintendants, and to submit to what, from the repeated complaints of the ministers, appears to have been attended with much inconvenience. The Regent, taking advantage of this circumstance, proposed that the thirds should be collected by him, promising that he would immediately fix the stipend of each parish, and would establish a mode of payment which would exempt the ministers from trouble; and, in order to remove all suspicions, he assured them that, if the scheme was not found advantageous to the church, the thirds should be placed on the footing upon which they had been before. He thus succeeded in getting the command of this large revenue, and he soon disclosed the motives by which, in doing so, he had been guided. Far from rendering the payment of stipends more easy, he often refused to pay at all, and the clergy were compelled to waste their time at court in the most distressing, and not unfrequently fruitless solicitations. To lessen the sum requisite for providing religious instruction, he united many parishes, appointing one minister to do the duty of several churches; he gave to the readers a trifling pittance, and even treated with the utmost harshness the venerable superintendants, the fathers of the Protestant establishment in Scotland. When representations were made to him for the payment of their salaries, he contemptuously replied, that, as bishops had been introduced, any other superior order was useless, and he diminished what had been constantly allotted to them.' Vol. I, pp. 234, 235.

This impolitic conduct of the Regent, deprived him of the confidence of the ministers, and led them to think of introducing such changes into the ecclesiastical constitution, as would exempt them from servile dependence on Government, and enable them effectually to limit the prerogatives of the Crown.

About this critical period, when the slightest spark was sufficient to kindle the most alarming flame, Andrew Melvil, whose name holds so conspicuous a place in the history of his country, arrived in Scotland. This eminent man was descended from a respectable family, and was born, in the year 1545, at Baldorie, in the neighbourhood of Montrose. He received the elements of his education at the school of that town,—he completed, with high applause, a course of philosophy at St. Andrews,—and he afterwards studied for some time

at the university of Paris, the reputation of which was diffused over Europe. Having gone to Poitiers, he filled, for a few years, a professor's chair in the college, and when, upon the place being besieged, the students were dispersed, he was received into the family of a man of rank, as the preceptor of his only son. His pupil having been accidentally killed in the course of the siege, he left Poitiers and came to Geneva, the seat of ecclesiastical reformation. He was appointed professor of humanity, a decisive proof that his early reputation for science and learning had not diminished; and he listened with admiration and conviction to the principles respecting church government which Calvin inculcated, and which were enforced with fiercer zeal by Beza, the illustrious disciple of that great reformer,—a man of vast erudition, who devoted his talents to the illustration of the Scriptures, and who had imbibed, or formed the opinion, that these Scriptures were directly hostile to that episcopacy which had for many ages contaminated, as he had brought himself to believe, the church of Christ. The fame of Melvil made a deep impression upon the Bishop of Brechin, who happened to visit Geneva, and, convinced that his abilities would be of much service to the cause of religion in Scotland, he earnestly requested him to renounce the situation which he held, and to visit his native land. He felt that desire to comply which the associations of his youth so naturally tended to create, but he found much difficulty in obtaining permission, and when this was at length granted, Beza wrote with him to the General Assembly, bearing the strongest testimony to his piety and his literary attainments, and added, “that the greatest token of affection the church and university of Geneva could shew to Scotland was, that they had suffered themselves to be robbed of Mr. Andrew Melvil, that the church of Scotland might be enriched.” This letter which was delivered to the General Assembly which met in August, raised the expectations of the clergy with regard to Melvil. He was solicited to settle at St. Andrews, but, in consequence of the intreaties of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he received the important situation of principal in the university of that city.’ Vol. I. 241—243.

On his arrival Melvil assiduously diffused his principles among the leading men of the church; and having induced Dury, a minister of Edinburgh, and a man respectable from his uprightness and candour, to broach the subject in the General Assembly of August, 1575, he seized the opportunity, as if accidentally presented, to expose his views of church polity.

‘He expatiated upon the flourishing state of the church at Geneva,—explained the views of ecclesiastical polity which had been sanctioned by Calvin and Beza, men deservedly held in estimation throughout the Protestant world; and having thus prepared his audience, he affirmed, that none ought to be office-bearers in the church, whose titles were not found in the book of God,—that, though the appellation of bishop was used in Scripture, it was not to be understood in the sense usually affixed to it, there being no superiority amongst ministers allowed by Christ,—that Jesus was the only Lord of the church, all his servants being equal in degree and in power,—

and that the corruptions which had crept into the state of bishops, were so great, that, unless they were removed, it could neither go well with the church, nor could religion be preserved in purity.² Val. I. pp. 248, 249.

Six persons, of whom Melvil was one, were appointed to discuss the lawfulness of episcopacy: and though they came not to the conclusions that Melvil wished, he gained considerable ground. No reply having been made to his discourse by the prelates or superintendants, his zeal and eloquence left a deep impression on the minds of men discontented and desirous of innovation. Accordingly, when Melvil proposed the subject to the next assembly it was enacted that the bishops should take the charge of particular congregations. The agitation in the church escaped not the regent Morton. He requested Melvil to be one of his chaplains, and offered him a rich benefice on condition of desisting from opposing prelacy. The offer was at once rejected. The Regent, though desirous of preserving episcopacy, being provoked by the Assembly, who, to shew their authority, but under pretence of having dilapidated his benefice, had deposed the bishop of Dunkeld, gave them the choice of abiding by the present, or framing a new form of church-government. The innovators eagerly embraced this apparent permission to digest their opinions into what was called the *Second Book of Discipline*. The result being laid before Morton, as he was unwilling to retract what he had said, he delayed the completion of the work by starting difficulties. After repeated discussions, protracted through successive assemblies, the ministers concurred in a scheme, just about the time that Morton resigned the regency; an event which gave the presbyterians a vast advantage, since the vigour of Government was greatly impaired by the parties who contended for the favour of the young king. A deputation from the Assembly was ordered to present the system of polity to the king and his council; but though a favourable answer was returned, and Parliament appointed several of its members to confer with the commissioners of the Assembly, they came to no agreement; the courtiers objecting to those articles that seemed to interfere with the prerogatives of the Crown.

The scheme of polity thus presented to the King and Parliament was the work of much labour and anxious deliberation. It was maturely discussed by successive Assemblies; it was repeatedly altered and corrected; and it may be considered as containing the most authentic detail of the opinions and practices which Melvil was labouring to introduce. Much of it is nearly the same with the *First Book of Discipline*, but it is necessary to mention the leading points in which it differed from what Knox and the early reformers had composed and sanctioned. It is divided into thirteen chapters, each

of which is devoted to a particular branch of the ecclesiastical constitution. At the commencement, it distinguishes between the civil and the spiritual power; affirms that Christ alone can be properly styled the head of the church, and that they who bear office in it ought not to usurp dominion, or to be called lords, but ministers, disciples, and servants; that the magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify, the jurisdiction of the church; that ministers should assist princes in all things consistent with Scripture; and that, as ministers are subject to the punishment and judgment of magistrates in external things, magistrates ought to submit themselves to the discipline of the church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion. In the chapter which treats of the general polity of the church, and of the persons to whom the administration of it should be committed, a line is drawn between the clergy and the laity; the different kinds of ministers are enumerated; it is observed, that, for avoiding tyranny, they should rule with mutual consent of brethren, and equality of power; that there are four ordinary offices or functions in the church of God, the minister or bishop, the doctor, the presbyter or elder, and the deacon; that no more offices should be suffered in the true church; and that therefore all ambitious titles, invented in the kingdom of Antichrist, and his usurped hierarchy, which are not comprehended under these four, ought to be rejected. It is asserted that there is an extraordinary and an ordinary call to enter on the ministry,—the former proceeding from God himself, and exemplified in the case of the apostles and prophets,—the latter consisting in the approbation of men according to the order established, without which it is not lawful for any person to meddle in any ecclesiastical function; that this approbation comprehends election and ordination,—the choice of a particular person by the eldership and congregation, and the setting apart of this person, after proper trial, by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership; that all the office-bearers thus called should have their particular flocks, should reside amongst them, superintend them, and take only such titles as are to be found in Scripture. This subject is more particularly discussed in a subsequent chapter, in which it is declared that pastors, bishops, or ministers, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over which they watch; in respect whereof they are sometimes called pastors, because they feed their congregations; sometimes episcopi or bishops, because they watch over their flocks; sometimes ministers, by reason of their service or office; sometimes also presbyters, or seniors, for the gravity of manners which they ought to have, as taking care of the spiritual government, which should be most dear to them. The duties of ministers are then distinctly specified. Doctors are those who explain the Scriptures without making practical applications as the pastor; and under this class is comprehended the order in colleges and universities, which, it is said, ought to be carefully maintained. Elders are mentioned as a perpetual order in a Christian church, whose duty it is to assist the pastor in preserving a regard to religion and morality amongst the people; to admonish men of their duties; and principally

to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, to which assemblies all persons are subject that remain within the bounds assigned to the ministers who compose these assemblies. A most interesting chapter follows, delineating the constitution of a presbyterian church, and, of course, exhibiting that polity which was designed for Scotland. Elderships, it is said, are commonly constituted of pastors, doctors, and such as are usually called elders, who labour not in word and doctrine. The powers and duties of these elderships are enumerated, and the views of the Assembly with regard to them are thus summed up: It belongs to them to cause the ordinances made by superior assemblies to be put in execution, and to make constitutions for the decent order of the particular churches which they govern, provided they alter not rules made by the higher assemblies. This is evidently the court to which the name of presbytery was afterwards appropriated, and from which the Scottish church has received its appellation.

‘Synods and General Assemblies are then appointed, and their provinces defined.’ Vol. I. pp. 283—286.

The innovators had taken great pains to prepossess the nation in their favour, by representing the polity that they wished to establish, as plainly founded on Scripture, and inseparable from the purity of the reformed faith. Though they were severely disappointed that their form of discipline had not received the sanction of the legislature, they resolved to proceed against the prelates. They abolished the title of bishops, and required the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's to submit to the General Assembly. The archbishop of Glasgow having, with becoming dignity, resisted this usurpation, Melvil, with others of his faction, was commissioned to urge his submission. The subsequent extract shews the spirit of the men.

‘Melvil, in execution of the commission which had been given to him, incessantly urged the prelate to submission, threatening, if he did not comply, to inflict the severest censures of the church. In one of those moments of weakness, produced by the operation of a mortal disease, the archbishop affixed his signature. The recollection of this disturbed the serenity of his mind, but the representations of one of his clergy at length soothed his anguish, and with tranquillity he met dissolution. The ingratitude of Melvil powerfully affected him. He had been his friend and his patron; he had placed him in the university of Glasgow, and bestowed on him many favours; but, although Melvil treated him in private with the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him, and he invaded his retirement, when a feeling mind should have regarded that retirement as sacred. There is nothing more painful in the investigation of the history of man, than to trace the unhappy influence of political or religious contention upon the most amiable dispositions of the heart; but the exhibition of this influence should from no motives of respect or of reverence be withheld, for it tends to convey the most salutary moral lessons, and to render history, what it should always be, the school of virtue.’ Vol. I. pp. 295, 296.

So direct an invasion of the civil authority, naturally called for the interference of Government, and a letter, in the king's name, was addressed to the next Assembly, requesting them to direct their efforts to preserve the public tranquillity, and abandon the discussion of points of discipline till the meeting of parliament. With this request no disposition was shewn to comply, which strongly prejudiced the king against the Presbyterians. Though the Parliament declined to sanction the Presbyterian discipline, yet, to gratify the ministers, all the acts which had been passed for securing the liberty of the church, were confirmed. This was far from satisfying the Presbyterians, who, confiding in the zeal of the people, were determined to carry their measures. An act was passed in the assembly of July, 1580, declaring the episcopal office to be unlawful, having no foundation in the word of God; and ordaining, under pain of excommunication, all persons who held the office, to resign it immediately, and abstain from the exercise of the clerical function, till authorized by the General Assembly. To this attack on their order no opposition was made by the prelates; the bishop of Dunblane signifying his disposition to submit. Concessions were made by the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's. The king, urged by the Duke of Lennox, who was anxious to ingratiate himself with the ministers, gave a degree of countenance to the innovations, and the Presbyterian polity was introduced. The views of the Court, however, were soon altered, and an affair occurred which embroiled the factions.

• The see of Glasgow having become vacant, Lennox, bent upon the accumulation of wealth, resolved to appropriate the revenues of the bishopric, by presenting to it a person, who, for a small annual allowance would convey to him what the prelates had been accustomed to enjoy. The slightest reflection might have shewn the hazard of the attempt. but, regardless of consequences, or not allowing himself to dwell upon them, he, after in vain soliciting several of the ministers, who indignantly rejected the humiliating proposal, prevailed upon Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, to accept of the appointment. This man had previously distinguished himself by the ardent zeal with which he had defended the sentiments of Melvil, and had even declared that those of the clergy, who, from the desire of proceeding with caution, solicited an explanation of some part of the act declaring that the office of bishop was not warranted by the word of God, displayed a lukewarmness in the cause of the church, which would justify their being openly censured. Yet, before the expiration of a few months, he not only consented to be invested with the mitre, but to purchase it by concessions, from which an honourable and a religious mind should have shrunk with horror. His conduct justly called forth the strongest expressions of disapprobation from those with whom he had formerly associated; and the General Assembly took under consideration both the illegality of the

office, and the simony of which Montgomery had been guilty. When, however, they were proceeding to deliberate, they received an intimation from the King, that, although he did not object to their thus investigating the life and doctrine of Montgomery, he required them to delay proceeding against him as a bishop, till a conference upon the continuance of the episcopal order should have taken place. The Assembly, unwilling to irritate the King, appointed some of the members to meet with commissioners from his Majesty, and Melvil exhibited various charges, some of them of a most singular nature, and others displaying liberal views of church government, as a ground of proceeding in an ecclesiastical manner against the obnoxious bishop. These charges were at length referred to the Presbytery of Stirling, Montgomery being in the meantime enjoined to continue in his ministry, and to take no steps with respect to his appointment. By the Presbytery, whose jurisdiction he declined, he was suspended from the exercise of his pastoral functions, but urged by the Duke, and trusting to the active interference of the Sovereign, he paid to this no attention. More decisive steps were now taken by the ministers, who considered that the existence of the Presbyterian polity was implicated with this contest. Montgomery was summoned to appear before the Synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence which had been pronounced against him; and when the King prohibited the Synod from interfering, and summoned the members to the council, they solemnly protested, that although they had appeared, to testify their obedience to his Majesty, they did not acknowledge him or his council, as judges in a matter purely ecclesiastical. They boldly declared that they would excommunicate Montgomery; and when James said that he would not permit them, they replied, in language which, thus used, might have reminded them of the arrogance of papal dominion,—we must obey God rather than man,—one of them praying, in the royal presence, that the King might be delivered from the evil company by which he was surrounded.' Vol. I. pp. 334—336.

In defiance of the king's mandate, the Assembly excommunicated Montgomery, who was induced by the ecclesiastical censures, to make submission, and promised that, without permission from the Assembly, he would not accept of any office. From this resolution he soon departed, and having gone to Glasgow to be installed into the archiepiscopal see, he was cited before the Presbytery, to answer for his conduct. The Presbytery being enjoined by royal authority not to interfere, the moderator declared his resolution to proceed against Montgomery, and was by the chief magistrate of the city forcibly committed to prison. While this event inflamed the public mind and exasperated the factions, Balcanquell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, indulging in the coarse style of invective with which it was usual to treat public affairs in the pulpit, held up Lennox, the king's favourite, to popular odium, as an enemy of the Protestant faith. When the king requested the assembly to censure Balcanquell's

perate discourse, after examination they declared that the
er had delivered good and solid doctrine. Dury, who
en guilty of still greater excess, was ordered to leave the
id abstain from preaching; but appealing to the Assembly,
stified his doctrine, authorized him to preach wherever he
be placed, and advised him not to leave the city till the
trates interposed. Dury, however, was obliged to abandon
gregation. The ministers were far from being intimidated.
l, with several of the most venerable reformers, was com-
ned to present to the king the grievances of the church, and
y to implore redress. When the commissioners had
l access to the king, the earl of Arran having vehemently
who would dare sign these treasonable articles, Melvil in-
ly replied, We dare; and having affixed his own name,
ollowed by his associates.

dangers to which their contest with the Court exposed the
ers, were averted by a conspiracy of the nobles, who,
ied by being excluded by favourites from offices which
birth entitled them to fill, seized the person of James,
ompelled him to remove Lennox and Arran from his
ce. To reconcile the nation to this act of violence, the
while they professed to be actuated by a pure regard to
dfare of their country, endeavoured by all means to obtain
aintenance of the church. They recalled Dury, paid the
t attention to the wishes of the General Assembly, afforded
inisters every facility for exercising their discipline, and
ed that the best security against the return of Popery, was
ccess of the Presbyterian schemes. The ministers, on the
hand, approved of the conduct of the lords, and improved
ason of freedom, to establish new presbyteries, and by dif-
means to give stability to their ecclesiastical constitution.
prosperity of the ministers, however, was very transient.
ing soon extricated himself from the hands of the lords,
estored Arran to his confidence. The nobles being de-
rebels, were obliged to leave the kingdom. The worthless
abused the authority that he had recovered, to gratify his
e and revenge. His tyranny, which pressed on all classes
community, was particularly directed against the church.
accused of vindicating the persons who had seized the
was ordered to leave Edinburgh. Melvil was summoned
the council, and though he shewed that the charge
ht against him was groundless, he was next day required
mit himself and his doctrine to the king and council. He
d to comply, and was ordered to be confined in the castle
ckness. Before the sentence was executed, he took refuge
wick; the ministers complaining from their pulpits that
ig had extinguished the light of learning in the country,

and compelled the ablest advocate of religion to flee for his life. James, hostile to the popular genius of Presbyterianism, was resolved, by the aid of Parliament, to deprive the ministers of that freedom of discourse in which they indulged. The ministers, having acquired the information that measures inimical to their polity were to be proposed to the estates, deputed David Lindsay to express their fears to the king; but as the deputy entered the palace, he was seized and thrown into the prison of Blackness. Others who attempted to approach Parliament, were denied access. Acts having been framed, which entirely subverted the polity of the church, as it was apprehended that ministers would on the next Sunday express their mind, the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to silence any preacher who should disapprove the obnoxious acts.

‘ To this odious office they felt much aversion, and, under a constitutional pretext, they delayed performing it till the acts had been, in the usual form, proclaimed. The ministers, thus secured against interruption, dwelt upon the danger of the church; and Robert Pont, with Balquhain, attended when the proclamation of the statutes took place, and, observing the forms prescribed by the law of Scotland, they formally, in name of the church, protested against them. Pont was for this offence deprived of his situation as a senator of the college of justice, while Balquhain and his colleague Lawson, dreading the utmost severity of punishment, with which indeed they had been threatened by Arran, left their charge and fled to Berwick.’ Vol. I. pp. 382, 383.

The flight of many of the most respectable ministers, and the severities exercised against those that remained, spread a gloom over the country, and excited a general indignation among the people against the proceedings of the Court. Arran was execrated, and the king was suspected of favouring Popery. A plan was formed in concert with the English queen, in consequence of which the banished lords were restored to their country. Arran was stripped of his power and honours, and persons of rank and respectability were entrusted with the administration of affairs.

From this revolution the Presbyterians did not reap the advantages they expected. The exiled ministers indeed were recalled; but though the nobles had made such professions of zeal for the privileges of the church, having attained their own objects, they yielded to the inclination of the king, bent on abridging the power and liberty of the ministers. They found it expedient, in a General Assembly, which, after nearly two years’ interruption, was held May, 1586, to consent to the continuance of the name and office of bishop, the power of the office being much circumscribed. In thus complying with the wishes of the king, the clergy were influenced more by what

they had suffered than by any change of their sentiments. They beheld with aversion the episcopal order, and their zeal for the establishment of Presbytery was unabated. Events favoured their persevering efforts. While Philip of Spain prepared what was called the invincible armada for the invasion of England, he sent a number of jesuits and priests to spread disaffection in the sister kingdom. In counteracting the efforts of these emissaries, who succeeded in exciting rebellion, the ministers discovered a most ardent zeal. Their exertions contributed greatly to frustrate the designs of the Popish faction, as well as to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, during the romantic voyage of the king to bring home his royal consort, a princess of Denmark. By the activity of the ministers in supporting government, James was so much mollified, that in answer to a prayer of the General Assembly for the confirmation of the liberties of the church, he was pleased to conclude a speech, tending to conciliate the members, in the following singular terms.

“ I praise God that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospel,—to such a place as to be King of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule, What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England; their service is an evil said mass in English—they want nothing of the mass but the liftings I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.” Vol. I. p. 456.

This speech was heard with extreme delight. The ministers, in high expectation of success, embraced every opportunity of urging the king to establish their discipline by legislative authority. Though it is not probable that James was reconciled to the Presbyterian polity, the dangers to which he perceived longer opposition to the petitions of the clergy might expose his government, induced him to allow an act of parliament to pass, June 5, 1592, which not only abrogated all laws hostile to the Presbyterians, but ratified, in the most ample manner, their form of ecclesiastical government by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and sessions. It may be proper to subjoin the reflections in which Dr. Cook indulges on this occasion, both because they seem just, and afford an example of his manner.

‘ Amidst all the intemperate zeal which occasionally marked the conduct of Melvil, and of the other active supporters of the discipline of Geneva, they displayed consummate talent, and admirable dexterity, in influencing the minds of men, and in taking advantage of whatever was calculated to promote the objects which they were solicitous to accomplish. Opposed by the executive power, which at

one stage in the progress of the Reformation might probably have permanently established a modified system of episcopacy, they prepared for the contest which awaited them, by ingratiating themselves with the people, by professing what they really felt,—for it was the natural effect of their principles,—the warmest zeal for political freedom, and by unwearied efforts to impress upon those who listened to them the infinite importance, and the awful truths of religion. Still recollecting with horror the persecution of the Popish church, they shrunk from whatever seemed in the most distant manner allied to it; they preserved or disseminated the dread of Popery, with an effect which the former feelings of the community alone could have enabled them to produce; and being actually called to oppose the intrigues of men, who would have imposed on the kingdom the yoke of spiritual bondage, they procured full credit for their repeated and fervent assertions, that, unless the presbyterian discipline was sanctioned, the purity of the Protestant faith could not be preserved. The violence which they sometimes displayed was the natural consequence of opposition upon minds deeply impressed with the sacred nature of the cause for which they were struggling, and actuated by the zeal which their peculiar circumstances were powerfully calculated to excite; but far from striking at the foundations of the throne, they rallied round it when they could conscientiously do so, and they occasionally extorted the gratitude of the monarch for the support which, in seasons of difficulty, he derived from their exertions.

‘ The parliamentary sanction now given to the Book of Discipline was in the highest degree satisfactory to the ministers. It placed them in the situation which they had long been desirous to occupy; it gave them reason to hope, that, secured against opposition, they might now devote themselves to the spiritual concerns of the community; and it afforded to the King an opportunity of gaining their confidence, and, through this, the best wishes, and the steady loyalty of his people. Had he followed this gracious act, as he was prudently advised to do, by such a provision to the clergy as would have exempted them from the hardships of poverty; had he been careful to evince to them that he was sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, and that, whilst they laboured to defend it, they might depend upon his countenance, he would have identified their duty and their interest with the just exercise of his prerogative; he would have perceived that rough and severe censure, by which the ministers in their pulpits shocked his feelings and irritated his passions, daily softening; he would soon have heard inculcated manly and rational sentiments respecting what was due to the person and the office of the sovereign; and he might have anticipated, by nearly a century, that state of the presbyterian church which has existed since the revolution, a state no less favourable to the constitutional rights of the King, than to the liberties of the subject.

‘ A deviation from this policy, he might have discerned, would, from the circumstances which had attended the triumph of the presbyterians, be followed by opposition much more formidable than that which he had yet experienced. He had, in a solemn address to heaven, in presence of the clergy, and of the most earnest of their

adherents, professed his veneration for the church, as modelled by these reformers, and consequently every action inconsistent with this appeal to the Almighty must have sunk him in the estimation of men abhorring the looseness of impiety, and must have led them to regard him as a prince destitute of honour, whose promises or concessions, dictated by necessity, might the next moment be revoked or forgotten. And it was apparent that presbytery had been interwoven with the religious principles of the great body of the people. Hence an attempt to subvert it could not fail to excite popular indignation, which no virtue in the members of a new establishment, or no excellence in that establishment itself, would be sufficient to remove, but which, cherished by those who were revered as the defenders of truth, might be expected to produce the most deplorable convulsions.' Vol. I. pp. 467—471.

Though the Presbyterians, after a struggle of sixteen years, had procured the sanction of the states to their religious polity, their acquisitions were far from secure. The Presbyterian discipline, as it strongly encouraged the spirit of freedom, appeared to the king to be incompatible with the prerogatives of royalty, and the unceremonious manner in which the clergy contradicted his opinions and censured his conduct, by mortifying his vanity as a prince and a divine, provoked his hatred. The ministers suspected that though he had acceded to their wishes, he would embrace opportunities to abridge their privileges and introduce a mode of ecclesiastical government more agreeable to his mind. It soon appeared that their suspicions were well founded. By his commissioner, who presented to the General Assembly the act ratifying the Presbyterian discipline, the king, while he expressed his resolution to observe the clause that authorized him to convene general assemblies, made several proposals for restraining the liberty of the ministers in their public discourses. The Assembly agreed to abide by the clause of the act respecting the calling of that judicatory, and ordained that no minister should utter any irreverent speeches against his majesty, and council, or their proceedings, or public admonitions, except on sufficient and necessary grounds. In thus retaining the liberty essential to preserve them from tyranny and oppression, they did not satisfy James, who wished to be absolute. To this ground of opposition between the king and the clergy, the state of the country added others.

Through the feebleness of the king's government, crimes of a most atrocious nature were committed, and multiplied rapidly. The laws were contemned and the royal authority was set at defiance. A plot was formed by the emissaries of the Spanish monarch, for the subversion of the reformed religion, and several Catholic nobles concurred in the scheme. This design was however detected by the vigilance of a clergyman, and the ministers discovered a most laudable zeal for the support of the govern-

ment and the prosecution of the traitors. But the king, who, on the first alarm, shewed symptoms of vigour, treated the offenders with so culpable a lenity, that they became more bold in the commission of crimes, and thus he drew upon himself the hatred of the people.

‘ The ministers, whose zeal against popery conspired with other causes in deciding their sentiments and conduct, did not hesitate to avow and inculcate that there was in the king himself and those who surrounded him, some desire to pardon men whom every consideration should have led them to punish. The synod of Fife, which happened to assemble when these representations were exerting their full effect, deliberated upon the state of the kingdom; and after declaring that the king was slow in repressing popery and planting the true religion; after resolving to tell him plainly what all his true subjects thought concerning his favouring and countenancing papistical traitors, and to intimate that they would sacrifice their lives rather than suffer the country to be polluted by idolatry, and overrun by blood-thirsty adherents of popery; they solemnly excommunicated the earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, the laird of Achindown, Sir James Chisholm, and all who supported them, and corresponded with the neighbouring provinces that the sentence might be as extensively as possible published through the nation. The cordiality with which the resolutions of the synod were every where approved, convinced James, that if the sentence were published, the people would be irritated against the lords to whom it related, and obstacles would be thrown in the way of that weak and timid policy which he was inclined to follow. To prevent what he dreaded, he urged Robert Bruce who was held in the highest estimation by the ministers, to suspend the publication, pointing out the irregularity of the sentence, and the evils which might result, if such interference on the part of ecclesiastical assemblies were not repressed. Although Bruce had every disposition to preserve harmony, and had deservedly, by his prudence ingratiated himself with the king, he did not dissemble his sentiments. He refused to do what was asked of him, and the conversation terminated by an insinuation from the monarch against the discipline and polity under which such measures were sanctioned.’—
Vol. II. p. 28.

The king having, in compliance with an humble petition from the Popish lords, appointed a day for their trial, a convention of ecclesiastics and nobles, held at Edinburgh, addressed his majesty, lamenting that the nobles had been allowed to come into his presence, and requesting that the trial might be delayed till their accusers could conveniently appear. Though the king, who was irritated by this application, refused to acknowledge a convention assembled without his permission, he judged it expedient to defer the day of trial. As the lords, meanwhile, offered to satisfy the church and the king, an act was passed in conformity with the wishes of the prince, called the Act of Abolition, which, though designed to be extremely favourable to the lords,

they rejected, while, on the other hand, it excited the displeasure of the church. By an act of parliament, the lords were declared traitors; but having received a small supply of money from Spain, they took arms against the government. Provoked by this bold step, the king took the field against them, which compelled them to disperse. They implored permission to withdraw from the kingdom, and James, as well from the easiness of his nature as from a scheme which he had formed, but which he was not at all qualified to execute, of keeping the clergy in check by means of the Popish faction, granted their request. Though the ministers were pleased that the lords were banished, and anticipated the exercise of their ecclesiastical polity in all its vigour, the vacillating policy of James soon embroiled them with the court. The nation was alarmed by the report of an invasion from Spain, and the king sharing in the common fear, issued a manifesto, exhorting his subjects to prepare for vigorous resistance. When the assembly met in March, 1596, considering that the terms granted to the Popish lords were inconsistent with wise policy, among other remedies for the present exigencies, they proposed to appropriate the estates of the exiled nobles to the defence of the kingdom. Nothing could have been more inconsistent than this proposition, with the deceitful and dangerous politics of the king, who, it was known to the ministers, had determined to restore the banished lords.

‘ Believing that they could not expect the co-operation of government in the complete extirpation of the Popish faction, which they judged essential both to civil and religious freedom, they resolved to trust to their influence over the minds of the people. Afraid that the ardent zeal which they had once excited might become weak, they conceived it necessary to give it a new impulse, by renewing the covenant, and by enjoining the clergy throughout the kingdom to do so likewise : whilst, by the most solemn professions of anxiety to reform all classes of men, and to promote their spiritual edification, they deeply impressed upon those by whom they were revered, that if the most decisive conduct was not followed, all which had been hitherto done to produce and to secure the Reformation would prove totally unavailing. Having appointed commissioners to enumerate the corruptions of the ministry, and to suggest in what manner these might be removed, a report upon this subject was presented, in consequence of which it was required that all faithful pastors should seriously examine into the motives by which they had been influenced, in entering upon the sacred office ; should carefully ascertain the state of those who wished to partake of the sacrament ; and should, with the sessions over which they presided, exercise ecclesiastical discipline, not only in cases of enormous wickedness, but even where slight deviations from the strictness of Christian duty had been discovered. In their own deportment, they were to avoid every approach to levity of behaviour, to gaiety of apparel, or to those prac-

tices, which, however common in private life, did not correspond with the gravity of a pastor ; and such of them as should be guilty of profaning the Sabbath, of intemperance, or of prophaneness of discourse, were to be immediately deposed. They were cautioned against engaging in secular employments, which might distract their attention from the important duties which they had to perform ; they were required, under pain of censure, to reside in their parishes, and to embrace every opportunity, even in company, of promoting, by their conversation, the sacred cause of religion, and the edification of those who looked to them for instruction. After they had thus pointed out what were their errors, and what should be the conduct of the pastors, they assembled, as they had agreed, to renew the covenant, by which they pledged themselves never to forsake what they had sworn to defend. Having met in one of the churches, they were exhorted to have recourse to private meditation and prayer ; they humbled themselves in the sight of God—they became deeply agitated—they then listened to a sermon adapted to the occasion of their meeting ; and before they dismissed, holding up their hands, and calling on the name of God, they bound themselves, as he should enable them to walk in the profession of the truth.' p. 52—54, Vol. II.

As James felt an inordinate desire to restore the Popish lords, he endeavoured, by the means of Robert Bruce, to obtain the sanction of the clergy ; and as Bruce told him he would oppose the measure, he summoned a convention to consider how he should treat his rebellious subjects. To this convention a petition was presented by Huntly, who, with his associates, had secretly returned, praying to be allowed to live quietly in any place, and offering security for his conduct. After Melvil, who had obtruded himself upon the convention, had denounced, as traitors to Christ, his church, and the country, all who should approve of admitting the lords to favour, he was ordered to withdraw, and the king's proposal of granting pardon to the nobles was adopted. This resolution, so contrary to the sentiments of the nation, produced a strong ferment among the ministers, and, as they were not remarkable for policy of conduct, pushed them into excesses very detrimental to their cause. Commissioners of the preceding assembly, having in vain remonstrated with the king, drew together ministers from all quarters of the kingdom. This meeting issued a circular, exciting the people to resistance, and appointed a committee, called the Council for the Church, to watch over ecclesiastical affairs. The king, though irritated by these proceedings, was led, by the timidity of his nature, to attempt an accommodation, and he proposed to the committee, whether, if the lords satisfied the church, he might grant them indulgence. He was told that the nobles ought to be banished before any attention could be paid to their offers, and that, as they had been condemned by the law of God, and the sentence of parliament, it would be contrary to Scripture to pardon them.

This being reported to the king, highly excited his displeasure, and which the case of Black tended still further to increase. This man having, in a sermon, scandalously abused the king, queen, the lords of the council, and session, and called the English queen an Atheist, was summoned before the privy council. His brethren advised him to decline the king's jurisdiction. A deed was framed for this purpose ; and having been sent to the different presbyteries to be subscribed, it was signed by four hundred persons. As the king was determined to maintain his authority, and the ministers were not less resolved to support their pretensions, the contest approached towards a crisis.

‘ The king issued a proclamation, ordering the most active ministers to leave the city, and prohibiting such conventions as that which had for some time time been held. The clergy were not shaken in their purpose by this exertion of the sovereign power ; they resolved to obey God rather than man ; and they enjoined, that from the pulpit their privileges should, upon the first opportunity, be in the most confident strain, and in the full extent asserted. New resolutions as to the mode of defending Black, were taken ; and another declaration was, upon his again being summoned before the council, composed and circulated. p. 71. Vol. II.’ Various attempts were made by the king to accommodate the differences ; but Black, supported by his brethren, remained inflexible, and was found guilty. Matters were now fast hastening to tumult and disorder ; and interested men, who had little concern about the issue of the differences between the king and the church, but who were eager, for their own purposes, to promote confusion, put the match to the train, which had been laid. On the morning of the 17th of December, (1596) a day memorable in the history of the church of Scotland, insinuations or assertions were circulated, that Huntly had been privately at court, and had prevailed upon the king to issue an order, which had just been intimated, that twenty-four of the citizens, best affected to the ministers, should leave Edinburgh ; the clergy were alarmed by assurances, that, if they did not now remain firm, Popery would be introduced ; whilst the same fomenters of discord represented to the king, and the Octavians, that the houses of the ministers were guarded, and that it was requisite to take every precaution for saving themselves from the fury of the populace. In this agitated state of men's minds, divine worship commenced, and Balquharnock, the officiating minister, who believed the reports that had been carefully sent to him, warned his audience of their danger,—complained of the treacherous forms of the court, accused some of the leading men in the kingdom as having occasioned the present deplorable state of the church, and recalling to the minds of those who heard him, how the noblemen and barons had struggled for the Reformation, he exhorted the lords and gentlemen, who were present, to meet in one of the churches, after service, and to assist the ministry with their advice. The meeting immediately took place, and Bruce, having expatiated upon the late interesting events, desired those who had assembled, to hold up their hands, and swear that they would defend religion against all op-

posers. Commissioners were sent to the king, who was sitting with the lords of session, and whilst they were absent, passages of scripture were read, calculated to inflame the people, who could not see the impropriety of the manner in which these passages were applied. Amongst the persons carrying the supplication, was Lord Lindsay, who, when the king asked how they had dared to meet, with much warmth replied, that in a season of so much hazard, he thought they might lawfully do more than petition. James, apprehending from this answer, and from the furious manner in which the multitude were pressing into the hall, that some violent assault was intended, immediately withdrew, and ordered the gates to be shut. It was instantly circulated through the city, that he had given an unfavourable answer to the requests which had been offered, and Lindsay, upon his return, audaciously said,—Let us now stay together, and advertise our friends and the favourers of religion, and take a decided part against our enemies; for it shall be either theirs or ours. Upon this some cried to arms; others exclaimed,—The sword of the Lord and of Gideon.' p. 74—76 Vol. II.

The people, who were wrought up to a high pitch of fury, were soothed by the chief magistrate, and induced to separate without further outrage. As the ministers persisted in their opposition, proceeding to still greater violence in their petitions to the sovereign, he issued a proclamation, detailing the insults that had been offered him, and exposing the treasonable conduct of the ministers. This proclamation made a deep impression on the public mind. The ministers perceiving that the zeal of the people declined, endeavoured to revive the flame. A party was formed to maintain the liberties of the church; but Lord Hamilton, who was invited to put himself at the head of it, gave information of the design to the king. The ministers had greatly impaired their influence; because, though their cause was good, their zeal was without discretion, and their measures were taken and pursued without prudence.

(To be continued.)

Art. III. *Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion*: with an Appendix, containing Historical and Critical Illustrations. By Joseph Fletcher, M.A. 8vo. pp. 347. lxviii. Price 9s. Conder, 1817.

THREE hundred years are on the very point of being completed, since the inglorious vassalage of Europe was relieved, and a part of its freedom restored, at the period of Luther's first resistance to the tyranny of Papal Rome. His successes were the signal for an extensive resumption of ancient rights: nor was the opportunity lost. Many nations disowned the authority which had long bowed them down, and proclaimed themselves free from its intolerable oppression. They soon learned the value of their achievements; and in the possession of the benefits which they now began to enjoy, as the fruits of their indepen-

dence, they could feel no inclination to resume the yoke of their former tyrants, who were resolved on compelling, if possible, their submission. Incessant struggles to maintain the positions already carried, and to prevent their being reconquered, have been demanded by the ceaseless warfare against freedom, which its ancient and inveterate foe has supported. Popery, irreconcilable to its losses, and filled with malicious fury against the abettors of the Protestant cause, whom it will never spare, will never cease to be the enemy of Christian freedom : its hostility is settled and resolved. Never since the great and righteous separation from the Romish despotism, in the early part of the sixteenth century, has the genius of liberty been permitted to repose. Correct in his apprehension of danger, and alert to announce its approaches, he gives now the 'note of preparation,' and calls every Protestant Christian to the post and to the service which are allotted him, and in which he may most effectually employ the proper means of resisting the most odious, and the most horrid superstition which ever asserted its dominion over mankind.

Of Popery it is impossible for us to speak in other terms. It is in vain that its enormities are thrown back on past times, and imputed to the spirit of distant ages. In the accomplishment of its purposes, Popery must be exactly that which it has been. Its will is to destroy science, to extinguish knowledge, to annihilate opposition, and to reign in darkness and terror. The proofs of its intentions are too luminous not to be perceived ; and Protestants, we trust, are too well instructed in the knowledge of its arts and machinations, to permit their suspicions to be lulled asleep by any assurances of its abettors, that there exists no reason for alarm. The most temperate partisans of Roman Catholicism, cannot deny that it is founded on principles which proscribe the exercise of every other form of religion, and that every other religious profession is incompatible with its laws ; they cannot deny that were its means equal to its wishes, Protestantism would be put down by violence as a heresy. They know that the Church of Rome is radically and incurably intolerant, and that its 'one and indivisible' object, is to destroy forever the right and power of conscience to make religion the subject of its inquiries. They may palliate and explain ; they may refer us to their own liberal sentiments and feelings as they please ; but they know that the power to which, in their communion with the Romish hierarchy, they submit, and must submit, has taken an eternal vow never to tolerate any other creed than that which it is determined to dictate to every individual of mankind, could it provide for itself so large a field of action ;—and that its operations are bounded by narrower limits, is assuredly not owing to its indifference. Every creature under

heaven, who bears the image of his Maker, and whose rational nature stamps him the heir of immortality, should feel himself under the perpetual obligations which his origin and his destiny import, to resist a thralldom the basest and the most terrible to which the human soul can be enslaved. Popery is incompatible with the inalienable rights of men; nor is it less so with the will of God, and the rule of his final judgement.

With these views of the inherent evils and tendencies of Popery, we should only dissemble, were we to deny that we cannot regard its possible increase without alarm, or that we wish to see the means of opposing its progress most effectively employed. Those means include no proceedings against which the avowals of some Roman Catholic writers in this country, contain an objection; and the most important of them is the principle for which they are personally the advocates, though they do not hold it with the approbation of their Catholic superiors,—that all mankind in every place and under every circumstance, are at perfect liberty to choose their religious creed, and to adopt their religious practices. The duties which conscience owes to itself, are not to be estimated according to parallels of latitude and lines of longitude on the globe; if therefore men judge for themselves, as to their religious profession, in Britain, let them exercise such judgement in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in France, in all states and kingdoms. Let no political incapacity, no personal disability in any of these countries, be associated with religious profession. Let all civil honours, emoluments, and offices, be every where conferred on men as able and meritorious citizens. Then we should have realized the very state and circumstances on which the writers to whom we have referred, have so eloquently expatiated, as the desirable condition in which the human race should be settled;—and then we should see an end to Popery.

The Author whose work is now before us, is a man exactly to our mind, in regard to the principles which he asserts, and the spirit which pervades them. We recognize in every page of his book, a correct conception of the nature of revealed religion, and of the purposes for which it was imparted. We meet with no passages which allow of a construction unfavourable to the full personal exercise of the rights of the human mind. The sentiment that religion is matter of consideration and feeling, for the understanding and the heart of man, apart from the control of all others of his species, is clearly and conspicuously displayed; the whole argument of the work is directed against the violation of this principle. Of the Papal religion he uniformly speaks under the full conviction of its outrage in pretension, and its enormities in practice, as every honourable and humane mind must express its disgust and abhorrence on inspecting the undisputed records

of its guilt. He does not endanger our underrating his benevolence, by leaving it possible for us to conjecture that there exists a sympathy between his feelings and a system of such darkness of character as the Romish: his purity of feeling towards mankind is indeed an ingredient of his opposition to that system which was from the beginning described as taking peace from the earth. It is not against persons, but principles, that Mr. Fletcher directs his reasonings. That he strives lawfully in the good warfare in which he has engaged, is demonstrated by the correctness of his positions, the strength of his arguments, and the practical good tendency of his work. Our opinion of the merits will be corroborated by the specimens of its contents which we shall introduce into our pages. The Preface commences with the following paragraphs.

‘ The principles of the Roman Catholic religion have become widely circulated in every part of our country, since the repeal of the penal statutes, which tended so powerfully to prevent their diffusion. In particular districts, the number of those who profess them have greatly increased; and in some of our larger towns, their places of worship are distinguished by a splendour and magnificence which render them almost equal to the churches of our national establishment, and exhibit visible proofs of the opulence and advancement of their communion. Their publications are numerous; their clergy are highly respectable in character and talents; and their exertions in support of their own principles are zealous and incessant. It is not unusual for their priests to deliver lectures once or twice in the week, during the season of Lent, on those subjects which naturally involve the points at issue between themselves and the protestants; by which means considerable interest and curiosity are excited, and persons of all denominations are occasionally attracted to their chapels.

‘ To these facts the Author has adverted, not for the purpose of censure and animadversion, but to shew the necessity of corresponding zeal on the part of protestants in the defence and explanation of those great principles, which constitute the basis of their secession from the Church of Rome. Whatever regret he may feel at the success of the means employed in the dissemination of opposite principles, he can feel none at the liberty enjoyed by his neighbours; nor would he wish his opposition to their religious system, to be considered as resulting in any degree from the influence of political motives. On the contrary, if there be any sentiment which he is disposed to hold with the most tenacious grasp, it is this—that every individual and every society possess an unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences; and that all secular interference *on account of religion*, by penalties or restrictions, is irrational, impolitic and anti-scriptural. The only effectual means of counteracting error, are persuasion and argument, and these alone comport with the sacredness of truth and the dignity of religion.’

The substance of these lectures was delivered some years ago

24 Fletcher's *Lectures on the Roman Catholic Religion.*

to the Author's congregation, in consequence of the zealous efforts of the Roman Catholic priest then resident in the same town, (Blackburn,) in the public vindication of his own principles. The Protestant part of the population of Blackburn, especially the Protestant Dissenting part of it, may congratulate themselves that at such a time their cause was in the hands of an advocate so well qualified to display its strength and excellence, to refute the opposite errors, and to afford the inquiring and the wavering that complete knowledge of the tenets and tendencies of Roman Catholicism, which is an essential pre-requisite to their determination, and which, in proportion as they yield themselves to the influence of moral power, is of itself sufficient to satisfy the one and to confirm the other. From the list of topics included in these lectures, it will be perceived that every important point involved in the controversy, has received attention from the Author. They are the following: I. On the Authority of the Church. II. On Oral Tradition. III. On Papal Supremacy. IV. On Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass. V. On the Sacraments of the Church of Rome. VI. On the Invocation of Saints, and the Use of Images. VII. On Purgatory, and the Doctrine of Merit. VIII. On the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. IX. On the Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.

On these subjects novelty cannot be expected. The controversy indeed may be considered as exhausted: so long has it been agitated, and so numerous and able have been the writers who have taken part in it, that nothing of moment is left to the research or ingenuity of contemporary authors. An exposition of principles, however, will frequently be a service to which various circumstances in the collision of the opposite interests, will invite the respective parties. On such occasions, the ability and honourable character of the polemic, must be estimated by the judgement which he manifests in the selection of his materials, the logical skill with which he arranges his arguments, and the evidence which he furnishes of a predominant regard to the interests of truth and virtue. In all these respects, the Author of these Lectures is entitled to high commendation. The principles of Roman Catholicism he has derived, not from the statements of its enemies, but from the writings of its ablest advocates; thus obtaining for his representations a character of indisputable authenticity. He has displayed his arguments distinctly and orderly, and has employed himself in this labour only as it is a necessary means of preserving and increasing the light of truth, the purity of liberty, and the felicity of mankind.

The primary topic of discussion in the controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, is the rule of judgement, and the standard of appeal in religion; the former party asserting the exclusive competency of their Church, as the living supreme

judge of controversy and the rule of faith ; the latter maintaining the exclusive sufficiency of Scripture as the only authoritative rule of faith and practice in matters of religion. With the decision of this point the cause of the respective parties must stand or fall. The importance therefore of the claim exhibited by the Romanists, is indisputable, and in exact proportion as it is important, ought the grounds on which it is rested, to be plain and palpable, and the evidence by which it is attempted to be supported, luminous and conclusive. It is in fact identical with the original pretensions of Christianity, which were established by a miraculous agency, conferred upon its first propagators, and exerted openly for the conviction of the world ; since there is practically no difference between the original characters of religious doctrines included in a supernatural communication, and a permanent interpretative authority implying infallibility and demanding submission. The power by which the former was emitted, is essential to the validity of the latter, and the same proof of its connexion with the one must be required as really adhered to the other. But where is the external proof of an exclusive Divine authority in the Church of Rome, to dictate the interpretation of a written revelation ? It has absolutely no existence. In the total absence therefore of all appropriate evidence capable of supporting such a claim, we are not only justified in resisting it, but are solemnly bound to discard and oppose it, from the very principle which authorizes us to reject a communication purporting to be Divine, that is not accompanied with satisfactory demonstration of its Divine origin.

The existence of a living, oracular, and infallible tribunal in the Church, to declare the sense of Scripture and to determine its authority, is a purely gratuitous assumption, devised by a crafty priesthood to further their own purposes. The Divine Being has never in all the extent of his communications to mankind, imparted one particle of information on such a question. The strongest of all proofs is obtainable, that the Scriptures are designed for individual use, that every man is in his duty in obtaining them, and that to himself it belongs to ascertain in what respects and in what degree he is interested in their contents. With more plausibility than attaches to the claim, as urged by the Romanist, might it be alleged as the prerogative of the ancient Jewish Church. But does our Lord ever recognise such a claim ? No. He refers his hearers invariably to the Scriptures, themselves, apart from all living authoritative interpretation. Does he not exhort the people to “ search the scriptures ? ” Does he ever direct them to the priests ? And what can his words—“ If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, &c.” import, but that every individual was on his own

possibility and right as an interpreter of the message of revelation?

How stands the case as to the New Testament? Was there at the time of its original publication a college of 'clergymen' to whom it was committed after the manner of the Sibylline oracles deposited with the Pagan priests of Rome, that they might consult it as occasion might demand, and deal it forth to the world as they might think proper? So it seems we should believe! But the fact is far otherwise. The Apostolic Epistles were addressed to all the members of the Christian societies to which they were sent, to be publicly read in their assemblies, and to be circulated without restriction or limit, for the use and benefit of the whole world. The Gospels were sent abroad precisely in the same spirit of general utility. Every man was not only at perfect liberty to obtain copies of the sacred books, according as his circumstances might furnish the occasion, but felt himself perfectly unrestrained in the use and application of his mind to their contents. 'Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia,' read, as well as heard, the wonderful works of God, in the numerous copies of the Scriptures which were so early circulated: a circumstance we may assure ourselves which never could have occurred under such a system as that which, less conspicuous for truth and holiness than for cunning craft and secular despotism, entitles an old man and a company of intriguing associates at Rome—the 'Church,' which all Christians are reverently to regard and to obey!

Against the whole of this pretended claim, Mr. Fletcher has directed a series of argument so compactly and so strongly framed, that we feel no hesitation in recommending his first Lecture as very creditable to him as a reasoner. For its purpose it is quite effectual. We shall extract the propositions which head the several series of argumentative passages directed against the principle, that the canonical authority of the books of Scripture is dependent on the Church of Rome. Mr. F. remarks, That it was not the Church of Rome, nor a council convened by the authority of the Church of Rome, that first ascertained and determined the canon of Scripture—That whatever church or council might publish a declaration concerning the canon of the New Testament, the authority of that canon could not arise from the declaration itself, but from the antecedent evidence on which it was founded—That unless the antecedent authority of the New Testament, prior to all such declarations of it, be acknowledged, it will be impossible to prove the Divinity of the Christian Religion—That if the authority of the sacred canon rest on the supposed prior authority of the Church of

Rome, it will be impossible to prove the authority of that Church from the sacred canon—That the authority of the Church of Rome, is totally unsupported by the New Testament. Under the last division the following definition and description of a Christian Church are introduced, as that to which the New Testament gives its exclusive sanction.

‘ Every organized society assumes some principle as its basis ; and in an inquiry respecting the constitution of a religious society, special importance must attach to right views on this subject. A church of Christ, according to scriptural testimony, is not a mere assembly or aggregation of people combined by political arrangements, and dependent on the will and authority of a civil government. It is not the accidental association of a number of individuals and families, who may happen to live within the artificial boundaries of a parish. It is not a promiscuous crowd of various and opposite characters, who meet together once or twice a week, because of the local convenience of the place, or the conceived attractions of a preacher. In all these reasons or grounds of union, we can recognize no scriptural principle. We can perceive only the authority of power, the influence of custom, or the effect of accident ; and though under the controul of divine agency, their ultimate operation may be beneficial, yet in their immediate action we trace nothing at all amounting to *religious conviction* ; so that when their force is suspended or counteracted, the union is dissolved ! The principle of scriptural union appears to be—the *knowledge and influence of divine truth, leading to a voluntary association of believers for the purposes of mutual edification, in the observance of all divine institutions*. Thus the first churches were constituted in the apostolic age. The truth of the glorious gospel, attested by “ infallible proofs,” was proclaimed to men for “ the obedience of faith.” Wherever it was cordially received, it became, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the principle of obedience ; it constrained those who “ had given themselves to the Lord, to give themselves to one another according to the will of God.” It led those whom the providence of God had stationed near each other, to “ meet in one place,” and to submit to all the laws and ordinances which Christ had enjoined, either by his own authority, or the delegated authority of his apostles. Here we witness the result of personal conviction, the effect of enlightened principle ; and in all succeeding ages, those have most nearly resembled the primitive churches, who have formed their union on the basis of evangelical truth, and have regarded that truth as the ground of their hope, the support of their holiness, and the firm bond of their mutual attachment, and zealous co-operation. In the constitution of a scriptural church, we recognize the authority of Christ as its warrant, the truth of Christ as its foundation, and agreement respecting that truth as the principle of fellowship. p. 27—29.

These sentiments are worthy of the serious attention of every individual who would understand the nature of the original institutes of the New Testament. Among many Christians, vague

38 Fletcher's *Lectures on the Roman Catholic Religion*.

notions of a Christian Church are but too prevalent; inducing a feeling more allied to a superstitious veneration than to the spirit of rational liberty.

On the Papal Supremacy, which is the subject of the Third Lecture, it is easy for every unprejudiced mind fully to satisfy itself that this asserted pre-eminence of rank and power is an arrogant and wicked pretence. The supremacy of whom? Of a mortal raised by cabal and intrigue to a station of secular dominion, and to the alleged government of all Christians upon earth! Monstrous supremacy! A supremacy which no man in the possession of his rationality should concede, but as he may discern the very majesty of God in the unsullied purity of its claimant, and in his control over the agency of all natural causes, to scal up the stars—to launch the thunder—to raise the dead. No: this doctrine of papal supremacy never can have proceeded from God. In conferring Apostolic powers on a few individuals selected as the instruments of a great purpose, which was to be completely fulfilled within the term of their natural lives, he reconciled them to himself by Jesus Christ, endued them with the spirit of holiness, and purified them from all secular affection, that they might be the models of all sanctity as well as the preachers of the Christian faith. And the Popes of Rome, frequently the most vicious of their race, men supremely eminent in profligacy of morals, in the contempt of all goodness, in the ridicule and despite of religion, breathing out slaughter against mankind, and in the reckless ambition of their inhuman minds, stirring up the passions of secular powers to jealousy and revenge, that discord and blood might agitate and overflow the world; that men of such a character should be accounted supreme over Christians, is the very perfection of delusion! We renounce and abhor the assumption as an impiety. But we must return to Mr. Fletcher, from whom we perceive we differ in the interpretation of a passage of great celebrity in this controversy, though this variation is not, in our opinion, injurious to his argument on the main point. We refer to the explication of Matt. xvi. 18, which occurs p. 104.

The Apostle Peter had confessed that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God; and in return, the Messiah replies, after pronouncing his benediction, "And I say unto thee, Thou art a Stone." It is not 'thou art *the* Stone' much less 'thou art *the* Rock,' but simply an allusion to his name, as *relatively significant* of the confession he had just made, to which confession, or the truth confessed, he directly refers, as *the rock* on which the church is built. There is a change of the word, which every attentive reader of the original will immediately perceive. Had our Lord meant that Peter was the foundation of the church, he would have

retained the same term, in both parts of the declaration; it would have been *Thou art a Stone, and on thee as a Stone I will build my church*; but it is far differently expressed. It is 'Thou art, that is evidently, thou art called *a stone*, and on *this rock*, the truth which thou hast confessed concerning myself, I will build my church.' It is highly probable that by some appropriate action, our Lord distinctly pointed out *himself*, as the object of the declaration.'

The whole of this construction is, we think, unnatural and forced, though Mr. Fletcher is by no means singular in maintaining it. The fear of conceding even in appearance to the demands of the Romanists, has evidently turned aside some Protestant writers from the direct path in their consideration of this passage. Let it however be expounded according to the laws of just criticism, and it will be seen that nothing which it contains is in the least favourable to the views of the Papal abettors. When the Author asserts that there is a change of the word, which every reader of the original will perceive, he evidently refers to the difference between *πῆρος* and *πῆρα*, the former a proper name, the latter a noun importing the foundation of the edifice to be erected. That the words are not identical in form, is obvious, and we think that it is not less evident that there is in the use of the latter in our Lord's address, an allusion to the import of the former. Though it were admitted that *πῆρος* never signifies 'rock,' yet as *πῆρα* denotes frequently *lapis*, a stone, and agrees in import with *πῆρος*, the passage may strictly and properly be rendered, "I say unto thee, thou art stone, and upon this stone," &c. As a proper name *πῆρος* is of course in the masculine gender, it is not therefore by any means decisive of the point to remark that *πῆρος* does not signify either 'a rock' or 'the rock.' Does it derive its meaning from *πῆρα*, does it import rock? That it does so is indisputable. We prefer therefore the sense of this passage which connects with Peter the declaration of our Lord, "Upon this rock I will build my Church." We are entirely of Whitby's opinion, that the whole grace of the allusion in *πῆρα* to *πῆρος*, is lost unless this passage be expounded of the person of Peter, and not of his confession, or the object of it. Nothing can be more harsh than the opposite construction. The words "Thou art Peter," are perfectly unmeaning, and most strangely encumber the passage. In what manner the words 'I say unto thee, Thou art Peter,' can be relatively significant of the confession which that Apostle had just made, is above our comprehension. Does not our Lord intend to designate Peter as a remarkable person, by using such a mode of address as is here employed. "Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven;

"and I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, (*petra*) and upon this rock
 " (*petra*) I will build my Church." The change from Simon
 Barjona to Peter, would certainly revive in the recollection of
 the Apostle, the language which our Lord had used in reference
 to him on the occasion of his first introduction by his brother
 Andrew: "Thou art Simon Barjona, Thou shalt be called
 'Cephas, or Peter,'" and would furnish him with the reason on
 which that change of name was founded, but which had not
 hitherto been explained. That there is an allusion to the
 import of the Apostle's name in the promise of our Lord in
 the passage under notice, is evident from the construction in
 the Greek Testament, and it would be still more strikingly
 conveyed in the spoken than in the written language. The
 Syriac has probably preserved the identical form as it was
 originally delivered: it is as follows; We shall give it in the
 Hebrew character, as it may be more convenient to our readers.
 .ספא דמא על כנסא מן פטר. The meaning of our Lord is, we
 conceive, no other than this: 'Thou art designated by a name
 ' which imports rock, and which, as significant of the honour
 ' and service to which I have appointed thee, was appropriated
 ' to thee instead of Simon thy former name on thy first be-
 ' coming my disciple, and agreeable to this name shall be
 ' thy office, for upon thee will I build my Church, by making
 ' thy preaching the laying of its foundations among the people.'
 Mr. Fletcher is clearly unsupported in his remark (p. 105)
 that in the New Testament the Messiah is frequently repre-
 sented as the rock and the foundation on which his Church
 rests, if he means that *petra*, rock, is so applied to Christ; and
 unless he intends to give his remark this bearing, it is not
 pertinent; it is never so applied. Nor indeed does a single
 instance occur in the New Testament, of the application of
 of *petra*, or any other word signifying rock, to Christ, in the
 sense of foundation, or with any reference to building.

The interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18, which we adopt, is sup-
 ported by Grotius, Barrow, Le Clerc, Whitby, Doddridge,
 Campbell, Macknight, Dr. Middleton, (Bishop of Calcutta,)
 Dr. Marsh. (Bishop of Landaff,) Schleusner, and also
 Michaelis, who properly remarks that in matters of doctrine
 the Christian Church rests on the testimony of the Apostles,
 of whom Peter was one of the most distinguished, and the
 first in order.* No supremacy, however, over the other Apostles,

* Dr. Adam Clark, in his Commentary on this passage, to which
 there is a reference in Mr. Fletcher's Appendix, dogmatically asserts
 that the interpretation which we have adopted can be advanced only
 by persons who are 'blinded by prejudice.' This rash and dis-
 creditable assertion we expect the Dr. will revoke and cancel on

as imparted to him by our Lord. It is a pre-eminence in honour, not in authority, that was conferred upon him. They were independent of him as the Ministers of Christ, and the whole of the privilege with which he was invested, is most satisfactorily explained by the part which he took in the transactions which introduced the kingdom of Christ among both Jews and Gentiles.

Whatever might be the honour and privileges conferred upon Peter, they were most strictly *personal*; they lived and died with him. He left nothing to another; and it is only by one of the most arrogant and iniquitous arts ever practised on the credulity of mankind, that a successor in the person of the pope has been provided for him. History bears its strongest attestation to the fact, that for ages Christian churches and pastors knew nothing of papal supremacy, but maintained an undisputed independence. The unimpeachable documents of antiquity confront the daring assertion of the Romanists on this point, and leave us to express our utter astonishment, if indeed any matter in which they are parties can astonish us, at the boldness of their pretences, and the impiety of their tenets. Jesus Christ called Peter to the apostleship, and made him the primary instrument in the erection of the Christian Church; but what has this to do with Papal government at Rome? How long are mankind to be abused by the cunning and the fraud of priestcraft? When will they recover their senses and shew themselves to be men, by discarding the grossest impostures, and delivering themselves from the vilest despotism which ever enshrouded itself in this part of the creation of God to which his light and his truth have been sent forth? It is a sufficient and most ample refutation of all pretensions and claims importing the supremacy of the Pope, as the successor of Peter, that the New Testament is completely silent on the point; that Jesus Christ never speaks of a successor to Peter or any other Apostle; that his promises to the Apostles are strictly and exclusively personal. Jesus Christ promised to send the Holy Spirit, the *παράκλητος*, to be with his Apostles; and the promise was fulfilled; but he never promised a successor to Peter or to any other Apostle.

A more satisfactory demonstration was never made out, than is presented in the following view of a transaction recorded in the Epistle to the Galatians. It is a statement indisputably correct, and it cuts up by the roots the doctrine of Peter's supremacy, and the claims of his pretended successors.

pecting the above list of the names of Protestant Divines, whose right and candid proceedings, he must well know, are not impeachable.

It appears that a judaizing faction were endeavouring to pervert the Gospel of Christ in the district of Galatia. They attempted in opposition to the Apostolic decree, to blend the rites of the Mosaic economy with the Christian institution. They were particularly anxious to revive the obligation of circumcision. Aware of their special obnoxiousness to the Apostle Paul, it seems they endeavoured by various insinuations to invalidate his apostolic authority; and because he was not of the *first twelve*, and had not been one of those who associated with the disciples "from the beginning of the Gospel," they represented his authority as inferior to that of the other Apostles. This is evident from the circumstantial details given in the first and second chapters of his epistle, by which he proves, that his authority was derived immediately from Christ himself—that he entered on his apostolic office as soon as he was converted, without a personal conference with any of the Apostles—that three years elapsed before he saw the Apostle Peter—that he had received a special commission to be the Apostle of the uncircumcision, or to preach to the Gentiles, from the same authority which ordained Peter to be the Apostle of the circumcision—and that the Apostles at Jerusalem when Paul visited the place, at a subsequent period, distinctly recognized his authority. (Ch. i. 11—23. ii. 1—9.) It appears that after St. Paul had been at Jerusalem, he met St. Peter at Antioch, when the circumstance before referred to, took place. I shall cite the passage: "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them who were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all; if thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (ii. 11—15.)

"It is evident from this passage that Paul, so far from acknowledging any supremacy in Peter, when he met with him in the same city, finding that he had been acting with dissimulation, publicly rebuked him. And Peter did not attempt to justify himself, although he might have found very plausible reasons for his conduct; he felt that it was condemned by the spirit of God, speaking in Paul, and he did not resist him. Now let any candid man say, which of these two acted as the superior. Peter follows a certain line of conduct towards the Gentiles; Paul comes, and without consulting Peter upon it, or appealing to the other Apostles, by the wisdom given him from above, judges it to be wrong, and by the authority committed to him, publicly withstands Peter, rebukes him, and then records the transaction in an epistle regarded even by the Church of Rome as written under the influence of inspiration."

* The Rev. James Carlile's "Examination of the Arguments for the Pre-eminency of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy, adduced by the Rev. John Ryan," &c. p. 47.

the circumstances of this case had been reversed, and Peter had proved Paul, it would have been cited as a triumphant and an incontrovertible demonstration of Peter's supremacy. But as it now stands, it is impossible to reconcile the fact with that unsupported assumption.

‘It is recorded in the Acts (viii. 14, 15.) that when the “Apostles in Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.” If Peter possessed or exercised supreme jurisdiction over his brethren, is it probable that *they* would have sent *him* this special commission? The circumstance, and the account of it, are, on the principle of “pre-eminent dignity,” alike inexplicable.

‘It is also inexplicable on this same principle, that St. Paul, when writing to the Church at Rome, should never advert to the exclusive privilege, they possessed, in having for their bishop, the head-Apostle, the Vicegerent of Christ, and in the communication of supreme ecclesiastical power to the future bishop of their church in succession, and for ever! It is inexplicable, that St. Peter himself, when writing to the Churches two catholic or general epistles, should advance nothing that might lead them to acknowledge investiture with this authority. In the latter of these epistles, he informs the churches, that he was “shortly to put off his tabernacle,” and that he would “endeavour that after his decease, they might have these things in remembrance,” and yet he makes no reference to his successor in ecclesiastical supremacy! He calls himself with great humility an “elder,” and exhorts the elders of the Churches, to a diligent discharge of pastoral duties; but not the slightest allusion to his own pre-eminence, occurs in these apostolic charges.” p. 127—130.

We are unwilling to detach from this connexion, some passages which we should have been glad to copy for the perusal of our readers, lest we should do them injury: of this kind are the remarks on the invocation of Saints. We venture however to copy the following paragraph.

‘We never request an *unknown* fellow christian to pray for us; and it would never enter into the mind of a man to imagine, that *mental* desire, not expressed in language, or by intelligible signs, should be addressed to an *unknown* christian. As the object of mutual intercession is the promotion of mutual fellowship and mutual advantage, in one way or another, previous knowledge of one another is absolutely indispensable. But how can this mutual knowledge be possessed in the present case? How can I *know* any of the saints in heaven, or be assured, that they *know* me? I may indulge romantic conjectures and reveries; but what scriptural warrant have I for such conceptions? It is possible I may be known of them, but they have never been exhibited as objects of personal knowledge to me; and therefore it is the fiction of fancy and not the exercise of faith; that would lead me to address them.’ p. 224, 225.

Mr. Fletcher's work exhibits generally a scrupulous attention

to accuracy of statement ; it is however occasionally defective in this particular, as in the sentiment which occurs, p. 18 the determination of what was Apocryphal, and what might be entitled to Canonical authority, would invariably respect the proof of the document in question being the composition of an apostle ; a rule which certainly excludes the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles from canonical authority, as these books respectively, though included in the canon, were not the composition of an apostle. It is also incorrect to state, (p. 275.) ‘ that an apostolic assembly decreed the abolition of Jewish ceremonies.’ The Apostolic decree referred to, only prohibited the imposition of the Jewish ceremonies on the Gentile converts to Christianity. The quotation from *Paley*, p. 19, presents the very reverse of the Author’s meaning, in consequence of an erratum—*with*, instead of *without*.

The passages which we have cited from the “ *Lectures* ” render unnecessary any remarks which we might be prepared to offer on the style of the Author ; it will be appreciated by our readers as the proper kind of diction for sentiments of serious consideration and great moment. Having already expressed our opinion of Mr. Fletcher’s general merits as a writer, we shall close the present article with the following extract from the concluding lecture, on the Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.

‘ IV. *That the principles of the papal religion tend to cherish a spirit of intolerance and persecution.* The history of religious intolerance, could its progress be accurately traced, would exhibit a melancholy proof of human depravity. When that depravity appears in the secular transactions of life, we are not so much surprised or grieved at its awful developement ; but when the very religion of mortals, can blend itself with the darkest passions of our nature, and furnish the real, or the ostensible cause of malevolence, we feel an amazement and horror at the unnatural combination. When we inquire ; that any system of opinions, dignified by the name of religion, can admit into alliance with itself, an agency purely iniquitous and directed only to vengeance and extirpation ? The moral incongruity is still greater, when we contemplate the origin and progress of the Christian religion, out of which, it is pretended at least, every form and variety of the Christian religion have arisen. The records of Christianity exhibit a character and a model of transcendent benevolence in the life of our divine Redeemer ; and the truths he taught, the obligations he enjoined, and the prospects he unfolded to the mind and hope of his disciples, present the most powerful motives to the practical imitation of his example. One would have imagined that the most imperfect representation of such a religion would have preserved at least that one characteristic of its divine origin, *the spirit and the law of love !* It could not surely have been forgotten that this was referred to, by the great teacher sent from God, as the decisive test of resemblance to himself, and the most unequalled

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Art. V. *On the Rule of Faith:*
Minister of the Independen
Lectures on the Roman Cath
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Reply to Mr. Joseph Fletcher,
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Art. V. *On the Rule of Faith*: in Reply to Mr. Joseph Fletcher, Minister of the Independents at Blackburn, and Author of the *Lectures on the Roman Catholic Religion*. By Joseph Fairclough, pp. 51. Price 1s. 6d. Keating and Co. 1817.

AUDI alteram partem. Mr. Fairclough requests a hearing on behalf of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and by all means let us hear what he has to say. He commences his remarks on Mr. Fletcher's Lectures, by lamenting that though the dearest interests of mankind are involved in a proper investigation of religious truths, it seldom happens that an enquiry of this kind is either fairly or profitably conducted. Passion and prejudice instilled into the mind from early infancy, nourished and matured by educational habits, but too often warp the intellect, and prevent it from embracing obvious truths. There is, it must be confessed, much truth in this sentiment; but is the process of free inquiry a tenet of Roman Catholicism? It is the very basis of Protestantism, and in this respect, there is an essential difference between its professors, and the members of a Church whose whole proceedings are opposed to the discussion of religious tenets and customs. Without further enlargement on the topics suggested by Mr.

neglect? He could not but see that this misrepresentation originated in ignorance, and we therefore think that every reader will expect from him the glow of shame and self-reproach, as an exemplification of the '*erubescere*' in his motto.

The assertions in this pamphlet are hardy in the extreme: it is really surprising that any man should risk his reputation by exposing himself so openly to detection as does the present Author. Here are specimens of his bold assertions.

'Jesus Christ neither wrote himself, nor commanded his Apostles to write after his ascension.' p. 5.

"Write," said Jesus Christ to the Apostle John at Patmos, after his ascension, "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter."

'St. Clement, and St. Polycarp, who had both been instructed by the Apostles, constantly admonished the faithful to *listen* to their pastors. Where will Mr. Fletcher discover in their writings and exhortations to their converts, to apply to Scripture, in order to find a rule of faith which they themselves had never learned?'

Clement and Polycarp both refer the readers of their epistles to the Scriptures, but they do not constantly admonish the faithful to *listen* to their pastors. On this subject they do not contain a single word, for though they both speak of the Christians of their time as submitting themselves to the Presbyter of their own communities, they never admonish them to *listen* to traditionary instructions. Mr. Fairclough, we presume, has read the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp; he has not therefore the plea of ignorance to urge for this misrepresentation of their contents. Were his statement however correct, it would be of no advantage to his cause; for it might well comport with the most perfect deference to Scripture, as the sole rule of faith, and with the absolute exclusion of tradition, as authoritative in religion, that the early Christians were exhorted by Clement and Polycarp to *listen* to their pastors; it being by no means an uncommon circumstance for Protestant writers, who exclude traditionary faith as a rule of conscience, to exhort their readers to listen to their pastors.

Who can peruse without a smile the following charge and query urged with so much gravity by the Author?

'Mr. Fletcher is determined to support his system even at the expence of his own principles. He is not content with the private discovery of his rule of faith in Scripture, but he wishes that other people should understand the texts, which he brings forward to prove his system, in the same sense which he is pleased to confer upon them. How can he reconcile this with his principle of private judgment, and private examination?' p. 7.

The practice and the principle are in strict accordance, and Mr. Fairclough's query can be provided with a very satisfactory answer in few words. No principle of private judgement or private examination is violated by a statement of our opinions, and the exhibition of the best reasons which we can adduce in their support, addressed to the consideration of rational creatures, with whom it entirely remains, as an admitted and sacred right, to investigate their truth, and to receive or reject them as they themselves may freely determine.

Mr. Fairclough has an admirable method of determining the spuriousness or genuineness of a written document. 'Mr. Fletcher,' he says, 'ought to have known that St. Chrysostom had already composed one treatise on St. Matthew; there was therefore, no necessity for his composing a second.' Excellent! Dr. Barrow wrote one exposition on the creed; there was therefore no necessity for his composing another;—therefore, the larger exposition is not the genuine production of the Dr.'s pen!—which is proof irresistible of its spuriousness! Mr. Fairclough, we think, might have found something better than this to allege against the *opus imperfectum* ascribed to Chrysostom. In the 14th and 15th pages, we have some supposed scriptural proofs of the Author's allegation, that the Romish Church is in possession of tradition as a rule of faith; 'testimonies which even Mr. Fletcher cannot but acknowledge.' Here they are:

'St. Paul writing to his favourite disciple Timothy, admonishes him thus, "Hold the form of sound words which thou hast heard from me;"—"preserve this valuable deposit by the assistance of the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us." 2 Epis. c. 1—"Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus; and the things which thou hast heard from me before many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also." Idem. c. 2.

Admirable testimonies! The things which Timothy had heard from Paul, are as remote from Mr. Fairclough's knowledge, and as much unknown to the Romish Hierarchy, as are the first words which Eve addressed to Adam. The passages which he has cited, certainly prove that Timothy had received instructions from the Apostle Paul. Mr. Fairclough, however, must reckon on a large share of credulity in his readers, in presuming to allege these passages as 'testimonies' to the existing traditions of his Church as a rule of faith. So much for the testimonies; now for argument.

* We may rationally suppose, that Jesus Christ when he performed these miracles, mentioned by St. John, took the opportunity of delivering some instructions relative to faith and morals, since we know that it was his regular custom, upon almost every occasion;

when he wrought the miracles which are recorded in Scripture. St. John, who certainly wrote the last of the divinely inspired writers, says in his second and third Epistles, "having more things to write unto you, I would not by paper and ink;" hence we may, I think, fairly infer that many things were delivered by the Apostles, by word of mouth to their disciples, and by them to the universal church, without ever having been written." p. 15.

Mr. Fairclough excels as a dialectician: 'We may rationally 'suppose'—'We may, I think, fairly infer,'—are master specimens of his art. Ask your opponent for proof positive, and then refute him by supposition! The Apostle John, anticipating an early interview with his friend Gaius, reserves himself for the occasion, and therefore writes the more briefly: and what has this to do with proving the necessity of tradition as a rule of faith in the Church of Rome? Can Mr. Fairclough furnish us with the communications which the Apostle John made *vis à vis* to his friend Gaius? We may, we think, 'fairly infer,' that he is profoundly ignorant of them.

Mr. Fairclough is quite an adept in the art of obtaining scriptural testimony and support to his propositions, be they what they may. The original import of the words which he cites, he does not care to ascertain, and he is equally indifferent to the limitations which bound their meaning and application. They are words of Scripture, and that is enough for him. They must bear the sense which he is pleased to give them, and must bend as his plastic hand shall mould them. See how skilful is his management.

'Catholics, in admitting Scripture and tradition, receive them from their pastors; interpreted according to the sense in which the universal church understands them. They well know that, in embracing this rule, they cannot err, since Christ has promised to remain with his church till the end of time, and says to her, "he that hears you, hears me; and he that despises you, despises me." p. 42:

These words were spoken by our Lord to the seventy disciples, in reference to the ministry which he appointed them to discharge; it is therefore a gross perversion of them to connect them, as the Author does, with either the church or the pastors of the church, as interpreters of Scripture and tradition. Jesus Christ, in connecting a result so important with the ministry of the seventy, furnished them with the means of asserting their claims, as his authoritative messengers and servants, in the miraculous powers which he conferred upon them; and when the priests of the Church of Rome prove to us, in the same way, that Christ is with them, they will effectually command our assent to their doctrine.

Mr. Fletcher had remarked, that in the writings of the primitive Fathers, not a single passage can be found on the sacrifice

of the mass for the souls in purgatory, incense, chrism, holy water, wax lights, splendid garments, &c. &c ; and that in the New Testament there is not the shadow of allusion to such things as these observances, which are in the Romish Church supported by the authority of Apostolic traditions. To this Mr. Fairclough replies,

‘The Liturgy, or public form of worship, which St. Justin describes as in common use among the Christians of his day, bears an exact resemblance to the magnificent liturgy seen by St. John in heaven. The Apostle gives us a lively representation of the peculiar and splendid garments of the ministers, and the rich ornamented apparatus round the throne of the Lamb. Will Mr. Fletcher say that here is not the shadow of allusion to the mode in which the sacrifice of the mass is now performed?’ p. 30.

So much for the allusions in the New Testament. Your inquiry is directed to the forms and practice of Christian worship on earth, and the figurative representations of the Apocalypse, which refer to the heavenly state, are adduced for your conviction ! Now for the primitive Fathers.

‘There is not,’ says Mr. Fletcher, ‘a single passage in the Fathers, which mentions the sacrifice of the mass for the souls in purgatory.’ When Mr. Fletcher made this assertion, he must, I think, have presumed a little, either on the credulity or the ignorance of his readers. He may find in Tertullian mention made of the anniversary sacrifice of the mass for the souls of the departed.

‘The Father’s own words will, perhaps, not be unacceptable ; “*Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur, caro ungitur ut anima consecretur, caro signatur ut anima muniatur, caro manus impositione adumbratur ut et anima Spiritu Dei illuminetur, caro corpore and (et) sanguine Christi vescitur ut et anima de Deo saginetur.* The body is washed, that the soul may be cleansed ? the body is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated ; the body is signed with the sign of the cross, that the soul may be fortified ; the body is overspread by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated by the spirit of God : the flesh partakes of the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be filled with God. Lib. de resurrectione, c. 8.’ p. 33.

Whether the charge of ‘presuming a little on the credulity, or the ignorance of his readers,’ be just in its imputation to Mr. Fletcher, or to his opponent, will, we apprehend, be settled without much difficulty or hesitation by a sober reader. Is there a single syllable in the quotation from Tertullian, which speaks of ‘the souls in purgatory ?’ Mr. Fairclough betrays his own conviction that it is entirely silent on this point ; for though he pledges himself to the proof of it, he feels himself over-ruled by the words of the Father, and substitutes—‘the souls of the departed,’ the terms in his conclusion for—‘the souls in purgatory,’ which are those of the proposition he engages to demonstrate by

his citation. The passage in Tertullian is just as decisive a proof of the antiquity of Thomas á Becket's shrine, as it is of 'the sacrifice of the mass for the souls in purgatory;' and till Mr. Fairclough can dig out of Tertullian some passage that shall be more to his purpose, he must stand humbled in the view of all impartial men.

In the next page (31) Mr. Fairclough states, that 'St Justin was contemporary with the Apostles themselves' He can perhaps explain in what sense a man can be contemporary with persons who were all dead before the date of his own birth.

"It is to be observed," says Mr. Fletcher, "That many traditions of the Church of Rome are directly contrary to the declaration of the sacred volume. What can be more explicit than the prohibition of images in religious worship, and yet, in opposition to the divine law, the Church of Rome has declared that the use of them is supported by tradition, and that 'whoever condemns them is accursed.'" (page 85.) But let me ask Mr. Fletcher, is not the prohibition, "thou shalt not kill," equally explicit? Yet I suppose he will not condemn every magistrate, as guilty of a breach of the fifth commandment, when he is under the necessity of sentencing criminals to be punished by death." p. 35.

We have here another specimen of Mr. Fairclough's skill in argument, or rather of the manner in which he can substitute sophistry in the place of reasoning. The prohibition לא תרצח is, in English, "Thou shalt do no murder;" which as completely saves Mr. Fletcher's consistency, as it demonstrates the flimsy texture of his opponent's sophism.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets, which Mr. Fairclough intends publishing in reply to the Author of the "Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion." His objects are to prove the insufficiency of Scripture as the rule of faith; and to establish the doctrine of the Romish Church, that Scripture and Tradition constitute the proper rule. These, he imagines, he has effected in the present publication, and in the next we are to witness his achievement in determining the question—To whom belongs the exclusive right of judging in matters of religion? Whether Mr. Fletcher will notice this reply, is unknown to us. The principal point in dispute is not, however, fully disclosed in the pages of Mr. Fairclough's present pamphlet; for though the rule of faith assumed by Protestants on the one hand, and the professors of the Roman Catholic religion on the other, are different, it is the power challenged by the latter of authoritatively pronouncing on the question, and of defining and bounding the principles of religious faith, that constitutes the essential difference between the advocates of the Romish hierarchy and the supporters of religious liberty. Is religion a concern of exclusive individual obligation, or are any persons vested with au-

thority to dictate its principles and its duties? That is the hinge of the whole controversy between the professors of Roman Catholicism and Protestants.

Now it is indisputably the pretension of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, that to their Church belong an exclusive authority and power of dictating religion to the consciences of mankind; that it behoves them to receive the doctrines and customs which this Church shall prescribe; the whole human race therefore have a demand made upon them for the perfect surrender of their consciences to the laws of this Church. With whom then is this power lodged, which is so imperious and absolute? What is this Church, and on what ground does its high authority rest? Both these questions must be answered. We must know the party which requires such a surrender to its dictates; and we must know the reasons on which it grounds such powers. The Romish Church comprises numerous persons who officiate in the services of its altars, and others who attend their ministrations. When the Church is spoken of in the writings and discourses of Roman Catholic professors, are both these classes of persons included in the definition, or only one of them? If the class by which the ministrations of their altars are not conducted, be excluded from the definition, for what reason are they so excluded? If the class to which the 'name,' 'the clergy,' is appropriated, constitute the Church, in what manner do they obtain their admission as members; and is it only when they are assembled together in their collective capacity that they constitute the Church? If the Church be otherwise constituted, who are the persons essential to its formation? These are the essentials of the inquiry, which can only be satisfied by a clear exposition of the several points which it includes. We can assure ourselves most strongly, and most certainly, that wherever and whatsoever this Church may be, its existence and constitution would be explicitly described to us, if it were the will of God that we should submit to its authority. But is not the fact palpable, that the Church, the infallibility and authority of which are maintained by the Romanists, is a pure fiction? For when was the whole number of Christian professors ever assembled together; or when was the whole number of Christian pastors ever met in congregated form? Is it necessary to appeal to history for the proof of impossibilities? The only assemblies of the members of the Church, which even the Romanists themselves adduce, are the ecclesiastical councils; and the composition and proceedings of these bodies, the management by which they were convened, the arts by which their conduct was regulated, and the influence which controlled them, are so notorious, and form so strong a case, as invalidates every pretension of their sanctity and Christian authority. We require from Mr. Fairclough an expli-

cit definition of the term 'Church;' a clear intelligible description of the very persons who constitute the Church, and of the manner in which its members obtain admission. We require proof equally plain and definite, that to these very persons constituting the Church, if such persons can be described, a Divine promise has been given of exemption from errors in judgement and mistakes in practice. And we require the most positive proofs that such a promise has been fulfilled. We should then have the whole subject before us in a tangible form. Till this whole ease be conspicuously displayed, and every article of it be made intelligible in its definition and proof, we must treat the whole substance of Mr. Fairclough's pamphlet as an attempt to impose perfectly unmeaning terms upon the understandings of mankind, and to enslave their souls by the assertions of an alleged authority, which is a gross usurpation. The word Church, which is so much paraded in this pamphlet, is, as used by the Author and his associates, perfectly unmeaning. It is made to answer a notable purpose in their hands; but it denotes nothing real, nothing that has existence in any part of the world, or among any people.

Whatever may constitute the rule of faith, whatever may be Scripture, whatever may be tradition, wheresoever these may exist, we claim to be the judges of their pretensions and merits; the '*Church*' has no authority to determine the one or the other. In using the writings of antiquity in connexion with our theological inquiries, we attach not the shadow of infallibility to any of them, but consider simply their character as witnesses. These are considerations which have their foundation in truth, and they are amply sufficient to set aside all Mr. Fairclough's pretensions, as they contain arguments which, in their application to the topics of the sufficiency of Scripture, and the nature and use of tradition, demonstrate the inanity of his propositions, and sweep away the entire mass of his conclusions.

Art. V. *The Civil and Military History of Germany, from the Landing of Gustavus to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia.* By the late Francis Hare Naylor, Esq. In Two Vols. 30s. Murray, London, 1816.

(Concluded from Vol. VII. Page 545.)

THE Polish campaigns in which Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedes had been engaged previously to the more regular and momentous war in Germany, had been without doubt, of essential use in training up a school of accomplished officers, and suggesting a variety of important improvements in the distribution and discipline of the Swedish army. The Poles were principally horsemen, and their system of warfare was adapted to the irregularity of their troops. They had frequently exhausted both the patience and the vigour of the Swedes, by continual and desultory skirmishing; and sometimes

had borne them down by the weight and rapidity of a simultaneous attack. In opposition to this, Gustavus had been compelled to adopt a plan of movement and array, which, without departing too much from the strength and density of the old system, should enable him to encounter the lightly accoutred horsemen and the flying armies of the Poles, with manœuvres equally rapid, but with far more scientific combinations. He broke down the unwieldy masses of the old formation, took away part of the cumbrous harness of the individual soldier, and rendered the machinery of the whole more simple and manageable. He employed science instead of mechanism. He relied upon skill rather than on routine, and proved the superiority of elasticity and impetus over mere weight. In the conduct of his campaign, the superiority of his system was always conspicuous, and he was mainly indebted to it for his success in his various engagements. In the battle of Leipsic, he conquered Tilly by the force of his genius, as completely as the Swedes routed the Germans by their discipline and valour; but his disadvantages were so great, by the dispersion of the Saxon auxiliaries, that nothing could have saved him from ruin, but the rapid movements of his divisions, and the precision of their manœuvres. The passage of the Lech was another decisive test of the excellence of the system which he had invented, and could not probably have been effected upon any other plan. The action of Lutzen seems to have been less scientifically fought, than any of the preceding engagements. It was more of a *mêlée*, and was at last turned against Wallenstein, less by the skill and valour of Bernard of Saxe Weimar, than by the perfect frenzy of the Swedish soldiers at the loss of their idolized monarch.

Mr. Naylor seems to have been extremely reluctant to credit the charge which has frequently been urged against Gustavus, that he sought, under the brilliant semblance of vindicating the liberties of Germany, to fix the imperial crown upon his own head, as the chief of the Protestant league. We know not why the partisans of this great man should be peculiarly tenacious respecting this point. Even if it were undeniably established, it would detract but little from the character of the Swedish hero. If ever there was a legitimate object of ambition, surely this was one; and if as a result of the war, this event could have taken place, it might, at least in our opinion, have prevented the occurrence of many a conflict which has since disturbed the peace of Europe. But whether it affects the character of Gustavus favourably or injuriously, there are so many circumstances which combine to fix upon him the policy or the guilt of such a design, that we find it impossible to evade the force of their accumulated evidence. Schiller, always eloquent, is unusually energetic when he reaches this

point, and we are unable to comprehend on what grounds Mr. Naylor could resist his conclusions.

The intelligence of the death of Gustavus, was received at Vienna and Madrid with a perfect intoxication of delight; and shamelessly celebrated, says Bougeant, by *rejouissances presque publiques*. Austrian intrigue went instantly and actively to work. The chiefs of the Protestant States, were assailed by promises of the most seducing kind, and an attempt was made to corrupt even Oxenstiern, by the offer of a magnificent bribe. It is unnecessary to say more than that it was immediately rejected with the utmost scorn by the high-minded Swede, whose whole powers of intellect and determination were devoted to the accomplishment of the great work which his friend and master had so prosperously commenced. Notwithstanding the cabals and small policy of the German States, and the embarrassing pretensions and encroachments of Richelieu, Oxenstiern went steadily forward. He convened a congress at Heilbron; and in order to prevent the endless wranglings respecting precedence, with which the Germans were wont to preface the most serious business, he adopted the effectual remedy of not suffering chair, stool, or bench, to be brought into the apartment. From such an assembly as this, little good was to be expected. The poor and venal princes of Germany swarmed round Feuquieres, the French ambassador, as their descendants have since assailed the envoys of England, clamouring for subsidies, and which the more dexterous Gallic diplomatist satisfied himself with paying either in promises or in evasions. One object, however, was gained; the convention decreed the continuation of the war, a sure proof of the poverty of Austria; for had the Emperor been able to bribe sufficiently high, the Swedes would most assuredly have been left without an effective ally. A mutiny of the Swedish army was quelled by the popularity of Duke Bernard, of Saxe Weimar; and under his command and that of the Swedish generals Banier and Horn, the campaign proceeded with activity and success.

But the most important and influential series of events in the history of these times, is to be traced throughout the conduct of Wallenstein, in such a complication of subtlety and imbecility, hesitation and enterprise, incautious frankness and disgusting treachery, as can scarcely be paralleled. The infirmities of this extraordinary man, seem to have completely neutralized his talents. He was addicted to astrology to an excess that perfectly blinded his understanding. His astrologer Seni was his infallible counsellor, and his deep designs were undertaken or abandoned, prosecuted or interrupted, at the mandate of a miserable star-gazer. Fully aware that Wallenstein was engaged in traitorous correspondence with the

Swedes and Saxons, the Court of Vienna engaged him with his own weapons, and fully proved its superiority in treachery and intrigue, though his schemes were so cautiously planned, as to require the violation of a confessor's oath of secrecy, before they could be detected. Instead of those open and legitimate measures of proscription, which a generous and enlightened policy would have suggested, the Austrian cabinet determined on assassination, and employed, for that detestable purpose, the arm of foreigners, and who, with great regret we are compelled to say, were our own countrymen, one Scotch, and two Irish officers in the army, and in the high favour of Wallenstein. On the 15th of February, 1647, they effected their object, by a massacre, after a fierce struggle, of Wallenstein's principal officers and confidants, and immediately proceeded to complete their work by destroying the chief conspirator.

‘ Upon knocking rudely at the gate, Devoreux was admonished, by a page in waiting, to beware of disturbing the duke, who had just retired to his bed-chamber. “ Friend,” said Devoreux fiercely, “ this is no time for repose,” and he rushed into the house with his followers. The door of Wallenstein's apartment being locked, the leader of the banditti asked for the key, which not being brought, he attempted to burst it open. The duke, upon hearing the report of a musket, fired accidentally by one of the soldiers, ran to the window to call the guard, when his ears were assailed with shrieks and lamentations. They were the cries of conjugal affection, uttered by the wives of the slaughtered generals, imploring vengeance upon their base assassins. The height of the window rendering it impossible to escape, he called aloud for assistance: the massive door, which had hitherto resisted the efforts of its numerous assailants, at length gave way, and a host of ruffians, armed with swords and halberts, burst impetuously into the chamber. The duke was alone, and standing near a table in his night-gown. It is a singular circumstance, that there was neither sword nor pistol in the room; and, what is still more extraordinary, the door was not defended by a single centinel, though he was usually guarded by an hundred soldiers. “ This,” says Harte, “ looks as if he was not conscious of any design against his life.” But does it not rather afford a strong presumption, that his attendants were implicated in the plot, and had purposely left him destitute of defence? It is clear, however, that he did not entertain the smallest mistrust, or he would otherwise have been surrounded by Tersky's horse, who were blindly devoted to his service.

‘ “ Art thou the traitor,” asked Devoreux sternly, “ who art preparing to join the enemies of thy country, and to dethrone our beloved sovereign?” The pride of Wallenstein disdained a reply. Upon being told that a few short moments would be granted him for prayer, he uncovered his bosom, stretched forth his arms in dignified silence, and receiving the partisan of Devoreux in his heart, expired without uttering a single groan, or even betraying the slightest emotion.’ Vol. II. pp. 105—106.

The command of the Austrian army was conferred upon a prince of the Imperial family, aided by Gallas and Piccolomini; and after various vicissitudes and manœuvres, it encountered the inferior army of the Swedes at Nordlingen. Had the Swedes been commanded by Gustavus Horn, or had his counsels been regarded by Duke Bernard, the result might have been reversed or mitigated; but the consequences were most disastrous to the Swedes, whose army was defeated *a plate majeure*, the veteran infantry of Sweden almost annihilated, and one of her most accomplished generals, Horn, taken prisoner. Oxenstiern remained firm, undismayed by the ruin which seemed accumulating around him. He collected the troops, procured money from France, and made head against the Austrians in every quarter. Even when deserted by Saxony, and by nearly the whole of the Protestant league, he 'still bore up and steered right onward,' till he had consummated his work. The Saxons were defeated by Banier, who maintained the disproportioned conflict with unrivalled skill. A second time this great general defeated the Saxo-Austrian army, at Wistock, with immense loss to his antagonists, and doing injury to his own troops. On the 15th of February, 1636, Ferdinand the Second died, in his fifty-ninth year, and his sceptre and his name, with some portion of his character, descended to his son. Of the deceased monarch Mr. Naylor marks, that

'The erroneous system pursued in his education, imprinted on his mind a propensity towards bigotry, which decided his character for a rough life, and led him to confound the duties of a monk with those of a sovereign. Thus his piety assumed the gloomy hue of superstition, and induced him to persecute with inquisitorial severity who questioned the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, or preferred the evangelical simplicity of the primitive church, to the idolatrous pomp of the Vatican. A slave to the vindictive passions of the suits, and adopting their interests as those of the Almighty, he believed himself acting conformably to the divine command, while he kindled a war the most disastrous of any that ever desolated Europe, and rendered himself the scourge of mankind.'

Vol. II. p. 263.

His death produced little change either in the general aspect or the particular conduct of affairs. Ferdinand the Third pursued his father's measures, but his character was of a less vigorous cast; he was more 'infirm of purpose,' and his determinations were more influenced by external circumstances. The war continued, the exploits of Banier and of Saxe Weimar, multiplied the adventurous achievements of the heroes of romance; but on the 18th of June, 1639, the latter, in the full career of victory, fell a premature victim either to poison or a

putrid fever. The campaigns of 1637, and 8, had been destructive to the Austrian armies opposed to Banier, and in 1639, he defeated them completely near Chemnitz, in Saxony, burst into Bohemia, and appeared before Prague, where he again routed the Imperialists under a new general, who was taken prisoner. The conduct of Banier in Bohemia, has deeply sullied the brightness of his fame. So atrocious was the licence in which he indulged his soldiers, that Mr. N. supposes that some unrecorded circumstance must have occurred to 'inflame his indignation to the highest pitch.' The successes of the Swedish army roused the Emperor to unwonted exertion, and strong armies under able commanders began to press upon the thinned and exhausted divisions of Banier.

'Such was the situation of the Swedish army at the conclusion of the campaign of 1639; that of the ensuing year did not open with much better prospects. But it was amid the storms and convulsions of an agitated world, that Banier's abilities shone forth in all their natural lustre. Surrounded on every side by powerful armies, if he attempted to advance, he had to contend against the aggregate strength of Austria, marshalled under her ablest commanders; and, if he wished to retreat, all Saxony and Prussia were assembled in his rear, animated by every feeling that can inspire resolution, the love of independence, the thirst of glory, and the insatiate desire of revenge. In this desperate crisis he contrived to reach a favourite position near Melnik, where he hoped to remain till the arrival of Konigsmark, who was hastening with considerable reinforcements from Westphalia.

'Konigsmark was an officer of the highest promise, and had been greatly distinguished at the head of the Westphalian army. Popularity of manners combined with intrepid courage, had attracted the love and admiration of the soldiers, who were ready to follow him through every danger. Notwithstanding the comparative weakness of his force, his march through Franconia and Thuringia was signalized by a rapid succession of triumphs; so that, in spite of all the obstacles which he had to contend with, he arrived safely on the confines of Bohemia.' Vol. II. pp. 324—325.

In 1641, Banier died, and was succeeded in his command by Tostenson, perhaps the ablest officer in the school of Gustavus. Tortured and rendered helpless by gout, the activity of his mind supplied his bodily incapacity. He advanced from victory to victory, ruined the army of Gallas, defeated the Austrians at Leipsic and Yankowitz, and threatened Vienna itself. Soon after this he resigned the command. The succeeding campaigns were admirably conducted by Wrangel and Konigsmark, and the surprise of Prague by the latter officer, had a strong influence in determining Austria to agree to the treaty of Westphalia. In this sketch of the Swedish campaigns, we have not thought it necessary to advert to the

eries of operations which were carried on under the auspices of France in the countries adjacent to the Upper Rhine. These are much more generally known, and the names of Turenne, Condé, Guébriant, are familiar to an English ear.

It has rarely happened that two such men as Oxenstiern and Richelieu, have appeared on the political arena together; and it has occurred yet more rarely, that such men have been induced to make common cause against an individual enemy, and it was calamitous to Austria that they were united against the Imperial policy. It was however fortunate for Germany, and the result was a gigantic stride towards the liberation of Europe from the thralldom of tyranny and bigotry. As a specimen of Mr. Naylor's talent in the delineation of character, we shall subjoin his estimate of Richelieu. It is perhaps sufficiently just on the whole, but it is very deficient in those finer touches on which the effect of literary portraits essentially depends.

‘ In order justly to appreciate the abilities of Richelieu, we ought to compare the situation of France when he was first entrusted with the direction of affairs, with that in which he left it at his death. He found the kingdom distracted by domestic dissensions, and the royal prerogative curtailed and fettered by the turbulent ambition of a haughty aristocracy. Before he quitted the world, he had tripped the nobility of all those dangerous privileges, which are incompatible with the good of society; and which, though frequently exercised for their private aggrandisement, were hardly ever employed for the benefit of the people. Till the cardinal was invested with absolute authority—and authority more absolute was never trusted to the hands of a subject—Europe had been accustomed to contemplate, with hopeless dismay, the overwhelming power of Austria, sweeping progressively away every feeble barrier that checked for a moment her ambitious career; but, while he ruled in the name of a contemptible bigot, he not only raised an insurmountable barrier against her future encroachments, but laid the foundations of that extensive glory, to which his country attained during the following reign. Assuming success as the criterion of merit, and, when a proper field is opened for the display of genius it may fairly be taken as such, Richelieu unquestionably deserves an eminent station among the most illustrious statesmen, who ever excited the applause or the execration of mankind.

‘ Such are the rude outlines of the character of a minister, whose vigorous counsels gave strength and stability to a government, which civil dissensions and a disputed succession had rendered the seat of anarchy and confusion. The portrait of Richelieu, like every figure of colossal proportions, appears to greatest advantage when viewed at a distance; but, when minutely inspected, presents to the eye of the judicious critic many striking defects. The same haughty spirit, which, invested with the splendid form of ambition, impelled him to undertake the humiliation of Austria, when influencing his actions,

in private life, assumed the less dignified character of vanity. Not content with excelling the greater part of his contemporaries in valour, and wisdom, and enterprise, he had the weakness to aspire to equal celebrity for his skill in managing a horse, or turning an epigram; though, in all probability, he was much inferior in horsemanship to a common dragoon, and was indebted for the praises bestowed on his literary productions, to the borrowed pen of a poetical flatterer.' Vol. II. pp. 479—480.

At length, all parties were exhausted by this long and ruinous contest, and entered in good faith on the work of pacification. We have not thought it expedient, in this rapid statement, to notice the various diplomatic manœuvres resorted to by the different cabinets; they were too numerous and too complicated for brief detail, and too obviously faithless to have any influence upon military arrangements. But in 1645, on the 10th of April, the Congresses of Westphalia were opened; on the first of June, the *projets* of the respective courts were tendered; and on the 19th of November, 1645, 'they began,' in the words of Putter, "to act with vigour." The negotiations were conducted under the mediation of the Pope and the Venetians; and in consequence of the difficulties occasioned by this, and other circumstances, were carried on simultaneously at two different places, Munster, and Osnabruck. At the latter town, the most important of these negotiations, was in discussion between the Swedes and the Protestant States on the one side, and the Emperor on the other, while the transactions at Munster principally regarded France and Austria. The particulars of this important treaty, which was afterwards registered among the fundamental laws of the Empire, would afford little satisfaction to our readers in any abstract which we might be able to give. It may suffice to remark, that beside the usual scramble for indemnifications and cessions of territory, the rights and liberties of conscience were not disregarded, and if they were not recognised and established on that large and liberal ground which they claim on the broad principles of equity and reason, they were at least settled on a foundation more solid and secure than had ever been sanctioned before. In fact, the treaty of Westphalia materially changed the constitutions of the Empire. It finally settled the question respecting the degree of power vested in the Emperor, and the relation in which the German princes stood towards him as their federal head. It moreover regulated, in many important particulars, the system of government in the inferior states. A considerable alteration was introduced into the general habits of living, by the circumstances of the times; and in order to illustrate the manners of a former age, we shall here introduce an extract from a

very able writer, to whom Mr. Naylor has had frequent recourse.

‘ A comparison of the times previous and subsequent to the peace of Westphalia, may afford us instructive information, how much not only the style of living, but the manners and way of thinking at our German courts, are changed. A steward in the service of one of our Dukes, wrote once in his diary—‘ To day our Duke went with all his young nobles to a tavern, and feasted there the whole day long, for which I had to pay eight dollars (*Dat het Schlampampen*)—There’s living for you!’ Another Duke sent his son to travel, and wrote a letter by him to an Elector, ‘ Now that our son is grown up, and rather an awkward lad, we have thought it necessary to send him abroad, and particularly to your highness’s court, that he may learn good manners; we have provided him likewise with a servant to travel with him.’ The Landgrave Philip, of Hesse Rheinfels, who was born in the year 1541, and died in 1583, at a time when he expected some princes of the Palatine House to visit him, heard that a private man had got some fine large turkeys. That he might treat the Counts Palatine handsomely, he ordered the man to bring him one or two of them for a proper price, which the steward of his household should pay immediately. This Landgrave Philip likewise sent his brother William the Fourth, Landgrave of Hesse Cassell, on the 14th of March, 1575, a long letter, with a lively description of the decline among the Princes, which he said he dreaded would be the consequence of the great increase of expences, which were even then complained of. Among other things, says he, ‘ Your father, Philip the magnanimous, notwithstanding he was in possession of the whole country, which is now divided into four parts, and had the management of all the concerns of the Schmalcaldic League, had only one chancellor, a doctor, and a secretary. *The first of these served him twenty years for eighty florins, the second for fifty, and the third without any salary at all.* Now every one of you have more doctors, secretaries, and clerks, for yourselves, and at very high salaries; besides this, each of you has such a number of huntsmen, cooks, and other servants, that there is a huntsman for every hill, a cook for every pot, and a butler to every cask. Then comes your itch for play, gadding about to dances, and visiting foreign Princes, which, says he, is the only way to drain your purses.’ He complains too of the Italian luxury in dress, which was the fashion then, such as wearing velvet and silk, and decorating the horses with feathers and velvet cloths,—just as if we were Italian civet cats, which does not suit this country at all. Italian and German luxuries don’t agree. The Italians are stately in their dress, but they eat the worse for it, and are sparing in their tables. A dish, consisting of a few eggs and a salad, is enough for them; but Germans must have good eating and their bellies full.’—Pütter’s *Historical Developement of the Constitution of the Germanic Empire*, by Dornford.—Vol. II. p. 197.

The same Author has elucidated the conduct and consequences of the treaty of Westphalia, with considerable ability;

and some important documents and illustrations relating to the same event may be found in Heiss—*Histoire de l'Empire*.

It is to be regretted that there is not, in these volumes, a more frequent insertion of dates. The errors of press are numerous, and not unfrequently injurious to the meaning.

Art. VI. *Manfred; a Dramatic Poem.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 80. Price 5s. 6d. Murray. London. 1817.

WE have taken some pains to point out what we conceive to be the peculiarities of Lord Byron's genius, and to enable our readers to form a discriminating judgement of his productions. If we have at all succeeded in the attempt, they will not, we think, be wholly unprepared to find in the present production a verification of our remark, that the noble Author does not possess the power of embodying in poetry a purely dramatic conception; that he is not capable of that effort of abstraction which is requisite to the imagining and delineating of an individualized portion of our common nature, distinct and different in character from himself. They will not expect, therefore, to discover in *Manfred* a being of any other species or genus than that to which the Childe, the Giaour, Conrad; and Alp, may be referred. They will anticipate alike the hero and the object of the present tale, and will feel assured, that this dramatic poem has very little more of the drama about it, than the mere form of dialogue.

Lord Byron has made a mistake, which, in the case of a poet of inferior genius, would be fatal. This perpetual sameness of sentiment would be insupportably wearisome, were it not for the exquisite and exhaustless beauties of expression by which it is enlivened. There is absolutely nothing of novelty in this poem, except the mysticism and the immaterial machinery; and the latter, although invested with all the charms of song, is of too flimsy and shadowy a nature to interest. The drama is without plot and without purpose; *Manfred* is one of those unintelligible and impossible beings which we meet with only in the regions of sentimental romance; a most interesting and amiable wicked rascal, who glories in not having been the dupe of demons, but claims to be his own destroyer. He is '*a magian*,' and deals in spells and adjurations, professes to have 'no sympathy with breathing flesh,' and breathing flesh can therefore have little sympathy with him. He holds converse with destinies, and elements, and witches; is addicted to study, and penance, and solitary vigils; is an astrologer; and quotes Roman history and the Apocalypse. His crimes and his miseries are alike ineffable, and only to be guessed at from the character of his despair. He is, in fact, a very terrible-looking personage, but harmless withal. 'Had he been one of us,' says one of the demons,

' he would have made
An awful spirit.'

to the other human *dramatis personæ*, *Messieurs* the nois Hunter, the abbot of St. Maurice, Manuel and Herman, have no pretensions to character, or poetical existence. The part they perform is scarcely more important than that assigned to the all-potent and mysterious Arimanes, which consists in following imperial-decree.

‘ *Nemesis*. Great Arimanes, doth thy will avouch
The wishes of this mortal?

Arimanes. YEA!!’

So wholly destitute as the poem is of dramatic merit, our readers may not however imagine that it bears no marks of the master-hand of the poet. Criticism would be thrown away on the present poem taken as a whole, but there are passages of considerable beauty. Take for example three of the songs of the spirits of earth and air, whom Manfred summons to appear before him.

‘ *Voice of the SECOND SPIRIT*,

‘ Mont Blanc is the monarch of mountains,

They crowned him long ago

On a throne of rocks, in a robe of clouds,

With a diadem of snow.

Around his waist are forests braced,

The Avalanche in his hand;

But ere it fall, that thundering ball

Must pause for my command.

The Glacier’s cold and restless mass

Moves onward day by day;

But I am he who bids it pass,

Or with its ice delay.

I am the spirit of the place,

Could make the mountain bow

And quiver to his cavern’d base—

And what with me would’st *Thou*?

‘ *Voice of the THIRD SPIRIT*.

‘ In the blue depth of the waters,

Where the wave hath no strife,

Where the wind is a stranger,

And the sea-snake hath life,

Where the Mermaid is decking

Her green hair with shells;

Like the storm on the surface

Came the sound of thy spells;

O’er my calm Hall of Coral

The deep echo roll’d—

To the Spirit of Ocean

Thy wishes unfold!

‘ *FOURTH SPIRIT*.

‘ Where the slumbering earthquake

Lies pillow’d on fire,

And the lakes of bitumen
 Rise boilingly higher;
 Where the roots of the Andes
 Strike deep in the earth,
 As their summits to heaven,
 Shoot soaringly forth;
 I have quitted my birth-place,
 Thy bidding to bide—
 Thy spell hath subdued me,
 Thy will be my guide!" pp. 10—12.

The reader will be surprised at the introduction in this scene, of 'the Incantation' printed with "the Prisoners of Chillon," the more so, as it will puzzle him to discover who is the performer of the Curse, as well as who is its subject, and for what purpose his Lordship has chosen to insert it in this place. The following soliloquy is one of the best passages in the poem.

'The stars are forth, the moon above the tops
 Of the snow-shining mountains.—Beautiful!
 I linger yet with Nature, for the night
 Hath been to me a more familiar face
 Than that of man; and in her starry shade
 Of dim and solitary loveliness,
 I learn'd the language of another world.
 I do remember me, that in my youth,
 When I was wandering,—upon such a night
 I stood within the Colosseum's wall,
 'Midst the chief relics of almighty Rome;
 The trees which grew along the broken arches
 Waved dark in the blue midnight; and the stars
 Shone through the rents of ruin; from afar
 The watchdog bayed beyond the Tiber; and
 More near from out the Cæsars' palace came
 The owl's long cry, and, interruptedly,
 Of distant sentinels the fitful song
 Begun and died upon the gentle wind.
 Some cypresses beyond the time-worn breach
 Appeared to skirt the horizon, yet they stood
 Within a bow-shot—where the Cæsars dwelt;
 And dwell the tuneless birds of night amidst
 A grove which springs through levell'd battlements,
 And twines its roots with the imperial hearths,
 Ivy usurps the laurel's place of growth;—
 But the gladiators' bloody Circus stands,
 A noble wreck in ruinous perfection!
 While Cæsar's chambers, and the Augustan hall,
 Grovel on earth in indistinct decay.—
 And thou didst shine, thou rolling moon, upon
 All this, and cast a wide and tender light,
 Which softened down the hoar austerity

Of rugged desolation, and filled up,
As 'twere, anew, the gaps of centuries;
Leaving that beautiful which still was so,
And making that which was not, till the place
Became religion, and the heart ran o'er
With silent worship of the great of old!—
The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.— pp. 68, 69.

Manfred, like Alp, is warned by a phantom, of his dissolution on the morrow; and is accordingly prepared for the demons punctually wait upon him, to claim their right and title in him as their subject. He denies, however, their power to constrain him, and begs leave to 'die alone.' The spirit who makes his appearance, finding him contumacious, calls in attendant brethren, but Manfred still sets them at defiance; the infernal messenger begins to hold parley with him in following style.

‘ SPIRIT.

‘ Reluctant mortal!

Is this the Magian who would so pervade
The world invisible, and make himself
Almost our equal?—Can it be that thou
Art thus in love with life? the very life
Which made thee wretched!

MAN.

Thou false fiend, thou liest!

My life is in its last hour,—*that* I know,
Nor would redeem a moment of that hour;
I do not combat against death, but thee
And thy surrounding angels; my past power
Was purchased by no compact with thy crew,
But by superior science—penance—daring—
And length of watching—strength of mind and skill
In knowledge of our fathers—when the earth
Saw men and spirits walking side by side,
And gave ye no supremacy: I stand
Upon my strength—I do defy—deny—
Spurn back, and scorn ye!

SPIRIT.

But thy many crimes

Have made thee——

MAN.

What are they to such as thee?

Must crimes be punished but by other crimes,
And greater criminals?—Back to thy hell!
Thou hast no power upon me, *that* I feel;
Thou never shalt possess me, *that* I know:
What I have done is done; I bear within
A torture which could nothing gain from thine:
The mind which is immortal makes itself
Requital for its good or evil thoughts—
Is its own origin of ill and end—
And its own place and time—its innate sense,
When stripp'd of this mortality, derives

Manfred; a Poem.

No colour from the fleeting things without;
 But is absorb'd in sufferance and in joy,
 Born from the knowledge of his own desert.
 Thou didst not tempt me, and thou couldst not tempt me:
 I have not been thy dupe nor am thy prey—
 But was my own destroyer, and will be
 My own hereafter.—Back, ye baffled fiends!
 The hand of death is on me—but not yours!

[*The Demons disappear.*

ABBOT. Alas! how pale thou art—thy lips are white—
 And thy breast heaves—and in thy gasping throat
 The accents rattle—Give thy prayers to heaven—
 Pray—albeit but in thought,—but die not thus.

MAN. 'Tis over—my dull eyes can fix thee not;
 But all things swim around me, and the earth
 Heaves as it were beneath me. Fare thee well—
 Give me thy hand.

[*MANFRED expires.*

ABBOT. Cold—cold—even to the heart—
 But yet one prayer—alas! how fares it with thee?—
 He's gone—his soul hath ta'en its earthless flight—
 Whither? I dread to think—but he is gone.' pp 73—75

We acquit the noble Author of any design to burlesque the awful realities which he brings upon the scene; but, to make use of a very homely expression, the poet in these passages is playing with *edge tools*. Manfred tells the abbot, in another part,

'I shall not choose a mortal
 To be my mediator.'

Does this infer the Author's conviction of the necessity of a mediator not a mortal? We hope that it does: but these are not subjects for a dramatic poem. Upon the whole, this manuscript was scarcely worth being transmitted from the Continent: it will not raise Lord Byron's reputation.

Art. VII. *Pastoral Letters on Nonconformity.* Addressed to a young Member of a Society of Protestant Dissenters, 12mo. pp. xvi. 125. Price 3s. 6d. Black and Son, 1817.

THERE are two extremes against which it is equally necessary to guard in all matters of religious controversy, and especially in those to which these 'Pastoral Letters' refer. The one is, that '*esprit du corps*,' that vehemence of party spirit which magnifies the most trifling points of difference, into legitimate grounds of separation; the other is, that false candour, which would represent questions of vital importance, as doubtful or indifferent. Time was, when the danger lay almost exclusively on the side of the former of these extremes, and when good men, men of sound wisdom and exemplary

piety, were induced by various circumstances to place an undue stress on matters in themselves unimportant and trifling, contending either for or against them with all the zeal and earnestness that usually attach to polemical discussions. But in the present day, the danger lies, we apprehend, chiefly on the other side, since it is evident that questions so deeply interesting as those which relate to the order, the constitution, and the government of the Christian Church, are treated by many persons as matters of speculation on which it is of little importance to decide. The work before us, is admirably adapted, so far as it goes, to guard against both these extremes, and is therefore peculiarly fitted to the present state of the Christian Church. It breathes all that spirit of love and universal benevolence, by which the present period is happily distinguished; combined with that inflexible adherence to essential principles, which truth must ever demand.

A-disposition has lately prevailed, not only among members of the Establishment, but even among many who are accustomed to worship with Protestant Dissenters, to condemn altogether any discussion of these topics, in what spirit soever that discussion may be conducted, as uncalled for and highly injudicious in the present day. 'Is this a moment,' say they, 'in which to revive the controversy, when the best men on either side are in the frequent habit of meeting and co-operating together in support of religious institutions? Is it not most ill-judged at such an auspicious season to provoke hostilities, and induce alienation of mind among the most zealous defenders of our common faith? No: let us rather forget our little differences, intent upon prosecuting the great work in which we are unitedly engaged.'

We will yield to none in our attachment to peace and Christian union; yet we do conceive that even these blessings are too dearly purchased, if they are obtained by the unhallowed compromise or abandonment of any part of revealed truth. There are indeed times, and places, in which a strict neutrality should be kept, and in which it should be as slightly remembered as possible, that such distinctions exist as those of Churchman, and Dissenter. Whatever may be the violations of neutrality on the part of members of the Establishment, we should exceedingly regret that any case should occur, and we do not believe it has occurred, in which a Dissenter meeting with his brethren of the endowed sect, for a common purpose, and on neutral ground, should commence an assault by obtruding his peculiar tenets, or boasting of the greater purity and excellence of his mode of worship. But when each party retires to its own post, bearing, it may be hoped, some portion of that hallowed feeling which pervaded the assembly, the

moment, so far from being unfavourable, seems best fitted for the calm and impartial investigation not only of the points on which they are agreed, but of those also on which they differ. So far from feeling an objection, in the present state of the Christian Church throughout our land, to publications like the present, written in the spirit of Christian meekness and charity, we feel a conviction that this is of all times the most favourable for a temperate discussion of what are called the principles or grounds of Dissent.

It is not a matter of surprise, though it may occasion regret, that the controversial writings of a former age on this subject betray a lamentable deficiency of Christian temper. The sufferings of their fathers, and, in many cases, the personal wrongs of these Nonconformist advocates, were too fresh in their remembrance, to admit of cool and impartial discussion. No wonder that with the cogent reasonings and well attested facts with which those writings abound, there should sometimes be blended an asperity and vehemence, that detract from their general merits. On this account many parents among Protestant Dissenters, have felt some reluctance to initiate their children into the controversy relating to Dissent, lest either the forbidding spirit in which it has sometimes been maintained, should make them revolt from the principles themselves, or, which is perhaps still more to be apprehended, they should imbihe the same spirit, and become intemperate partisans of a good cause.

But now that the fever of human passions and prejudices has abated, and good men on each side have learned to esteem and love one another, it may reasonably be hoped, that angry discussions will give place to unbiassed investigation, and that there will be felt on both sides, a disposition to ascertain what is the truth, and having ascertained, to admit it.

We are not disposed to raise the cry, 'The cause of Dissent is in danger,' for several reasons. First, because we do not believe the fact; and secondly, because we feel a persuasion that the truth, wherever it may be found, will ultimately prevail, and to this great object we are content that all party views and interests should be sacrificed; yet we have no doubts that the actual state of things, especially in the metropolis, justifies the following representation of the Author of the "Pastoral Letters."

* The Author is apprehensive, that both ministers and parents, in their attention to the weightier matters of revealed religion, are chargeable with some degree of culpable neglect, in respect of such topics as relate to the order and discipline of the Church, in the instructions which they have given to young people, whether in their own families or in wider circles. The consequence has been,

it any considerable number of Dissenters has, on inquiry and
ion, become attached to the National Establishment, but that
individuals have—from an opinion hastily assumed, that the
is left at large in the New Testament, and that no import-
attached to it—allowed themselves to desert the profession of
to which they had been habituated from their childhood, and
the Establishment, from a variety of secondary considerations
of profit and reputation, which are generally on the side of a
religion patronized by the State, have had their influence on
the example of friends and relatives has been the motive
thers; and a preference for the preaching of some good
r in the church, has been with a third class the determining
while the question of scriptural precedents, and the authority
New Testament, has been scarcely adverted to.' p. ix, x.

re is, we apprehend, another yet more fruitful cause of
difference, for in very few cases does it amount to an
dereliction of Dissenting principles. It is well known
ere are not a few places of worship, which are, properly
ag, Dissenting Meeting-houses, and licensed as such, yet
in ritual and mode of worship, approximate very near to
y law established. A part at least of the liturgy is read;
als are worn by the officiating minister or reader; the walls
ndows are decorated; and all external appearances seem
d to convey the opinion that the difference is very
, if any, between them and episcopal chapels. Members
enting churches, from motives of convenience or some
cause, not unfrequently attend, with their families, at
chapels. Pastors of Dissenting churches frequently
their pulpits, and even their desks, and the consequence
might be expected, that the younger branches of such
s do not think it worth while, on so slight a ground of
ice, to subject themselves to the reproach of being
ed Methodists or Dissenters, and take refuge within the
the Establishment.

not to be expected, that in a series of familiar letters not
ing eleven in number, the whole case should be made out,
a whole field of controversy traversed. Some of the prin-
ciples are however stated and argued by the anonymous
of these Letters, with candour, perspicuity, and talent. In
ut, the design of the work is announced, viz. to excite
persons, who may not yet have considered the subject,
quire what can be said in favour of the forms to which
have been accustomed, and what pleas can be instituted
ose who deviate from them; and not to decide, till they
compared both with the Scriptures, and thus enable
selves to judge which is most consonant with the inspired
mony.'

He I rejoice," says this writer, 'that Churchmen and Dis-
are seen walking together in all those paths where they

think alike. I should be grieved to see that either you, or any other of my beloved young friends, desert, without full inquiry, a mode of professing the Gospel, which I am increasingly persuaded is founded on the plan of the primitive churches, and is more adapted, than any establishment whatever, to promote the great interests of the kingdom of Christ. A Churchman, enlightened in the knowledge of his own principles, will always be most liberal towards those who differ from him; and a Dissenter well acquainted with the true basis of his religious profession, will always be disposed to regard with cordial affection those who cannot think precisely with himself.' p. 14.

In the Second Letter, the importance of the question is proved, and it is fully shewn

— 'that it is the duty of every Christian to endeavour to arrive at a settled judgment as to the laws of Christ, in reference to the form and order and discipline of his Church. It is not, indeed of such magnitude as to prevent me from giving the right hand of fellowship to one who conscientiously differs from me, or to hinder my union with him in all points in which we are agreed; but certainly it becomes me to inquire on which side the strength of evidence lies in those matters in which we differ.' p. 15, 16.

In the Third and Fourth Letters, the question of the constitution and government of a Christian Church, is discussed, both in opposition to those who contend that no scriptural model is furnished, by which our Churches are to be embodied; and those who conceive that the established hierarchy of this country best accords with that authoritative standard. Testimonies are collected from the pages of inspiration, to prove that the primitive Churches were congregational, and under the superintendence of their elected pastors. One of these Letters concludes with the following candid appeal to common sense.

'This is I know, a very imperfect sketch of a subject, of which the discussion has filled volumes. But I mean simply to invite you to the unbiassed perusal of such parts of the New Testament as touch on the matter. Read the Acts with a pen and paper before you: mark down all the places, in which the forms and modes of professing the Gospel are noticed; review these passages; compare them fairly, accurately, and impartially; and let me know, as the result, whether you really think, that these descriptions are most applicable to such societies as subsist among the Protestant Dissenters in this country, or to the Church by law established.' p. 32, 33.

The Fifth Letter contains an impressive representation of the nature and design of the Institution of the Lord's Supper, and a comparative view is taken of the mode of administering this holy rite within, and without the pale of the Establishment. And here we are somewhat surprised, that the Author has not even glanced at the profanation, for we cannot employ a milder term, of this ordinance, which is sanctioned by law, and daily practised; and in which it is constituted a qualification to secular offices.

From this subject, the transition is natural, in the Sixth Letter, to the ordinance of Baptism, and after all the arguments that have recently been adduced to prove the contrary, the Author still affirms that the Church of England maintains, in her Articles, her Catechism, and her Formularies, the doctrine of *Baptismal Regeneration*.

‘If regeneration be that high and exalted blessing which it is represented to be in the New Testament, then, according to the Church, baptism is the means of effecting that which, according to the New Testament, is attributed to the operations of the Divine Spirit. Or, if the ordinance of baptism be considered simply as the token of a Christian profession, then the meaning of regeneration must be greatly sunk from the high importance annexed to it in the lively oracles. In either case, the service is exceedingly inconsistent, and to a thinking mind, one should suppose, must be very unsatisfactory.’ p. 65, 6.

In the Seventh Letter, some objections are made to parts of the Liturgy, while its general excellence is admitted; and the advantages of *free*, or as it is usually called, extemporary prayer, are asserted. In the Eighth and Ninth Letters, the question of *edification* is discussed; and several reasons are assigned, why pre-arranged services, and services which do not admit of an adaptation to circumstances, are not likely to produce so lively an interest, or to awake so much of the spirit of devotion, as when, under the conduct of a well informed and spiritual ministry, those services are brought to bear upon existing circumstances and events. In the last two letters, a most valuable practical use is made of the preceding discussion, by shewing, that a revived attention to these subjects, so far from tending to disunite, would induce a more cordial co-operation, by making the body of Dissenters firm, yet liberal, well informed, and highly devotional. We shall conclude this article with introducing a short extract on the last of these topics.

‘When Dissenters become worldly men, and the Nonconformist Society degenerates into a worldly sanctuary, it cannot be surprising that our congregations decline in numbers, and eventually lose their firmness, their candour, their zeal, their every commendable trait. Where the spirit of the world pervades one of our churches, it is followed either by a party bigotry, which will allow of nothing good or worthy out of its own inclosure; or by an undistinguishing and fallacious liberality, which considers every thing to be indifferent. In either case, the usual result is, that if the parents maintain the show of Nonconformity, their children become members of the Establishment, not from conviction or inquiry, but because, having been taught that the difference is small and inconsiderable, they easily conclude it most desirable to associate with the majority. The conformity in these cases is usually of the most unedifying description. It is a conformity to the world rather than to the church, or to that side of the church which is most assimilated to the world.’ p. 121, 2.

Am. VIII. *A Tour through some Parts of Istria, Carniola, Styria, Austria, the Tyrol, Italy and Sicily, in the Spring of 1814.* Small 8vo. Gale and Fenner. London, 1815.

IT is much to be wished, that travellers would preserve some proportion between the size and expense of their volumes, and the value of their communications. The inordinate desire of appearing in the dress and with the decorations of a quarto, has often, we suspect, tempted a writer to extend to an insipid and wearisome length, materials which, in a simple and compressed form, might have commended themselves to general attention; and a similar taste for typographical bulk and magnificence, has seduced many a writer to stretch and colour his periods, till their native and more graceful plainness had entirely disappeared, in order that his style might be more in harmony with the finery of its garb. Besides, it is always mortifying, and sometimes inconvenient to the purchaser, to be compelled to pay an extravagant premium for mere paper and press-work, while the substance of the book might be more advantageously read in a moderate octavo; and the just vexation of spirit thus awakened, may not unfrequently give a splenetic cast to his estimate of the work itself. These remarks have been suggested to us—*mons a non morendo*—by the plain and unpretending form in which the volume before us, presents itself to the reader.

The Author, aware that he had but little to say, has had the sound judgment not to awaken expectations which he had not the means of gratifying. There is, in truth, a very slender portion of information to be found in this "Tour," even considered as a mere itinerary; nor is there much of that interest, which, in the absence of instruction, is sometimes to be found in vivid description and spirited narration. The Tourist now and then endeavours at reasoning and speculation; and occasionally intimates his familiar acquaintance with the classics. Of his success in the first of these, we cannot afford room for an example; but of the latter we find an eminent illustration in the motto to his journal: *Firumque cano*—words which no doubt have an application, though we have not been able to discover it; what man this "merchant" sings, or whether he sings at all, we must leave it to himself to ascertain. At the same time, the book is not altogether without merit.

Though the traveller moved rapidly, and both saw and reflected superficially, he neither falsifies nor exaggerates; he describes what he has actually heard and seen, precisely as the various objects presented themselves before him. The period, too, at which he travelled, was a very interesting one.

• It was only a few weeks subsequent to the re-opening of the

ations of Europe, after a non-intercourse, both politically and commercially considered, without a parallel; so that several circumstances are described which have never been disclosed before, but which the author flatters himself, will not be uninteresting to the reader.

Connected with this peculiar character of the season, were a number of little circumstances which occurred during the siege, and exhibited both the inhabitants and the scenery at an ordinary point of view. When the "merchant" reached Venice, of which he gives a somewhat better account than usual with him, and visited the celebrated place of St. Mark,

"an interesting ceremony was going forward. The inhabitants had made a vow, during the blockade, that if they were released from their sufferings in a given period, they would celebrate their deliverance by a public procession for ten days. This vow was made at a moment when many were perishing with famine, as no provisions could be got into the city, and the Austrians were besieging it very closely. After the procession had gone several times round the square, it entered the church of St. Mark; where, divesting yourself of any prejudices you might have with regard to the munificence then going on, you could not but feel with the public for the occasion which had brought them together. The slow music of the organ; the myriad lighted wax tapers reflecting upon the gilded vaults; the veils of the women, whose faces were covered with white veils; the liveries of the different religious communities; the solemn countenance of the priests,—formed altogether a most impressive scene. I left the church, hundreds of miserable creatures, who had spent the little property they had during the siege, flocked round me, women with five or six children lay on the ground imploring charity; silent women, who had seen better days, told me a pitiful tale, with six faces concealed in a veil. Their black dress proclaimed them to be of noble birth. I heard afterwards, that many men, who before the French Revolution had been affluent, were now serving valets-de-chambre, or in situations equally mean; indeed my acquaintance was one of those unfortunate beings, and unhappiness seemed pictured upon his countenance." pp. 192—194.

At Florence, our Tourist met with a post who laid him under contribution.

"Just as I had taken coffee after dinner to-day, somebody rapped the door. "Enter," said I. A meagre ill-dressed person walked in with a letter in his hand.—"That cannot be for me," said I. "Yes, it is," answered he: "look at the address." It was certainly directed to

"Monsieur
Monsieur ——— (Angelo)
Schneidors, Florence."

opened it hastily, wondering who could have found me out, particularly as I had seen no one whom I knew. My curiosity was soon

satisfied: the cover contained a gilt back book, and in the first leaf was penned the following flattering address.—

“ Happy omens of
Felicitation
to the most distinct and
illustrious Myster—
—English.

“ On his happy arrival at Florence, the academician and poet Angelo Sciantarelli, in testimony of his dutiful respect, presents to your lordship, with the most sincere desire, his following poetical compositions, with hopes that your lordship will not disdain to place them under your powerful protection, and flatters himself that with the usual generosity of your lordship will not fail to be rewarded.” So much for compliment from the poet. A couple of pages further were these two sonettos :— pp. 164—166.

“ “ Pray,” said I (for he stood before me till I had gone through the dedication and the sonettos), “ are you the poet?” “ I am,” answered he, “ to my great sorrow. I consider it unfortunate that God made me in a country, where merit is so neglected as it is here. I would wish to live honestly by my profession, but I cannot find a patron.” The man never spoke truer words than the last in his life: for the above two sonettos are full of the greatest absurdities: they are neither sense nor grammar. His look was, however, so truly pitiful, that, putting my hand into one of my pockets, I rejoined, “ That I was truly sorry he had mistaken my quality; that every Englishman was not a lord; that I feared my protection would be of little use to him, but here is the best protection you can have” (slipping a dollar into his hand). He smiled, bowed, and scraped, till he got to the door; and slunk out without ever turning his back. The waiter of the inn afterwards told me, that this man had similar sonettos for every body that went that way, no matter from what country.” pp. 168, 169.

The Author describes himself as a ‘ young’ man, and indeed, there are no defects in his volume, but such as may be removed by maturer thought and experience. We have derived some gratification from his performance, and which we take more pleasure in acknowledging, than in pointing out the defects of his composition.

Art. IX. *Exposition of One Principal Cause of the National Distress, particularly in Manufacturing Districts: With some Suggestions for its Removal.* Price 1s. 6d. Darton and Co. London. 1817.

WE took up this pamphlet, which we understand to be the production of one of the Society of Friends, with expectations which have not, in some respects, been realized, though in others, they have been sufficiently gratified. On the subject of the national distress, the writer has thrown no light whatever;

the causes lie deeper than she has allowed her researches toathom; and even within the range to which she has restricted herself, she has made very unwarrantable assumptions, and hazarded dangerous and injurious speculations. And yet, with all these deductions from the soundness and usefulness of her pamphlet, we have found in it a spirit of feeling and benevolence, an ardour and intensity of sympathy with human suffering, a purity of motive, and occasionally an energy and eloquence of sentiment and composition, which have given us a very favourable estimation of the Author's talents and dispositions. Her error seems to be, that she has permitted her feelings to overweigh her judgement so completely, as to suffer her to take a view of one part of the question only; and accordingly, she dwells upon the miseries of the artisan, wholly regardless of the fact, which she admits, that they are shared, though probably in a somewhat lower average degree, by his employer. Under the bias of this unequal feeling, she proposes a remedy, which if it were not very fortunately quite impracticable, would do nothing less than involve master and servant, merchant and manufacturer in one common ruin. Without the slightest regard to the state of the market, to the want of capital, or of demand, she proposes 'an immediate advance in the price of labour,' and urges that it be 'such an advance as shall secure to the diligent workman 15s. per week, without intrenching on the hours of rest and needful refreshment.'

We are persuaded that the writer's own calmer judgement has before this detected the wildness of these dashing propositions, and that she is not likely to be lastingly misled by such shallow calculations. There are many portions of this Exposition in a purer taste. The remarks on the spirit of trade, are excellent; though too general, they are expressed in language of considerable point and force. There is something very striking in her representation of the Spirit of trade feeling the pulse of the half-paid and overlaboured artificer, and pronouncing 'that the system of exhaustion may proceed still further.' Had she confined herself to a few points like these, while she administered mild instruction and temperate reproof, the Author might have wrought conviction where she will now find it difficult to procure a patient hearing.

Art. X. *Memoirs and Remains of the late Rev. Charles Buck:* containing copious Extracts from his Diary; and interesting Letters to his friends; interspersed with various observations explanatory and illustrative of his character and works. By John Styles, D.D. 12mo. pp. 442. Price 5s. Hamilton. 1817.

THERE is no class of works which it affords us more pleasure to notice, than the memoirs of truly pious and faithful Christian ministers. They may not always exhibit the highest literary attractions, or excite that tumultuous interest which we sometimes participate in tracing the splendid and eventful career of greatness; the pleasure which they are calculated to afford, is derived from a very different source; it arises from the contemplation of moral excellence and of the genuine influence of Christianity. The very office and the daily duties of the minister of the Gospel, call for the constant manifestation of those principles which constitute the Christian character, and bring the individual more immediately into that line of occupation which employed the Son of God upon earth.

The name of the Rev. Charles Buck is one which can excite no literary animosities, no party feelings. It deserves to be always pronounced with unmingled respect. To those of our readers who know how to appreciate the labours of a pious, zealous, and faithful minister, who feel satisfaction in tracing the humble but interesting progress through life, of a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, and in witnessing the display, in the last trying hour, of that undisturbed tranquillity, that sober and rational confidence, which can be felt only by the sincere believer, we cordially recommend this little volume. It is a fair and unadorned portraiture of a laborious servant of Jesus Christ, who, though not endowed with the highest order of talents, possessed a good plain understanding, a very accurate acquaintance with experimental Christianity, and eminent qualifications for usefulness. Few religious publications, in the present day, have acquired a more extensive and at the same time, more deserved popularity, than Mr. Buck's "*Treatise on Religious Experience*," and his "*Young Christian's Guide*." It is not, however upon his merits as an author, that his claims to affectionate remembrance principally rest; but rather upon the general qualities of his character, which render these '*recollections*' and '*remains*,' a record highly instructive and permanently interesting.

As a specimen of the contents of the volume, we extract the following Contemplation, as one among many equally sensible and equally pious.

God's Providence.

• Lord, I adore thy vast designs, and wonder at thy all-wise providence: thou art not accountable to creatures, and none can say

thee, "What doest thou?" "Thy way is in the sea, thy path great waters, and thy footsteps are not known." Shall I then err, when I consider that thou art too wise to err, and too good to err? Heaven forbid. Though I cannot tell what thou art doing, I am ignorant of thy Divine projects, yet let me ever be submissive to thy gracious will. Though I cannot comprehend thy works, nor understand thy ways, yet let me be resigned, yea, perfectly resigned, in all places, to thy wise disposal. But, ah, wretched that I am, how frequently do I mistake thee, when thou art full of love and pity, and art only afflicting me, that I might be more removed from my earthly dross; then, to my shame, do I think, that in thee thou art going to leave me, or, at least, I am not one of thy children. O blessed Jesus, give me the eye of faith, to see that thou wilt do all things well, and may I, when bereaved of friends, bereaved of comforts, be enabled with patience and gratitude to repeat the words of thy servant of old, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, but still blessed be the name of the Lord." In all thy providences are adverse may I not despair, and if they are prosperous or pleasant may I not be careless or ungrateful. Into thy hand, O glorious Immanuel, I surrender myself; O let me never be parted with any thing short of thee, and may I, under every dispensation, say, "The will of the Lord be done." ' p. 70.

II. *Odin, a Poem ; in Eight Books, and Two Parts.* By the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond ; Author of a Translation of Persius, Academical Questions, &c. *Part the First.* 4to. 165. Price 18s. Law and Co. London. 1817.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND'S high attainments as a scholar, are well known, and his classic taste imparts a new force to his verse, which will not be lost upon those of his age, who love to recall, with a remembrance of the studies of youth, all the fair visions of beauty, fame, and independence, which, in that glowing period of life, they are inseparably connected.

The subject of this poem is the foundation of the Gothic empire, by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, whom the Author supposes to be the same personage that, after the final defeat of Mithridates, by the Romans, conducted a chosen band of his followers, in conjunction with a Scythian tribe, from the borders of the Euxine into the North, conquered Sweden and Denmark, and finally assumed the name and character of Odin, the principal deity of the barbarians whom he had subdued.

The Author's remarks, in support of this hypothesis, are sufficiently plausible to rescue the story from improbability, and to give it a certain propriety to the fiction. Had it, indeed, been otherwise, it might safely defy the ridicule of the critics to prove the negative; as he facetiously remarks, if his hero cannot be proved to be the son of the king of the North, he knows not how it can be

proved that he was not so. But we have too much of a certain kind of veneration for our Gothic ancestors, to be inclined to contest this point. There is something too gratifying in finding the conquerors of the Roman Empire, among the descendants of those who so long contended with her the dominion of the world, and whom scarcely the utmost efforts of her colossal strength could overcome, for us to raise up any very serious objections against the Author's supposition. There is something peculiarly heroic and grand, something which cannot be contemplated without enthusiasm, in the impatience of slavery which is bequeathed as an inheritance from generation to generation, until the occurrence of some favourable moment for throwing off its chains. Liberty, driven from all outward establishments, exiled from the very face of the earth, still finds a last refuge in the bosoms of the brave, there she is cherished with secret and fond devotion and fidelity, and there she acquires new strength, and meditates resumption of her rights. Sir William Drummond has well expressed this feeling in the following lines which he puts into the mouth of Megares, one of his warriors.

'The brave, the free will scorn his abject soul
Who feels no pangs for all his country's wrongs,
And laughs to see its glories pass away.
Pause, then, ye Satraps, in this fatal hour!
Think ye to find your country in the soil?
No, seek it in your souls. Nor e'er forget
That great bequest your fathers left their sons—
The proud inheritance of virtuous fame.
Pontus is ours no more. Then hail ye wilds
Of Scandinavia! Cold Suevonia hail!
Though rude your winters be, and rough the blasts
That sweep your naked vales; yet liberty
Shall nurse in peace her hardy children here—
Where freedom is, the free their country find.' p. 67.

The volume before us contains only the first part of Sir William Drummond's work, which he submits to the public for their decision upon its merits; the completion of the whole being made to depend upon the reception given to this specimen of it. This proof of his respect to his readers, justly claims respectful treatment in return; his merits should be liberally acknowledged, and his defects pointed out with a delicate candour.

Sir William seems distrustful of meeting with approbation, on two grounds. The first is, that his story is dependent on a mythology now almost forgotten, even in the North, where it was originally fostered. The second anticipated objection is, that he has treated of it in blank verse. The circumstance that the northern mythology is nearly forgotten, even in the country

have it birth, is, we imagine, so far from rendering any to it uninteresting, that it is one reason that the poet attempt to win it back by his lyre from utter oblivion. A holy feeling is excited by the thought, that the very presence of notions which have been implicitly entertained by and which held a sovereign influence over their character, should be wholly obliterated, so as to leave only a desert for a nation to traverse in exploring the regions of the past. A species of annihilation in immaterial nature, from which the human mind recoils with a feeling similar to what seizes an astronomer, when he misses one of the sparkling orbs whose course he has been accustomed to measure, and which are peopled with imaginary inhabitants. We have lost too many of these links in the chain of human opinions. Whole worlds have disappeared, leaving behind them only traces of what they once occupied, sufficient to perplex the endless inquiries of the antiquarian and the scholar.

Superstition which was once the only religion of the northern world, the votaries of which swept like Alpine avalanches over the beautiful vales of Italy and Greece, ultimately leaving where at first they threatened only to destroy, can be altogether without interest to persons of contemplative minds.

All things are interesting in their origin. Odin, considered merely as the principal deity of the Teutonic nations, is only very deficient in poetical dignity and interest, compared to the Jupiter Tonans of the Greeks; and viewed in this light, we are disposed to care very little about him; but if we come somewhat nearer the truth, and see in this Odin, a warlike man who had bravery enough to conquer nations, people, and sufficient genius and energy of mind to disengage himself of their reigning superstitions, so far as to make them believe that he was a fit object for their worship, our sympathy with the human being leads us to treat with some respect, a theological deity. Sir William Drummond is very happy in his combination of fiction with reality: he is sufficiently general for all the purposes of poetry, and yet he adheres closely to individuality, to connect his *dramatis personæ* not with our own species, but with such modifications of our nature as are familiar to our experience.

The opening of this poem reminds us, in the lofty tone of its complaints, and in its richness of description, of the general character of the Greek tragedy. Pharnaces, in a soliloquy, laments his fallen fortunes, and breathes forth his thirst of revenge. He is interrupted by the Genius of Gotha, who is the spirit of Loke, 'the principle of evil,' and who offers him the dominion of the Goths, and the name and state of Odin, their

god, on condition of his exploring the depths of Hell, under the guidance of the Vola, the Sibyl of the northern mythology. After a short struggle within himself, Pharnaces yields to the dictates of ambition and revenge, and promises to accomplish whatever may be required of him. The Genius then disappears, and Pharnaces being left alone, falls into a train of inquiries respecting the nature of communications from another world, and the predictions that are afloat relative to the coming of a universal conqueror. These reflections are well conceived, and classically expressed; the application, however, which Pharnaces makes to himself of the prophecies connected with the appearance of the Messiah, will be found too revolting to gain the approbation of our readers. It may, perhaps, not be improbable, that an ambitious pagan prince, knowing the existence of these prophecies, might, in the situation in which Pharnaces is represented as being placed, apply them to himself; but the impression is made at once, while the reflection that might tend to reconcile us to it, is an after thought, and comes too late. Under the complacency with which this view of his subject inspires him, Pharnaces closes his soliloquy, and the Author his first book.

The second opens with the address of Pharnaces to his chiefs, the greater part of whom are much inclined to rebel against him, and return to Pontus. He reproaches them with the treachery and cowardice of their meditated flight; promises them dominion over all the North, in case of their remaining faithful to him; and informs them, by way of inducement to do so, that he is protected by gods of whom they are ignorant. This speech is received with anger and contempt by Arsaces, one of the rebel satraps.

‘ Haughty he was, and turbulent ; of rule
Impatient ; loving change ; not for the end
Solicitous ; nor caring what the means.’

He ridicules Pharnaces, as a

‘ moon-stricken man, whose phrensied eye
Sees kingdoms in the clouds ;’—

draws a picture sufficiently comfortless to his followers, of their actual situation, and advises them to return to their own country, and throw themselves upon the clemency of Cæsar. He is rebuked by the aged Megares, from whose speech we have already given an extract. After him Meran speaks :

‘ Well school’d in art was he—a sophist skill’d . .
To speak in flowery phrase, and charm each ear
With words high sounding, elocution soft,
And periods flowing smoothly to their close.’

He begins his speech with ridicule,

'The lightest weapon in wit's armoury,
Yet deadly too, when malice wings the shaft.'

But soon leaving that sportive mode of attack, he proceeds to bitter invective, and excites the rebel troops to open revolt. They are silenced by Pharnaces, who challenges all or any of them to accompany him to the abode of the god whose protection of him they affect to dispute. An address to superstition is then introduced by the poet, and the book closes with the descent of Pharnaces to the amazement and dismay of his people, into the cavern of the Vola, unappalled by the flames which burst from his mouth, and the ominous appearance of every thing around.

Sir William Drummond commences his third book with a metaphysical inquiry into the immortality of the soul. In arguments on such a subject, it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect any thing new, when we consider how long and how variously it has been discussed; but he might, as he speaks in his own person, and therefore we presume with sentiments somewhat different from those which we should expect to hear from his pagan hero, have brought forward in addition to the rest, one which would have more weight with a Christian mind than all the others put together, and be found at least as susceptible of poetical illustration. He who can bring Divine authority in support of his assertions, needs not confine his reasoning to analogy.

The Vola or Sybil is very poetically described. Pharnaces finds her lying, pale and motionless, entranced upon a rock, sculptured over with mystic symbols. Instruments of magic are by her side. One hand supports her head; the other grasps a bough,

'Pluck'd from the Mountain Ash of Ydraail.'

Upon her bosom lies

'The fatal leaf of baleful mistletoe,
That Hoder, blind and old, in Asgard threw
When well-loved Balder died.'

This leaf, so venerated by the Celts, was held in religious horror by the Goths, who believed that the touch of it caused death, or a torpor nearly resembling it. Pharnaces, however, seizes it in his iron glove, and the Vola begins to breathe. She turns abhorrent from the light.

'Garish day
Delights me not, nor æther's azure glare.
She said; and from her couch majestic rose;
In form a Goddess. Who shall paint a face
That more than human seem'd; and spoke the soul
Above all sympathy with mortal man.'

A cheek so pale, a brow so sternly calm —
Eyes that ne'er wept, and lips that could not smile ?' p. 89.

After certain incantations, she undertakes to guide the monarch on his gloomy route.

' A golden bridge, with nine vast arches, spann'd
The yellow wave—a flood of molten gold.'

' They cross it. On the other side sits Modguder, the Bellona
of the Goths. At the sight of Pharnaces,

' She brandishes the sword she hates to sheathe ;'
but the Vola shrouds him in darkness, and they proceed to pass
the bourn

' That separates the living from the dead.'

This shadowy world, in all ages so anxiously guessed at, is exhibited with considerable force, under the dark colouring of the northern mythology, throughout the fictions of which may be traced a connexion with the traditions of other nations. Those who are at all acquainted with the Gothic mythology, will recollect the account given in the Edda, of the conflict between Thor, the Jupiter of the north, and Mignard, the great serpent which the Scandinavians believed to lie at the bottom of the sea. In this fable, the classical scholar will recognise a coincidence with that of Apollo and the Python ; the orientalist will be reminded of that of Vishnoo and his serpent ; whilst the believer in Revelation will perceive in it, a more awful and important reference. It is thus alluded to by our Author.

' Now on the verge they stood of a broad sea
Tempestuous. In the midst the snake-like God
Of slimy Mignard, (his lute body coil'd
In many a spiral fold voluminous,)
Uplifted o'er the wave his crested head
Majestic. Serpent old ! believed of yore,
Where Nile and Ganges flow, to circulate
The ocean-stream that girts the universe ;
By Ophite priests adored with Heathen rites
In Judah ; ere the son of Achaz broke
The brazen idol, by the House of God
Set up for worship. Not the clime is known
On this terraqueous globe, nor land, nor sea,
Where Man may not discern, however changed
By Fiction's magic touch, some rueful trace,
Some record dire, of that grand damage wrought
In Eden, in the bowers of Paradise,
To our first parents, by the deadly snake,
Primeval foe of Adam and his race.' p. 104.

The scene now changes from the dreariness of winter to the region of fire, and the Author, whose imagination warms with the theme, describes in glowing colours the appearance and

page of the Fire-god, and the effect which the devouring
 ent that owns him for its lord, is to have on the fainting
 b, in the grand day of her dissolution. The adventurous king
 proceeds onward to Hela's Hall; the shadowy people
 throng its vestibules and courts, are described with much
 e spirit and manner of Claudian in the most beautiful of all
 erformances, the Rape of Proserpine.

ney next come to the abode of the king of shades himself,

‘ The parent of all ill, disastrous Loke :’

describing the nations which have either deprecated the
 gnancy, or invoked the aid of an evil spirit, the Author
 s a concise and animated picture of the various shapes
 r which guilt and superstition have at different periods en-
 d the mind of man.

re Vola now solemnly calls upon Pharnaces to make his
 ion between good and evil, finely and impressively remark-
 that,

‘ ———Hell itself may not deceive
 The soul that wills it not.’

gives him an account of the origin of all things; of the fe-
 of primeval creation, and the change induced by the in-
 tention of evil. This part of the work is extremely fine;
 r line rises in solemnity and interest, and the struggles of
 naces, as his ambition and revenge oppose themselves to
 ense of moral good, and his conviction of the fragility of
 dly greatness. At length his final decision is made, and he
 ls,

‘ before the throne
 Of evil Loke ; the banner he receives ;
 But may not see that Hela's horrid hand
 Conveys the fatal gift. The deed is done.
 All, all is silent in the house of Death ;
 It seems that universal nature sleeps.
 Dread silence this, the silence of the tomb !
 Now stands the Vola like to one entranced ;
 Her marble arms are cross'd upon her breast ;
 Her cheeks are pale ; her glassy eyes are fix'd ;
 And thus she utters what her God inspires.’ p. 121.

fine burst of prophetic poetry follows. The victorious pro-
 s of the Goths, the spoiling of Italy, the ruin of Rome, the
 uctions of later years, the darkening of European glory, are
 old, with a rapidity of expression and richness of imagery
 y equalled in modern verse.

‘ Thus spake the prophetess with troubled voice,
 And the third time the bird of Hela crew.
 The monarch stood alone, and none remain'd

Of all the visions seen. Yet in his hand
 He grasp'd the banner fatal gitt of hell.
 He rais'd his eyes, before him roll'd the stream
 Of Gotha ; and, by dawning light of morn,
 He saw the well known tents that crown'd the hills
 Around him. To the camp he took his way.' p 125.

The fourth book opens with an address to the first hour of morning ; after invoking which, our Author, entering again upon the business of this nether world, introduces us to Dan, the valiant chief of Funen, who is roused from the repose in which he is indulging, ready-armed, by a terrified scout, who informs him that he has seen the leader of the warlike strangers guiding his troops,

' ——— by light of many a flaming torch,'

towards the cave of the Vola, whence he infers that they must be sons of Loke, and that all the infernal powers will range themselves on their side in the field of battle. 'Dauntless Dan,' in no wise appalled at this intelligence, blows his horn, rouses his allies, and sallies forth at their head. An episode of a softer nature is now brought forward. Shiohd, the son of Dan, is roused from his bridal bed, by the blast of the trumpet, and a dialogue ensues between him and his Nora, which we do not regard as the happiest part of the performance. It is forced, and by no means accords with the condition of the speakers. A warrior, even of modern days, hastily putting on his accoutrements, and arming himself for the fight, however tenderly he might take leave of his wife individually, would scarcely wait to compliment her sex in general, in the following affected style :—

"Farewell a while," the youthful warrior said,
 "Farewell, my lovely bride ! the toils of war
 Befit our rougher sex ; but thine was form'd,
 O happy after thought of love divine.
 To charm, to soften, and to polish man." ' p. 139.

These fine speeches are, however, suddenly put a stop to, by the sight of a gorgeous gauntlet, glittering in the grass, which Nora acknowledges to have been dropped by a young stranger, who had once intruded on her solitude, during her husband's absence. Jealousy seizes on the soul of Shiohd. He sends his wife back to her father, and rushes forth to the fight, in the hope of finding his rival, who proves to be Narses, the son of Pharnaces. He overpowers him in single combat, and a fine description of the field of battle ensues ; in which the gloomy and terrific images of the northern mythology appear with peculiar effect. Just when the mind is impressed with all the horrors of the scene,—with Modguder,

‘ —on her war-horse mounted black as night,
And beating loudly her enchanted drum,’
with Hela,

‘ shrouded queen of ghosts,
Mysterious awful phantom, silent shade,
Invisible to all but dying eyes,’

and Loke, the demon-king,—suddenly a shout is heard, and Pharnaces appears in ‘magnific panoply,’ under the name, and vested with the outward attributes of Odin, by whom the Scandinavians believed themselves to be deserted, after the triumph of Marius in the Cimbric war. His re-appearance among them is therefore hailed with frantic joy. He tells them that he is come to join them in one band of fraternity, to give them the same laws, and exalt their power above the clouds of heaven.

‘ Ruled by one prince, united by one name,
By Gotha’s waters, Odin hails you Goths.’

His speech is received with loud acclamations, and the poem, or rather the first part of it, concludes with a song from the Scalds, which is extremely spirited, abounding in imagery, glowing and animated as that of the Orientals, yet strictly in character with the simplicity and vigour of the North. The Runic harps seem to vibrate on our ear as we close the volume with feelings similar to those which are experienced, when, after an active scene, a numerous assemblage begins to disperse, and all gradually subsides into quietness and rest.

Such is the first part of Sir William Drummond’s poem, which would be complete as a whole, were it not for the uncertainty in which we are left with regard to the fate of Nora. That the public, after this specimen of the Author’s poetical talents, should not be desirous of seeing the remainder of his work, can scarcely be questioned. On the expectation of seeing it forthcoming ere very long, we shall proceed to point out such blemishes as have struck us in our examination of his performance.

We have already stated, that the Author anticipates his failure of success with the public, on account of his having chosen blank verse as the vehicle of his sentiments. It would, however, be paying the public taste a bad compliment, to imagine that it can prefer the jingling and Hudibrastic rhymes in which our poetical romances, or romantic poems, have been lately written, to that stately and varied march of rhythm, in which our language peculiarly finds itself at ease, and which has been chosen by all our finest poets, as the fittest mode of expressing their feelings. Equally adapted to the simple and the majestic, from the ease with which it admits of every variety of cadence, and its susceptibility of the highest degree of ornament, blank verse possesses advantages over every other species of poetry, when

epic, narrative, dramatic, or didactic subjects, are to be treated of. Short and irregular measures are utterly incompatible with them ; quatrains confine alike the sense and the sentence to the compass of the verse ; and the regular rhyming couplet of ten feet, brought to exquisite perfection by Dryden and Pope, is still liable to restraints and to a monotony, which unfit it for the expression of violent passion, as is strikingly exemplified in our heroic tragedies, where the hero in vain endeavours to bluster with big words in his mouth, when he is obliged to drop his voice at the end of every rhyme. 'To object to the use of blank verse in itself, is traitorous to the merits of our own language. Sir William Drummond's blank verse is unexceptionable. It is smooth, yet vigorous and varied. Faulty lines occasionally occur ; but such as are faulty in point of taste, as well as rhythm, very seldom. We must advert, however, to one in the soliloquy of Pharnaces.

' My native land is made a den of thieves.' p. 36, l. 4.

'This is both inelegant, and exceptionable on account of its resemblance to Scripture phraseology, of which, in subsequent passages, Sir William has sometimes judiciously availed himself. Our Author has been before hand with the critics, in acknowledging that he has used certain words as dissyllables, which are now generally measured as one only ; and others in their original signification, rather than in that which they have gained from the corruption of time, or innovations made upon the construction of our mother tongue. In using the word *heaven* as a monosyllable, or as a dissyllable, we conceive that the poet ought to be guided by the degree of importance annexed to the word in the sense in which it is used. This distinction cannot be better illustrated than in the examples from Shakspeare, which Sir William brings forward in support of his use of it as a dissyllable.

———— ' Like the herald Mercury,
New lighted on a *heaven-hissing* hill.'

———— ' it is a knell,
That summons thee to *heaven* or to *hell*.'

The impressive pause in the last of these examples, upon the word *heaven*, sufficiently authorises the dwelling upon its separate syllables, which in the first has a weak effect, because the epithet is not of sufficient importance to sustain the attention. Similar instances may be quoted from our Author.

' Who climb'd to *heaven*, as vain fables tell.' p. 42. l. 18.

' ————— Her eagles soar
Above the clouds of *heaven*, and what hand
Shall strike them down.' p. 40.

regard to the restoration of words to their original signification, where nothing is gained by so doing, it is scarcely worth while to attempt it. Words, as well as living things, are liable to a natural death of old age ; but it seldom happens that they depart before they have provided themselves with successors, who fully represent their meaning. To interrupt the feeling of the reader, therefore, in an animated passage, by the unnecessary introduction of a word which obliges him to lay down his poem, and take up his glossary, is as injudicious as it would be to a public speaker to suspend the sympathy of his audience, in the midst of an eloquent appeal, by some impertinent nicety of pronunciation, which refers the mind to the etymological department of the dictionary. In the following restoration of a well-known word to its original sense, we cannot perceive that anything is gained by the Author.

'The Phoenix Orient, *fledge* with golden plumes.' p. 52. l. 6.

When epithets are borrowed, it is not politic to exhibit them often. 'Grim visaged war,' (p. 40. l. 4.) is too *Shaksperian* to escape notice the first time ; but our Author is so well pleased with his spoil, that very soon after he represents winter as 'grim visaged,' also. (p. 63, l. 19.)

Mr William Drummond's style is obviously formed upon the model of the *Paradise Lost*. We are better pleased, however, with the general resemblance to Milton, which his learning and critical taste enable him to keep up, in erudite allusion, and richness of ornament, than with his close imitation of particular passages. The following description of the Evil Deity will bear to be put in competition with the account of 'the various idols known through the heathen world,' in the first book of the *Paradise*

'All times have known him, and all nations fear'd.
To him, the dread of Afric's ruthless sons,
Midst mingled cries of mother and of child,
Her first-born babes did Carthage immolate ;
And him, dread deity, the suppliant East,
Idolatrous, adored, through half its realms,
From Ganges to Euphrates, Siva call'd,
Or Ahriman, nor worshipp'd without blood.
The same was he, who under many a guise
Deluded Syria. Now a monster foul,
Half man, half fish, or brutish form hirsute,
In Dagon's temple or on Peor's hill
He shamed the Philistine and Moabite.
Now regal Moloch, fell infanticide,
He built his temple by the mount of God ;
And raised his brazen idol, tauriform,
In Tophet's gloomy valley, where by night
Apostate Judah, to the sound of drums
And trumpets, on his burning altar laid,

Her innocents. Yet the malefic fiend,
 For evil ends, could smooth his ruffled brow,
 When soft as woman, with seductive tongue,
 He lured the sons of Belial to their woe.
 Nor other was that king Adrammelech,
 Monarchal image of the solar fire,
 When high exalted on his sapphire throne
 He dazzled nations with his radiant crown,
 And star-like glories of his gorgeous robe.
 The same was he, Thyone's florid son
 Reputed, who led on the frantic throng
 Of Bacchants, Thyades, and Menades,
 When through the cities of astounded Greece,
 Enflamed with wine, and with opprobrious lusts,
 The votaries of Dionysus pass'd,
 Shaking their thyrsi, calling on their God,
 Shouting, and dancing to the clashing din
 Of drums, and cymbals, round his magic van.' p. 113.

Milton is exquisitely happy in similies and allusions taken from particular scenes or objects in nature. Our readers remember his beautiful illustration of the size of the Leviathan.

' Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam;
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff,
 Deeming some island, oit, as sea-men tell,
 With fixed anchor in his skaly rind
 Moors by his side, under the lee, while night
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays.'

Paradise Lost. Book I.

Who can read this passage without deriving a gratification of the highest kind, from the complete picture which the mind involuntarily forms for itself, from this sketch, exquisite in its simplicity? Many of Sir William Drummond's similies are conceived in a similar spirit; but they are rather deficient in variety. The appearance of the Genius of Gotha is thus described.

' Thus spake Pharnaces. Soon the sky grew dark.
 Loud roar'd the wind. The spirit of the night
 Was troubled, to and fro the forest toss'd
 Its arms, tormented, heaving like the waves
 Of ocean labour'd by the storm. The moon
 Hid her pale orb behind the angry clouds,
 That mutter'd thunder, as they blacken'd round
 The dark horizon. Then before the king
 A grisly spectre stood, gloomy as night,
 Gigantic; like a tower seen in the mist,
 Or some lone pine, on Scotland's naked strand,
 Descried at night fall, through the lurid dusk.

A crown of sedge the phantom seem'd to wear;
And loose his vestments floated, like the clouds
Round Mandal, when the sun on Norway sets,
And black-wing'd tempests round the mountain lour.'

p. 38.

ter the promulgation of his embassy, he sinks upon the
m,

' Like to the cloud of evening charged with rain,
And prone descending on the founts of Syre,
When o'er Norwegian hills the humid South
Before him sends the shower, and from the heights
Of lofty Lang spreads to the setting sun
The rain-bow colours of his wings of mist.' p. 48.

the anger of Pharnaces when surrounded with the rebel
ps, it is said,

' Thus glares the rising orb of fiery Mars
Athwart the gloom of night; and thus at sea
Norwegian mariners, beyond the rocks
Of Ferro, to the west, no harbour near,
Eye the red planet, and forebode the storm.' p. 60.

r last example shall be taken from the visit of Pharnaces to
ave of the Vola.

' Alone, but dauntless, down the drear descent
The monarch journey'd; and the flames grown faint,
That erst had burst eruptive from the gulph,
Now flashing on the rocks in paly gleams,
Like the sheet-light'nings of a summer eve,
Play'd harmless o'er his head. Thus in the caves
Of Hilgaland, the traveller explores,
By dubious day, the lonely labyrinth;
Or thus, way-faring, he pursues his path,
Benighted, fearless, midst Norwegian Alps,
What time he looks from frozen Glömen's banks,
And sees, o'er Dofra, white and streamy lights
Carcering through the skies, and shedding pale
A softer moonshine on the steeps above.' p. 87.

will be seen, that however beautiful these similies may
themselves, and however appropriately introduced, they
other too much in the same latitude. There is likewise a
mism which occurs somewhat too frequently; once would
mently recal the original to mind.

' Pale was each ghastly face, *if face it were*,
That each dim shadow show'd, but dimly seen.' p. 109.

' Ere nature or the universe itself
Had being, ancient Chaos reign'd, if reign
It might be call'd, when all was uproar dire.' p. 114.

These, however, are trifling defects, which are dwelt upon from no invidious motive. Were it necessary to adduce more passages to justify the praise we have bestowed upon this poem, we might quote the description of the mist, raised by the genius of Gotha, and dispersed by 'Brumal Bor,' immediately before the appearance of the fictitious Odin, or the reasoning by which Pharnaces, like all men who, conscious of wrong, seek rather for precedents in it, than for rules of equity, strives to delude himself into the belief that in the assumption of Divine honours, he only follows the example of other men, whose ambition had availed itself of the superstitious veneration of their people, as an instrument of perpetuating their fame among surrounding nations. The passages, however, which are the finest as connected with the main work, are generally those which suffer most from being detached from their connexion. We have already shewn sufficient cause for our opinion, that Sir William Drummond will, by the publication of his *Odin*, add the reputation of a poet to that which he has long enjoyed as a scholar, an antiquary, and a critic.

Art. XII *Apostolical Preaching considered, in an Examination of St. Paul's Epistles.* By Rev. J. B. Sumner, M.A. Second Edition. 8vo. Price 9s. Hatchard. 1817.

THE predominant influence of the Pulpit over the prevailing religious opinions of a nation, presents an impressive view of the importance of the preacher's office. It is in this the politician finds his reasons for subjecting the Church to the influence of the Crown; that so mighty a machine may, at least to a certain extent, be at the command of the civil magistrate, and be made to contribute to fortify, and if needs be, to extend legitimate authority. There is indeed occasion to fear, that such is the highest and most commanding aspect the Pulpit ever assumes in the apprehension of the generality of Statesmen. But the Christian Philanthropist must perceive that the very crowns and thrones to which the influence of the Christian Ministry may be made subservient, are frail, like their occupiers, and that if there are not higher and nobler considerations surrounding the ministry of the Gospel, and investing it with more important associations, it must sink into the insignificance of secular instrumentality, and partake in the common vanity and mortality of all the instruments, and materials, and objects of worldly greatness. He traces the importance of the preacher's office, in the magnitude and duration of those personal consequences which must result to the preacher himself, and to every one of his auditors; consequences which must be associated with the immortality of the soul, the com-

exon of its eternal destiny, and the final manifestation of the
our, or the displeasure of the Deity. Here the faithful
teacher of the Gospel must discern the great burden and
right of the ministerial function, and by such considerations
one will he be disposed to estimate the responsibility of his
fee. His true glory will be sought in an association with
e Son of God, who, when he condescended to sustain the
fice of the Preacher, imparted to it a dignity which elevates
above all worldly employments, and connects it with his
unsels, as an indispensable link in that chain of Divine dis-
nsations, by which the souls of men are to be introduced to
real life, and on which are suspended the glories of that
her economy. The authority of his office, he will not be
ntent to derive from a lower mandate than that by which it
is said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to
every creature;" and which, by placing his ministry in imme-
ite subjection to the Son of God, virtually prohibits the
ntrol of all worldly authorities.

Hence follows an inference of the greatest importance, and
e which we are aware leads to widely different results in the
prehension of two considerable classes of real Christians.
must be obvious from the influence of the preacher's office
r the public sentiment, the public character, and the eternal
erests of a people, that it is a matter of no trifling concern
provide an adequate degree of sound, useful, religious in-
ction. But who are to be invested with the high character
curators of these fountains and streams of religious know-
ge, which are to intersect the land in all directions, and
nminate fertility to the moral soil?—We must confess that
is it seems that legislative interference was never more mis-
ced or more misused, than in venturing on this point to
roach upon that sacred and Divine province, which belongs
clusively to the Head of the Church. We have heard much
the wisdom of our Ancestors in entrusting this high autho-
rity to the magisterial or political head of the state, upon the
and that the superior wisdom of that head must be the best
urity for the adequate qualification of Christian teachers.
t when we consider that kings and civil rulers are themselves
be the objects of ministerial instruction, and that this inves-
ure with secular distinction does not raise them a single step
the school of Christianity, and that though they may have
re worldly, it does not follow that they have an atom more of
venly wisdom, than the meanest of their subjects whose
thers they claim the right of appointing, we are compelled
infer that they possess no exclusive endowments, and cer-
ly no Divine authority, for assuming to themselves the care
he public instruction. Besides, when we review the syste-

matic, and formal, and intolerant procedure which such an arrangement requires, it seems to us to comport but very imperfectly, with those various shades of doctrine, practice, and discipline, which will inevitably prevail; which Christianity itself evidently admits among the most sincere of its professors, and which it were neither wise nor benevolent to wish to coerce into an unmeaning and unnatural uniformity. Christianity, as a personal system, admits of these shades; and why should the policy of kings seek to abridge them? If the Head of the Church qualifies and thrusts forth labourers into his harvest, differing in inferior points, but all faithfully labouring for him, and upon his authority, where is the wisdom or justice of that policy which raises one class above all the rest, and by giving them a charter of worldly influence and authority, virtually persecutes, and degrades, and rejects all the other classes of the Great Proprietor's labourers? Why should civil rulers at all interfere to elevate or depress any of *his* servants? Why should not the people be left to choose and to provide their own teachers, under the supreme guidance of the Head of the Church, who has promised to send them "pastors after his own heart?" There is one supreme Curator of public instruction, from whom the teachers receive both the matter and the authority of their Mission; and to Him an unshackled and unbiassed appeal should be open to all parties. Why should it be said, the people are inadequate judges of what sort of instruction is best for them? They are surely as competent judges of the contents of the sacred volume, as either king, lords, or commons. And, after all, every truly Protestant principle requires what we are advocating, that the only standard of preaching should be the Bible, and that the ultimate judges of the agreement of preaching with that standard, should be the people instructed. For the preacher himself has not the shadow of authority, when he advances beyond the contents of the sacred volume. Why then, we ask in addition, should laboured arguments be conducted to prove the agreement of certain classes of teachers with a human standard adopted in any particular nation by the civil rulers, when those standards may be as various as the meridians of the places at which they prevail? All such standards appear to us futile and delusive, and calculated to operate in no way but as impediments to the progress of "the truth as it is in Jesus." Why should one set of teachers be allowed to arrogate to themselves the epithet *authorized*, when they have only been touched by human,—we wish not to offend,—by episcopal hands? Why must the public veneration be attracted to them, and liberty of conscience be prostrated at their feet, when they have neither any moral

any intellectual endowments which raise them above the ordinary level of educated men?

We have been led into these reflections, by a sentiment which has some hold of the mind of Mr. Sumner, though evidently, it does not so completely possess his understanding as it does those of many of his brethren. We saw a bulky pamphlet some time ago, entitled, "The Claims of the Church of England to be considered the only authorized interpreter of Scripture;" and this is the reiterated language of a vast majority of the clergy and of all the bishops; so that the pretension to infallibility seems to be the incurable taint which infects all endowed establishments.

Mr. Sumner insinuates, in his preface, that the Articles and Formularies are effectual promoters of soundness and uniformity of doctrine; and he makes it an inference much to the credit of those Articles, that a recent secession of several high-Calvinistic ministers from the communion of the Church, arose from the utter incompatibility of high Calvinism with those Articles. He says,

'I am well aware that I have been led to treat of some questions upon which it becomes us to inquire humbly, rather than to decide positively; neither is it probable that I should have ventured to enter upon them at all, had not my attention been forcibly directed, by accidental circumstances, towards that high tone of Calvinistic preaching which has recently ended in a partial secession from our Established Church, with whose tenets it was justly felt to be incompatible.' *Preface*, p. 4.

We really have seen no reason for ascribing the secession of those gentlemen to their high doctrinal views; for if they had entertained no other peculiarities of sentiment, they might, with a clear conscience, have retained their livings; for they certainly had as good ground to consider the Articles to be Calvinistic, as others have to consider them as being Arminian. But the tendency of Mr. Sumner's remark is completely counteracted by the fact, that a far greater number of high Calvinists, and men too of unblemished reputation, still continue to hold their benefices with a good conscience, without feeling the incompatibility of their doctrines with the Articles, Creeds, and Formularies of the Church. We do not consider it as fair in argument, to make so strong an inference from so weak a case, in favour of the full-faced opposition of the Articles to Calvinism. Moreover, Mr. S. has made this an occasion not merely of displaying the authorities 'and examples' which, as he conceives, discountenance and condemn a high tone of Calvinistic preaching,—the abuses of Calvinism,—but Calvinism *in toto*, from beginning to end; and this in no measured phrase, but sometimes with a more sweeping

breadth of epithet than was consistent with his professions of 'complete freedom from all party designs.'

Before we enter our protest against the doctrines and reasonings of this volume, as an accurate display of apostolical preaching, we think it but right to express our approbation of several redeeming qualities which appear throughout its disquisitions. In the first place; It displays considerable earnestness and weight of argument in urging the importance of ministerial proprieties of character, and the necessity of attention to the spiritual state of the individuals that compose the flock. On these points the Author has many interesting remarks. The leading principles which he lays down, have our warmest approbation. There is indeed room to wish that he had gone further in exhibiting what may strictly be denominated the importance of the preacher's office, the final consequence to the believer, and the unbeliever. His pages would have been much more impressive, if he had poured over them a few of those weighty and touching considerations which impressed the great Apostle's mind when he said, "To the one we are a savour of death unto death, and to the other the savour of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things?" Through this deficiency, we are compelled to say, his treatise, in spite of its correctness and its piety, is cold, and wanting in pathos. Secondly; We have observed throughout the volume, an evident wish to draw the line between real personal religion, and a mere submission to the forms and ceremonies of the Church. The Author is aware there is a great distinction; he feels it; but at the same time his fear of diminishing or weakening the public belief in the mysterious virtue resident in the rites and ceremonies, exposes him in several places to considerable embarrassment, from which he escapes with unusual agility and generalship. Yet we venerate the piety which dictated the following remarks.

'However absurd the reliance on any virtue of the *opus operatum* may be, it is not sufficient to depend on such absurdity as preserving men from adopting it. The confidence in the rite of circumcision and other externals among the Jews of old, the abuse of baptism itself by some mistaken Christians in the 4th and 5th centuries, and of that ceremony, together with extreme unction, in the Romish Church, and the unwarrantable notions which (it is to be feared) are too often associated with the Lord's Supper still, are lamentable evidence of the facility with which mankind run away from realities to ceremonies, and content themselves with the shadow for the spiritual substance.' p. 161.

We may further remark, that this volume is for the most part a commendable exception to the general spirit in which many Refutations of Calvinism are written. It does allow that a Calvinist may be a faithful and useful minister.

and notwithstanding the fundamental and scriptural objections which Mr. S. has to urge against the tremendous and ingulphing syllogisms of Calvin, he is still willing to vault over the abyss which separates him from many of his brethren, to express his complacency in that fraternity of true Churchmanship, which all the members of an establishment so tenderly feel for each other. The Author admits, that in many places Calvinistic preaching has been attended with the best results. He might have brought into the account considerably more good, had he not passed over in entire silence the labours of Calvinistic ministers among Dissenters, who are a class, we presume, far more numerous than the Calvinistic ministers of the Church.

To the systematic theology of this volume, many, and we conceive unanswerable objections may be made. Upon the views of Apostolical Preaching which it contains, we now intend to offer a few cursory remarks.

The work consists of Nine Chapters.—1. On the Importance of the Preacher's Office.—2. On Predestination and Election. 3. On the Corruption of Human Nature.—4. On Grace.—5. On Justification.—6. On Sanctification.—7. On Personal Application of the Gospel.—8. On Intercourse with the World.—9. Conclusion.

After arguing in Chap. I. the importance of the preacher's office, by remarking, that it is a minister's concern to lead on his congregation to the inmost recesses of their religion, &c., he proceeds to meet, at great length, an objection which he supposes may be made to his remark. He says,

'I am aware that it may be objected, that the effect I attribute to preaching, supposes both a degree and an equality of talent, which it would be unreasonable to expect universally, in the members of any profession.' p. 7.

Now, we really apprehend this forms no real objection with any one; but it appears as if the ghost of another objection had appeared to the Author's imagination, which he ought to have acknowledged as far more weighty and important; the effect he has attributed to preaching, does indeed imply both a degree and an equality of *personal piety*, which our Author must have observed to be lamentably deficient among—we dare not say how large—a proportion of the Established Clergy. Very few persons would be found to charge the clergy with a deficiency of talent or of learning; but their secularity, their conformity to the pleasures of the world, their lack of those graces and qualifications in which their Divine Master excelled, their want of faithfulness and fervour, form an objection to be heard in every place and in every company. It would have been far more in the line of his subject, to have considered these objections, and then to have suggested remedies for the evils

to which they refer. He would then have found solid grounds for establishing what we consider as a very important inference from his general remarks, and one of great practical utility; that the Pastoral office ought to be entrusted only to those who are morally, and spiritually as well as intellectually qualified to be teachers. All the disquisition upon the moderate quantum of talent that may suffice to discharge respectably the duties of the office, is the small dust of the balance compared with what he ought to have said on the indispensable pre-requisites of pure and fervent piety, and unreserved self-devotement to the duties of the sacred function. We think there is considerable attention paid to several very inferior parts of the ministerial office, while some of its higher departments are overlooked. There is also occasionally a want of continuity in the thoughts, and an inconclusiveness in many of his reasonings, that give an aspect of feebleness to many parts which should have been prominent and bold.

In recommending a different style of preaching for different places, or the making Sermons what Archbishop Secker called *local*, it appears to us that Mr. S. carries the remark to a dangerous extreme. He says,

‘It no more follows that the same sermon should be useful or suitable to all congregations, because all Christians have the same doctrines to believe and the same duties to learn; than that the same character is applicable to every individual because all mankind is endowed with the same nature, qualities, and passions. Two congregations can scarcely be found in precisely the same state of religious knowledge and advancement, or with the same capabilities of comprehending a method of treating a subject, and the language in which it is clothed. What is too elementary in one place, will be too profound in another; what might be safely taught to those who are accustomed to “compare spiritual things with spiritual,” might lead others into dangerous errors, who had little previous acquaintance with the gospel. The general rules of medicine are uniform, as well as the general principles of the human constitution, but that would be a dangerous practice, which did not modify itself according to each particular case’ p. 13, 14.

We cannot quite accord with these views, nor admit the force of this reasoning. Human diseases have different causes, and affect different parts of the constitution; and on these accounts require a widely different mode of treatment; but any preacher who should imagine that the moral diseases he has to treat, have any other than a common source, or require an essentially different remedy, would err on the very threshold of his profession. We do admit that the remedies of the Gospel require skill in the mode of application, but this regards more particularly the vehicle of this administration. Discourses should be adapted to the capacities, and, in a certain degree, to the circumstances of a

gation; but we are far from thinking that the chief utilities of gospel truth ought not to be introduced more into every sermon to every congregation. Discourses are strictly local, and confined to "an exposure of the reigning sins or deficiencies of a congregation," take effect, being occasional. If they are too frequent, they become local, and merely serve to keep the great topics of a gospel in the shade; while the recurrence of reproof too often loses it of effect. A preacher who should confine himself to the views of Christianity in which he might think his congregation deficient, would fall into a partial and isolated method of treating all subjects. Christianity would be presented only in fragments, when it ought to be viewed in all the majesty and perfection of a living temple.

We are far from admitting that a strictly local style of preaching will even be so useful, (and we could adduce abundance of instances to the point,) as that style of preaching which consists in a full, fair, and repeated display of the truth in its most substantial and most important parts; and we are convinced that the success which St. Paul is imitated in his devout resolution, the success will follow the ordinance of preaching: "I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."* The points of moral resemblance among all conditions are so numerous and so important, and the points of similarity so trivial, that the preacher has received no permission to alter his message in form or substance when he changes his station. The bulk of the hearers, we presume, in all parishes, will be found wicked, worldly people, who are warned to flee from the wrath to come. The necessity of repentance, the depravity of human nature, and the necessity of faith in the sacrifice of the Redeemer, are points of universal interest, and should therefore form the most usual matter of public instruction. And it is our opinion that the local sermons should consist chiefly in the style and the method of treating the subject: it must be observed that when among the philosophers of the Areopagus, the prisoners at Rome, or the elders of the church at Ephesus, St. Paul ceased to preach and preach Jesus and the Resurrection.

Sheet with an assumption at page 18, which appears totally unfounded, and which, from the importance the author attaches to it, demands a few observations. 'In the place, it is undeniable that there does exist a difference between the nature of a church where Christianity is the religion of a sect, and where it is the religion of a nation.' p. 18. We object to the very principle of this remark, and

* 1 Cor. ii. 2.

deny is *to* what he assumes as undeniable. Most divines have maintained, and we think upon scriptural ground, that the *Church of Christ* admits of no change in its nature or constitution, whether it be the religion of a sect or of a nation. We are perfectly at a loss to conceive on what data the Author would expect his principle to be conceded, either by us as Dissenters, or by any class of Protestants. We are confident he has no scriptural authority for his assumption. A mind which takes its conceptions of the nature of a church, from the New Testament, cannot surely consider it as any thing but a voluntary society, and though there is a loose sense in which it is said, that all who are baptized belong to the external church, yet we conceive they ought rather to be said to belong only to a profession, for until they have individually and voluntarily united themselves to a Christian Society, they are no part, even of the visible church. No man can rationally be accounted a member of a society against his will; many who have received infant baptism, disbelieve Christianity itself; and shall infidels and deists, against their will be denominated members of the Church of Christ, because they are subjects of a king who has made Christianity the religion of the nation? Churches may constitute themselves Christian churches, nominally, upon other principles than those which prevailed in the first Churches, but the nature of Christ's Church remains like himself, "the same yesterday, to day, and for ever." A church that is founded on any other basis than the authority of Christ, or that proceeds on any other principle than that of voluntary membership, is so far unchristian, not to say anti-Christian; yet it may possess innumerable Christians in it, while it is not founded, as a society, on Christian principles. A church founded by Act of Parliament, and counting all the nation its members, and imposing by statute what is not imposed by the Gospel, may be a State Church, a National Church, a Parliamentary Church, a Monarchical Church, but in its principle it is not the Church of Christ; and on these accounts, we maintain that it forfeits its claim as a society, when it departs from the simplicity of that principle on which the primitive assemblies of true believers were denominated the Churches of Christ. There is then no difference in the nature of a Church, whether at Jerusalem, at Rome, or at London, or whether Christianity is contemplated as the religion of a nation, or the religion of a sect. As far as revelation is concerned, we are not aware that any difference is admitted, and as far as legal authorities are superadded, we abjure them all, and conceive every consistent Protestant is bound to do the same. But we apprehend the Author has been led into this error, by his habit of considering the congregation and the Church as identical. There is a dif-

ference in the external circumstances of a congregation when Christianity is the religion of a nation, and when it is the religion of a sect. This seems to us to be what the Author should have said ; or else, he should have proved the identity of congregation and Church. The notion of a National Church has engendered in his mind this confusion, and it is the same notion that often renders his reasonings superficial and futile, and his divinity confused and unscriptural. At page 21, he says,

‘ It must be considered, therefore, as a fact which admits of no dispute, that in a modern congregation there is much more chance of insincere profession of the faith and of eventual departure from it. This however is an accidental, not an essential difference ; the resemblance on the other hand is essential, that all have alike professed “ one Lord, one faith, one baptism.” The measure of grace actually enjoyed, and consequently the character of the persons, may vary in every imaginable degree ; but the fundamental resemblance remains, that all have been called to justification through Jesus Christ, and made partakers of the covenant of grace.’ p. 21. .

We can see no ground for his tracing this essential resemblance between the churches of first Christians, all of whom personally professed, and by their lives proved, their faith in Christ ; and a modern congregation, with regard to many of whom it is always true, that they do not make pretensions to be regenerated characters, a small part of whom, we presume, in most parish Churches ever attend the Lord's supper, and certainly the majority of whom, cannot in Scriptural language be denominated “ the called of God in Christ,” or be said to be “ partakers of the covenant of grace.” It is not just to charge departure from the faith upon those who never even partook of the Lord's supper ; for the indispensable sign of a visible profession is wanting in them. And with regard to the greater chance of eventual departure from the faith, in those that insincerely profess it, the true Church of Christ may say with the Apostle ; “ They went out from us because they were “ not of us, for had they been of us they would no doubt have “ continued with us.” There is then no greater chance of departure from the true faith now than formerly ; that is there is no chance at all.

We pass on to offer a few strictures upon only two other passages in the first chapter, the importance of the subject of which, will, we trust, plead our apology for the length to which our animadversions have extended. At page 23, we read,

‘ Cases indeed may occur, in which it may rather be a minister's business to convert, than to enlighten and inform ; where he is called upon to take the part of a missionary, to declare a revelation, instead of that of a guide, to lead in the right way of truth those who are already in the road.’ p. 23.

We are grieved to see a sentiment which should have had the utmost prominence in a treatise on the importance of the preacher's office, stated in so infirm a shape. The portraiture the Author has drawn of those to whom it will be necessary to preach the doctrine of *conversion*, is indeed admirable; but why should it be insinuated that there is only a faint probability of the occurrence of such cases? Is there a parish throughout the kingdom, in which the doctrine is not necessary to be often taught? And why should it be said, that 'cases indeed may occur,' when it ought to have been said, that in every place the preacher will find urgent need for testifying "repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." It is indeed grievous to behold a sentiment which pervades the Scripture, so veiled and weakened; to see in a sketch of Apostolic preaching, a point of so much importance, and which one would have expected to find in the very centre of all the light, and colouring, and description, which the spiritual artist could throw into his picture, thus chastened down and thrown into the back ground. When a minister resides in the midst of a population, one half of whom never enter a place of worship of any kind, while one half of those who do, are living "according to the course of the world," shall he be told so very calmly, 'cases indeed may occur in which it may rather be your business to convert than to enlighten and improve?' This appears to us a very perilous weakening of the Gospel minister's commission, and a strong evidence of the injurious prejudices under which the Author's mind is oppressed. We think, that with his heart, if he had stood in any other relation to the people of this country, than that of a minister of the National Church, he would have seen that these cases, which he now represents as only probable, are certain, and instead of being few, are by far the more numerous in most towns, and in most congregations.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (not paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.

J. Snelgar, of Hampstead, is printing an impression of *Four Discourses on the Divinity of Christ*: by the late Harvey, M. A. of Weston Flavel. In press, *The Principles of Diagnosis*. By Marshall Hall, M.D. &c. This work is founded entirely upon the first Appearances of morbid affections. It embraces, 1. A view of the countenance and attitude of Patients, inasmuch as they are plainly characteristic of Diseases. 2. The uses of Diseases considered in their modifications, and in relation to other affections. 3. A Diagnostic Method of Diseases. And lastly, a prognosis. A part of this work will appear in July.

Coming for publication, and will be ready, a little volume, entitled *Remarks on the Moral and Political State of the World*, or some remarks, moral and Critical, in a series of letters to a friend, occasioned by the lectures on the Christian Revelation, reviewed in connection with the History of Astronomy, as published by the Rev. Chalmers.

George Ogg, of Plymouth, has published a Lecture which was read at the Plymouth Institution on the Prevention and cure of Dry Rot in Ships.

It will be published, *Mandeville's Domestic Story of the Seven-Century in England*. By William Edwin, "Author of *Caleb Winton*." In three Volumes 12mo.

Rob Roy. By the Author of *Rob Roy*, &c. Three volumes.

In press, *Travels from Vienna to Lower Hungary, with some account of Vienna during the Congress*. By David Bright, M.D. One Volume with Engravings.

In press, *A Summary of the Law relating to the Granting New Trials in Criminal Cases by Courts of Justice in England*. By John Peter Grant, Esq. 8vo.

In July will be published, an edition to English Composition and

Elocution; in four parts, viz. 1. *Æsop* modernised and moralised, in a series of amusing and instructive Tales, calculated as Reading Lessons for Youth; 2. *Skeletons of those Tales*, with leading Questions and Hints, designed as an easy Manuduction to the Practice of English Composition; 3. *Poetic Reading made Easy*, by means of metrical notes to each line; 4. An Appendix of select Prose. By John Carey, LL.D. Author of "Latin Prosody made easy"—"Scanning Exercises for young Prosodians"—"Practical English Prosody and Versification," and other publications.

Observations on the Canonical Scriptures, by Mary Cornwallis, are printing in four octavo volumes.

Dr. Nance is preparing a second volume of *Sermons on Practical Subjects*.

Mr. Thomas Rickman has in the press, an *Essay on Architecture*, adapted to the use of schools and regular students, in an octavo volume, illustrated by engravings.

A concise *Treatise of Perspective*, with plates and examples, by Mr. Wells, drawing-master to the Blue-coat School, is in the press.

Mr. Overton, of Crayford, is printing in two octavo volumes, the *Genealogy of Christ*, elucidated by sacred history; with a new system of sacred chronology.

Mr. Wm. Pybus, author of a *Manual of Useful Knowledge*, will soon publish the *Lady's Receipt Book*, containing a collection of miscellaneous receipts and choice secrets.

An *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge, on an original plan, is in preparation; it will form 24 vols. 4to. with a 25th of index, and be published in half-volumes.

A new and corrected edition of the *Musæ Etonensis*, with additional pieces, by the Hon. Wm. Herbert, will soon appear in two octavo volumes.

A new edition of the *Life and Errors of John Dunton*, with such additions from his other works as are worthy of

preservation, will soon be published in an octavo volume.

Mr. John Nichols will soon publish, a Third volume of the Genuine Works of William Hogarth, with fifty additional plates.

The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq. the celebrated author of *Sylva*, from the original MS. at Wotton, is printing in two quarto volumes.

The Rev. John Evans has in the press, an Excursion to Windsor, interspersed with historical and biographical anecdotes; to which will be annexed, a Journal of a Trip to Paris, by John Evans, jun.

Prof. Paxton, of Edinburgh, proposes

to publish in three octavo volumes, the Holy Scriptures Illustrated; from the geography of the east, from natural history, and from the customs and manners of ancient and modern nations.

Memoirs, with a Selection from the Correspondence and other unpublished writings of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton, are printing in two crown 8vo. vols.

The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. I. is printing in quarto.

The Rev. J. Nightingale will soon publish, the History and Antiquities of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, with several engravings by Mr. W. G. Moss.

Art. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs du Marquis de Dangeau; ou Journal de la Cour de Louis XIV, depuis 1684, jusqu'à 1715; avec des Notes historiques et critiques. Par Madame la Comtesse de Genlis. 3 Tom. 8vo. 11. 11s. 6d.—It is well known, that in the time of Louis XIV there were two noblemen at the court of this monarch employed in writing a daily Journal of every thing which passed under their observation. One of these was the Duke de St. Simon, and the other was the Marquis de Dangeau.

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Belisaire, et Fragmens de Philosophie Morale, par M. Marmontel. 4me edition, avec la Signification des Mots les plus difficiles en Anglois au bas de chaque page. Revue et soigneusement corrigée par V. Wapostrocht. 12mo. 4s. 6d. bound.

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The History of the British Revolution; recording all the events connected with that transaction in England, Scotland, and Ireland, down to the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, in the last of these kingdoms, inclusive. By George Moore, Esq. 14s.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1817.

II. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean.* With an Original Grammar and Vocabulary of their Language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner, several Years resident in those Islands. By John Martin, M. D. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. about 1100. Price 1l. 4s. Murray. 1817.

WHERE would be, perhaps, some little difficulty in making out a clear, short reply to the question, Why is it desirable to obtain more information of the state of the human race in the imperfectly examined parts of the world?—since that question is nearly identical with this, What satisfaction can there be in having a still ampler vision of the depravity of a race whose nature was originally good, a race which can be happy only in being good, and which therefore in being bad is necessarily miserable?

We are supposing the question to be addressed to the inquirer who is actuated merely by the general principle of curiosity, probably the most prevailing principle in the passion for more of this melancholy kind of knowledge. It is a different thing when this desire is combined with some specific valuable object;—the knowledge is sought to be obtained in aid of serious speculations and projects for doing good to mankind; if it is sought for the purpose of judging the better where and how it may be the most practicable and hopeful to make moral war on ignorance, delusion, barbarism, and iniquity; if it is sought as a ground of schemes for communicating the Bible and Christianity; if it is pursued in the spirit of wishing to pray the more appropriately to Heaven in behalf of a miserable world.

Nor must we affect to undervalue the inferior objects, a beneficial extension of commerce, the improvement of any useful arts of life, and the means for the more judicious direction of experiments of colonization. If it should be represented that important accessions also may be brought to the philosophy of human nature, to use a high diction, from our extending acquaintance with remote tribes, we will confess we think it must

have been either our own fault, or something intrinsically mysterious in the subject, if we have not long since come to a comprehensive and final estimate of the nature of man.

There is a class of readers who never can, without an expression of contempt, hear such terms applied to human nature as we have used above, in reference to its moral condition. If any such are in the habit of inspecting our pages, we would recommend them to peruse this account of the people of the Tonga Islands, a tribe in many respects very far above the lowest degree in the scale of humanity, but among whom it is one of the most favourite occupations to knock out one another's brains; an expression which we do not employ from any partiality to a strong vulgar phrase;—this precise operation was literally one of the chief, if not the very chief, of the occupations and delights of these people during the four-years spent among them by the very observant young man to whom the inquisitive public are indebted for these volumes.

He is not in a strict literary sense their Author. But, by Dr. Martin's account, every fact and circumstance is so carefully given in his statement, and with so constant an intervention of his check and sanction at every step in the progress of the relation, that the adventurer himself stands distinctly before the public as the authority for the whole matter of the book; while nevertheless he is under very great obligations to Dr. Martin for throwing the whole into arrangement, and bringing it out in so respectable a form.

In a long Introduction, Dr. M. has given such particulars of information as the reader might be expected to desire concerning Mr. Mariner; has explained the whole of the partnership process in composing the book; and has pointed out, as aiding to verify its statements, a number of undesigned coincidences with the accounts of Capt. Cook, and other voyagers, and the missionaries in the South Sea; indicating, at the same time, the advantages which Mr. Mariner has possessed over the other relaters and describers, from his long and intimate communication with the barbarians, and his implication in their transactions.

Mr. Mariner appears to have had no design of calling the public attention to his adventures, or the knowledge he had acquired in them, till urged to it by his Editor, who sought his acquaintance in consequence of hearing among his connexions some reports of his extraordinary story.

'My curiosity being strongly excited,' says Dr. M., 'I solicited his acquaintance. In the course of three or four interviews I discovered, with much satisfaction, that the information he was able to communicate respecting the people with whom he had been so long and so intimately associated, was very far superior to, and much more

extensive than any thing that had yet appeared before the public. His answers to several inquiries, in regard to their religion, government, and habits of life, were given with that kind of unassuming confidence which bespeaks a thorough intimacy with the subject, and carries with it the conviction of truth:—in fact, having been thrown upon those islands at an early age, his young and flexible mind had so coörded itself with the habits and circumstances of the natives, that he evinced no disposition to overrate or to embellish what to him was either strange nor new.'

When, however, it is told, that this investigator of the habits, government, and religion, of a peculiar race, had not finished his sixteenth year at the time of his being thrown among them, some doubt may very naturally be excited as to his intellectual competence. It was therefore very proper to mention, that though destined to the sea-service by his father, whose own early life had been so employed, he was in a respectable degree an educated youth. The tutor is mentioned in those 'academy,'

— 'besides the common acquisitions of reading, writing, and arithmetic, he had made much progress in the knowledge of history, geography, and the French language, and also some advance in the first rudiments of the Latin.'

The particulars in the book, if they were given to the Editor exactly, in point of substance, as they are given to the public, certainly furnish, by their multitude, taken in connexion with the distinctness of the Author's statement, unobvious also as some of them would have been to a slightly discriminating observer, strong evidence of very good faculties, unusually mature, and kept in a full exercise of vigilant observation. Some special instances are mentioned by the Editor of the uncommon fidelity of his memory. It is quite apparent, too, that the necessity of choosing and acting a part, in emergencies and sometimes very critical junctures, forced this youthful mind to a state of decision, of vigour, of promptitude, of policy, and of self-command, far beyond the ordinary attainments of such an age.

It seems that though subsequently to this perilous and romantic portion of his life, young Mariner has subsided into 'a sedateness of character, and disposition to rest and quiet, which,' says his Editor, 'may easily be conceived to arise from disappointments, and unexpected hardships and dangers, experienced at too early a period of life,' he disclosed in his most juvenile years, 'evident proofs of a mind very susceptible of external impressions, disposed to activity,' and of a cast apparently 'fitted for a life of change and adventure.'

He was fond of books of travels, and he used often to say how much he should like to live among savages and meet with strange

occurrences; a disposition indeed not uncommon among some young minds. His sports and amusements were frequently those of an active, adventurous, and sometimes of a daring kind.

Nevertheless, when it came to the point that he was to embark in a likely course for meeting with adventures, he was so little disposed deliberately to enter on his father's plan, disliked as it was extremely by his mother, that the employment at an attorney's desk was adopted in preference to going on ship-board. But it was not long before this choice was suddenly reversed by the animated and sanguine representations of a man who had been trained to a maritime life under his father, and was just about to sail as captain of a large privateer and South-Sea whaler. There was no time to be lost, and almost before his pens were dry, Mariner was on board and on the Atlantic.

The Port au Prince, Captain Duck, weighed anchor at Gravesend on the 12th of February, 1805; and a very rapid narrative brings her speedily on some of the tracks of that memorable and formidable fraternity the Bueaniers, on the western coast of Spanish America, where we have a very tolerable story of adventures, in the way of chaces, surprises, captures, and plunderings, though forming a very languid sequel to the exploits of those wild and terrible outlaws; to whose barbarity we have, at the same time, a pleasing contrast in the humane and liberal spirit displayed by Captain Duck toward his enemies, which drew from some of them a polite and grateful return of civilities. The naval-and-war-story is agreeably relieved by some of the incidents; such as that of the captain's refusing, from pure benevolence, to surrender, in the arrangements of accommodation and exchange with the Spanish authorities, several negro slaves who were among his prisoners, and who clung round his knees to implore him not to give them up. And there was an amusing adventure of civilities and invectives between young Mariner and the only daughter of the governor of Tola, at whose house the Englishmen were very politely entertained. She was of the age of sixteen, and had just finished her education at a nunnery. She expressed her horror at the sacrilege which the English had committed in plundering a church, and which they had meditated to extend to a nunnery, southward of Calao.

She lifted up her hands and eyes, uttered some expressions in Spanish, and laboured for a little time under considerable agitation. She expressed in tolerably good English her sentiments upon these subjects, in particular to young Mariner, and told him she was quite certain his ship would never reach England. She asked him if he had any hand in robbing the church; to which, when he replied jocosely that he had only knocked down as many images as he could reach, she predicted that he would never again see his father and mother; and that the ship and all the crew would certainly be de-

stroyed as a just judgment from God. Mariner told her that if she were in England she would stand a chance of being punished for a witch: the observation caused her to laugh, but produced him, at the same time, a pretty smart box on the ears. So great a favour, from so fair a hand, could not but be received in good part; he accordingly took the first opportunity of going on board and bringing her a cheese, as a present, (the scarcity of the article rendering it valuable at this place.) She, taking a pair of gold buckles from her shoes, gave them to him; but not without reminding him that he would never again see home; and that, therefore, the buckles which she presented merely as an acknowledgment, would not long be of service to him.'

A bad and incurable leak of the ship gave a great deal of trouble; but the worst grievance arose from the double nature of their commission,—to take prizes and to catch whales. The objects so interfered with each other as to prevent the satisfactory prosecution of either; the crew became discontented, and little less than an open rupture took place between the captain, and Mr. Brown, the 'whaling-master.' The illness and death of Captain Duck put the latter in full command, which he exercised in a manner which disappointed and alienated all on board. They caught a number of whales; made a considerable run on the Pacific; touched at Owhyee, where eight natives were taken on board; thence directed their course for Otaheite, with the leak in an alarming state; missed that island through an adverse current; steered for the Friendly Islands; and 'on the 29th of November 1806, brought to, for the last time, at the N.W. point of Lefooga, one of the Hapai islands, in the same place where Captain Cook had formerly anchored.' The eventful story of this and the two following days, is told in a very lively manner. Nearly half the crew, many of them perhaps ill-disposed enough, but irritated too to fury by the conduct of Brown, deserted to the island. The ship was surrounded and inundated by the natives, accompanied by a man of Owhyee resident on the island, who could talk some English; and who took very great pains to assure the people of the Port au Prince, that the islanders had the most friendly disposition towards them.' One of the Owhyee men, however, who had come in the ship, was, from what he observed, convinced of the contrary, warned Mr. Brown of a deadly design, and advised him not to permit so great a number of these treacherous friends on board; for the presumption of offering which advice, the infatuated commander threatened to have him flogged. The next day, the 30th, the danger became so evident to the ship's company that had remained, as to impel them to make an earnest representation to the captain. And in fact it was afterwards learnt, that an accidental movement of Mariner, at a critical moment, was the cause of preventing the accomplishment that day of a most skilfully

110 *Martin's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands.*

contrived design for taking possession of the ship. Brown did reluctantly bring himself to signify to the chiefs his dislike of having so many islanders armed on board. They instantly made a great shew of throwing away arms, and ordering away the men; but with such circumstances of reserve as aggravated Mariner's suspicions. The besotted captain, however, would understand none of the omens; and, in complaisance to these courteous savages, he ordered the arms of the ship below deck, in spite of the representations, from his men, of the urgent necessity of keeping those arms in instant readiness, and placing sentinels. How grievous is the reflection, that the fate of numbers of human beings should so often be placed in the hands of an obstinate fool! Next morning, he consummated his folly, and paid for it, by accepting, when no less than 300 savages were in the ship, a *friendly* invitation to go on shore, where, a few hours afterwards, Mariner saw him lying dead. Soon after his departure the infernal shout was raised, and all the twenty-six Englishmen on board were instantly massacred, excepting four, two that escaped in some way not mentioned, and the cooper and Mariner, who ran below, and took refuge in the powder-magazine. There, after a short consultation, they determined to blow up the ship; and Mariner says they most certainly would have perished like Samson, but that he failed in an anxious attempt to find the means of striking fire. In this desperate state they resolved to present themselves suddenly among the enemy, in the cabin, and meet their death. The fury of slaughter, however, was satiated, and they were spared. It afterwards appeared that Finow, or Feenow, the king of these heroes, had previously given orders not to destroy the youth. He was brought on deck, and

‘The first object that struck his sight was enough to thrill the stoutest heart; there sat upon the companion a short squab naked figure, of about fifty years of age, with a seaman’s jacket, soaked with blood, thrown over one shoulder; on the other rested his iron-wood club, spattered with blood and brains;—and what increased the frightfulness of his appearance was a constant blinking with one of his eyes, and a horrible convulsive motion with one side of his mouth. On another part of the deck there lay twenty-two bodies perfectly naked, and arranged side by side in even order. They were so dreadfully bruised and battered about the head, that only two or three of them could be recognised. At this time a man had just counted them, and was reporting the number to the chief, who sat in the hammock nettings; immediately after which they began to throw them overboard.’

Three other men, besides Brown, were murdered on shore; so that of the whole ship’s company consisting of fifty-two, (exclusive of the Sandwich islanders, who were regarded as privi-

leged persons,) exactly one half were the victims of the captain's incorrigible perverseness.

The ship, after the removal of every thing which the captors coveted, including the ammunition and eight carronades, was run aground and burnt. The iron was the object of special cupidity, and a considerable number of natives perished in a flood of oil from the casks of which they were eagerly knocking off the hoops. Much temporary consternation was caused by the spontaneous discharge of the cannon, as they became heated in the conflagration.

Being taken on shore, Mariner was for a time treated with abusive malice, pelted frequently with sticks and fragments of cocoa-nut shells, and reduced to a miserable condition by being forced to walk considerable distances bare-footed, naked, and in a burning sun. At last, a woman had compassion enough to give him a covering 'made of the leaves of the chee-tree;' and it was not long before he was sent for by the king, who received him with strong marks of favour; and he ever afterwards retained his captive near him, and treated him with great partiality and confidence. For a while, nevertheless, he continued to be an object of the popular malice; and, as well as the rest of his countrymen, suffered much for want of any regular supply of sustenance. He contrived to have this distressing grievance mentioned to Finow;

'—upon which the king seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and enquired how food was obtained in England; and when he heard that every man procured the necessary supplies for himself and family by purchase, and that his friends, for the most part, only partook by invitation, and that strangers were scarcely ever invited, unless with a view of forming an acquaintance, he laughed at what he called the ill-nature and selfishness of the white people; and told Mr. Mariner that the Tonga custom was far better, and that he had nothing to do when he felt himself hungry, but to go into any house where eating and drinking was going forward, sit himself down without invitation, and partake with the company. After this, the generality of the natives made this selfishness, as they considered it, of the Europeans quite proverbial; and when any stranger came into their houses to eat with them, they would say jocosely, No! we shall treat you after the manner of the Papalangis (white people); go home, and eat what *you* have got, and we shall eat what *we* have got.'

But something better than this general licence to catch victuals wherever they could be found, was some time afterwards conferred by the king, in the appointment of one of his wives to be Mariner's adopted mother, according to a practice not uncommon in the Tonga Islands. Finow told the young man 'that if there was any thing he wanted, to make his situation 'more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as

' she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing in reason he might require.' It is added that ' this woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.'

' To this person Mr. Mariner feels himself greatly indebted for a considerable portion of his intimate knowledge of the language and true customs of Tonga, in contradistinction to words and customs introduced from other islands. She would frequently take the greatest pains in teaching him the correct Tonga pronunciation, and would laugh him out of all little habits and customs, in dress, manners, and conversation, that were not strictly according to the Tonga fashion, or not considered sufficiently polished and becoming an *egi* (noble). In all respects, and on every occasion, she conducted herself towards him with the greatest maternal affection, modesty, and propriety: she was a woman of great understanding, personal beauty, and amiable manners.'

The fine scene on the deck of the *Port au Prince*, was speedily followed by a summoning of all the brave spirits, Mariner and the other Englishmen included, to that business which has constituted so capital a part of the occupation and the glory of the human race through all ages.—The denomination *Tonga Islands*, as used in this work, includes *Tonga* properly so called, the *Hapai Islands*, and *Vavao*. At the time of Captain Cook's visit, all these were under the government of his majesty *Toogoo Ahoo*, whose seat of dominion was *Tonga*, the *Hapais* and *Vavao* forming each a sort of vice-royalty under the immediate government of their respective tributary chiefs. It should seem to have been about twelve or fifteen years previous to the arrival of our young adventurer, that his said majesty *Toogoo Ahoo*, who is recorded to have been an execrable tyrant,* was taken off by a conspiracy of his tributaries, *Finow*, chief of the *Hapais*, and *Finow's* brother, *Toobo Neuha*, a chief somewhat inferior, but of very high rank, whose characters and motives, as represented by Mariner, would bear some analogy to those of *Cassius* and *Brutus*. The latter, *Toobo Neuha*, who was the immediate sacrificer, was universally celebrated for his liberal, generous, and patriotic spirit, a character which many things in Mr. Mariner's personal acquaintance and communications with him tended to verify. He related himself to the Englishman the

* Take a sample of his characteristic amusements.

' On one occasion he gave orders (which were instantly obeyed) that twelve of his cooks, who always were in waiting at his public ceremony of drinking *cava*, should undergo the amputation of their left arms, merely to distinguish them from other men, and for the vanity of rendering himself singular by this extraordinary exercise of his authority.' Vol. I. p. 76.

particulars of the tyrannicide. He entered the king's house at midnight, when he and his wives and mistresses were asleep, while Finow with an armed party were ready in silence on the outside. He expressed to Mariner the deep regret with which, in advancing through the apartment, he beheld these females as inevitably doomed to be also victims. He does not, however, appear to have explained *why* they should necessarily be so doomed, *why* he could not insist with his brother that they should be exempted. While patriotism was his alleged general motive in the transaction, he probably would not have pretended to deny that it was personal revenge which rendered him, while standing in delay for a short moment over his object, desirous that that object should just open his eyes to recognise his executioner.

‘ He struck him with his hand upon his face : Toogoo Ahoo started up,—“ ’Tis I, Toobo Neuha, that strike,”—and a tremendous blow of the axe felled him to the ground, never to rise again. Horror and confusion immediately took place : Toobo Neuha snatched up the king's adopted son, (a child of three years old), whom he was desirous of saving, and rushed out of the house as the guards of Finow rushed in, when speedy death silenced the screams of those who but now lay reposed in the arms of sleep.’

The speedy consequence of this transaction was a very obstinate battle between the two chiefs and the strong party that were soon in array to avenge the late How, as the king was denominated. The combat is related in a lofty Homeric strain, in accurate imitation, as there is a note to assure us, of the actual diction employed in the recital by the natives. The victory obtained by the conspirators cost them so many of their warriors, and left the Tonga people in an attitude still so unsubdued and formidable, that they judged it best to retire to the Hapais and Vavaoo. After some opposition these were completely reduced. Finow constituted himself their king, and appointed Toobo Neuha to the tributary government of Vavaoo. Tonga, after great distractions and misery, fell under the authority of several independent chiefs, each of whom strongly fortified his share ; and ever since that time it had been Finow's military amusement, to make an annual attack on one or other of them ; but hitherto without any lasting success. It was a new and more determined and confident attempt in which the Englishmen were now summoned to get ready four twelve-pound carronades to co-operate.

If Mariner did not feel himself left at this juncture to the exercise of any moral discretion with respect to the commands of his actual monarch, it was not that he could not evince, on occasions, resolution enough to limit his obsequiousness. At the time these preparations were going on, Finow and Mariner happened one day to be in sight of a poor female who had been

long insane, reduced to that condition, so very extraordinary among savages, 'by excessive grief, partly occasioned by the death of a near relation, but principally by her child being taken from her to be strangled, as an offering to the gods, for the recovery of her sick father.' This benignant monarch, tired of seeing a creature who was useless and regarded as a nuisance in society, directed Mariner to shoot her. The latter assured the king, that he was ready to risk his life in his service, against his enemies, but that he must be excused this act, as 'it was quite contrary to the sentiment of the religion in which he had been brought up, and to the laws of his country, to destroy an innocent fellow-creature in cold blood.' The king admitted the reasonableness of the excuse, and for that time she escaped. A few days afterward, Mariner saw the same command most promptly obeyed by one of the Sandwich islanders. 'She had just been in the act of picking up a shell, or something on the beach, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea.' The same alacrity of service had been shewn by a Sandwich islander during the ransack and dismantling of the *Port au Prince*, previously to her being set on fire. A loyal subject was working hard to detach a piece of iron from the main-top-gallant-mast; his majesty not approving that 'a low vulgar fellow' should acquire so valuable a booty, gave the order, and he was instantly brought down: 'the shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which it was done.'

It may readily be imagined, that a governor who could thus liberally expend the lives of his own subjects, would not be frugal of those of his enemies. Accordingly, the long detail of warfare exhibits him as finding it a most agreeable excitement of his faculties to direct, and see, and aid, the demolition of the living upright forms which too much abounded on the islands.—But it would be quite in vain for us to attempt to follow the well told and very diversified story. Nor is it very easy to fix on the particular parts most deserving of notice or extract.

In commencing the attack on the Tonga people, the king availed himself of an advantage somewhat analogous to that which was taken against the Maccabees, whose conscience forbade resistance on the sabbath day. There was on the shore a consecrated sepulchral spot where it was held that fighting would be sacrilegious, and infallibly and fatally punished by the gods. Here, therefore, there would be no resistance to the landing and quiet establishment of the invader,

preparatory to the attack on the strongest fort in the island. This fortification, of deep ditches, and mounds of earth, with two fences of massive posts, driven into the ground near together, connected by a strong wicker-work, and surmounted by frequent guarded platforms, appears to have been a highly respectable work, and would probably have still continued, as it had been for many years, impregnable to the besiegers, but for the English artillery. The shot passing through the fences with little apparent mischief, greatly disappointed, at first, the sanguine leader; but Mariner assured him that the balls would be very sure to do their duty within the fort; and in fact they produced such havoc as to make the brave defenders waver; on which the assailants forced one of the gateways by means of the carronades, burst in with clubs, spears, and lighted torches, and while one party set the fort on fire, the rest completed the work of indiscriminate carnage, which they wondered and exulted to find so nobly advanced already by the effect of the artillery.

‘ The scene was truly horrible. The war-whoop shouted by the combatants, the heart-rending screams of the women and children, the groans of the wounded, the number of the dead, and the fierceness of the conflagration, formed a picture almost too distracting and awful for the mind steadily to contemplate. Some, with a kind of sullen and stupid resignation, offered no resistance, but waited for the hand of fate to despatch them, no matter in what mode; others, that were already lying on the ground wounded, were stuck with spears, and beaten about with clubs by boys who followed the expedition to be trained to the horrors of war, and who delighted in the opportunity of gratifying their ferocious disposition.’

From a few who were spared, and who gave a superstitious and romantic description of the effect of the balls among the garrison, it was learnt that one particular ball had probably been the mean of preventing the destruction of the Englishmen. It had shattered a canoe, and dismayed a party of chiefs who were sitting on it in consultation, just at the moment when they had come to a determination to make a sudden, desperate sally to kill the white artillerymen.

Some days after this tragedy, the conquerors were reduced nearly to a state of famine, by the non-arrival of an expected and appointed squadron of canoes with provisions. Under this pressure, some of the warriors who had learnt the art military in the Feejee Islands, and had learnt other things along with this ‘ illustrious trade,’ as Voltaire somewhere styles it, in writing to a Marshal,—proposed the expedient of killing and cooking fifteen prisoners, who had been taken in a subsequent skirmish. The thing was done.

‘ Their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water,

want any instruction for the management of such affairs from the secret histories of European or Asiatic courts. The king's complicated finesse to seem clear of the guilt, yet without being bound to punish it, or to forego its resulting advantages, was quite a model in its kind, though it could not avert the just imputations: but his power defied their effects. The victim appears throughout, in a very interesting light, from the kind of voluntary and generous incredulity which he had maintained against many warnings of his brother's treacherous designs, and the dignified calm surrendering courage which he displayed in the catastrophe. His fate was, however, the cause of a new and onerous war. By Finow's appointment, the people of Vavao received in place of their lamented chief a female vice-roy, an aunt of the king, and evidently a person of no ordinary spirit and talent. Under her they declared themselves independent; and prepared for the consequences by raising, on a commanding position, a prodigious fortification. The long history of the subsequent military operations, may vie with any story of the kind, for the number of incidents, encounters, manœuvres, stratagems, cruelties, and traits of individual character. The lofty situation and vast earthen embankments, rendered the great camp totally impregnable to the effect of the artillery, and its strong and brave garrison were secure against any danger of storm when they retreated from those closer combats in which they were for the greater part worsted. Mariner believed he could have found means to set fire to the works; but he knew no reason why he should carry his loyalty so far, in a cause of which he had no great opinion of the merits. The invader, inflexible as to his ultimate purpose, was yet reduced, by the exhaustion of his resources, to think of negotiation; and the ability which he had evinced as a general, bore him victoriously out as a politician. With excellent artifice to save his pride and maintain his high pretensions, he managed to take a semblance of being merely obsequious to the will of the gods, instead of being constrained by any pressure of circumstances, in making overtures for an accommodation, of which the basis was to be a voluntary and honourable acceptance of his sovereignty, accompanied by an amnesty to all the offences of the revolt. This manifestation of the will of the gods, was too opportune to be resisted long by a people who by this time felt severely the evils of perpetual conflict and a wasted territory, were convinced of the insuperable resolution of their foe, and perhaps retained, in spite of all they had seen, some little superstition in favour of a reliance on a royal pledge of impunity. Peace was concluded; and Finow proclaimed himself lord of the island, with a gracious assurance of the honour of its being made his residence, from the love and re-

spect he had for the people. In conformity to a multitude of precedents of royal conquerors, he failed not to take a pretty early occasion to seize, in an assembly convened for a public purpose,

‘ —all the chiefs and warriors that had been particularly active against him in the late war. By men previously appointed their hands were tied fast behind them; and they were taken down to the beach, where several were immediately despatched with the club; and the remainder were reserved till the afternoon, for what is considered a more signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea, and sunk in old leaky canoes.’

Eighteen were sentenced to this latter fate; and the story of their behaviour and conversation while conveyed out to sea, as related to the Englishman by the chief appointed to superintend the transaction, and by some of his associates, is extremely curious and characteristic. Twelve of them solicited and obtained from their executioners the commutation of drowning for the speedier despatch by the club or axe. Three immediately received the *coup de grace* in the canoes; but, to have better room for doing the thing handsomely, it was agreed to land with the other nine on a little island, while rowing to which, the party ‘disputed who should kill such a one, and who another.’ The contest lay chiefly among those who had no merit as warriors, and were eager to try their unpractised hands in so safe a way at the work of death. The six remaining prisoners were men of high spirit and character, who scorned to ask any favour of enemies, and awaited, bound hand and foot, their transfer into two rotten canoes, which sustained them in the vital air and the light of the sun only twenty minutes; during which they continued to converse, sufficiently in the style of heroes,—excepting that one of them, a chief pre-eminently distinguished by strength and desperate valour, employed these last moments in stoutly cursing Finow and all his confederates.

‘ He went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech.’

The part which had been assigned to Mariner in the treacherous contrivance for trepanning and seizing this formidable chief, was what he was far from liking: he even declares he should have refused his co-operation, at every hazard, had he not been imposed on as to the probability of the seizure leading to death.—It is, at the same time alleged, in extenuation of his majesty's conduct in the whole of this summary proceeding, that he had received intimations of a treasonable conspiracy among the chiefs of whom he thus adroitly managed to rid himself.

The solemn transactions of government and criminal justice, were interchanged with the lighter occupations of shooting birds of a particular kind, and rats. The former are lured within short reach of the archer by a couple of decoys; of the latter sport there is a very minute description, which cannot fail to be highly interesting to the Reverend W. B. Daniel. The business involves a great deal of art besides the mere dexterity in using the bow and arrow; nor is it a mere sport; it is improved into a *game*, with no contemptible number of regulations and changes.

Among Mariner's adventures after the pacification was an ascent to the summit of the small volcano of the island of Tofooa, and a visit, with Finow and some of his retinue, to a remarkable cavern, the entrance to which is a fathom under the sea at low water. He contrived to convey into it the means of illuminating it, 'for the first time since its existence.' Its proper floor was of course the sea; but a convenient position was found on projecting rocks.

'It appeared to be about 40 feet wide in the main part, but which branched off, on one side, in two narrower portions. The medium height seemed also about 40 feet. The roof was hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling, upon a cursory view, the gothic arches and ornaments of an old church.'

The party continued two hours sitting and talking in this most extraordinary recess, an old mataboole (a kind of magistrate) relating the traditional history of its discovery by a young chief in diving after a turtle, and of the use for which this gloomy and invisible mansion afterwards served him; an use to which the antecedent improbability that the place was destined ever to be put, must have been in the proportion of some inconceivable multiplication of millions to an unit. He carried thither a young lady, whom he hastily snatched from imminent death; she being involved in the revengeful proscription which all her father's family had incurred, on his being detected, through treachery, in a design against a tyrant. Here, according to the story—a story so perfectly, for a probable fact in substance, *unique* in the whole and some of the details—he visited and supplied her as frequently as he could without drawing observation, for a space of two months; by the end of which time he had made every preparation to escape with her to the Feejee Islands, where they resided till the tyrant's death permitted their return.

Tofooa is an island reputed to be the residence of the sea gods; its volcano is of very difficult ascent; it frequently throws out flames and pumice-stones, and smoke almost continually. The crater appeared not more than thirty feet in diameter; it had ceased to flame a few hours before, but was still emitting dreadful sounds; these however excited less appre-

hension in Mariner when approaching the brink than the nearness of his guide, a native of the island. With his pistol in readiness, he authoritatively warned the man to keep his distance, as well knowing that nothing was more possible than that this associate might be indulging at that moment the idea of pushing him in. In their return, the observant savage complimented him on his circumspection, as resembling that of the natives of the Feejee Islands, 'where a man never goes out,' says Mr. M., 'even with his greatest friend, without being armed, and 'cautiously upon his guard.'

About this time, a plantation on the western coast of Vavaoo, of a mile and a half long and half a mile broad, being surrendered to the king by a rich chief who went to reside on his estate in another island, Mariner boldly petitioned his master to give it to him, and after some hesitation was invested with the full proprietorship, including the persons who worked on it, consisting of thirteen men and eight women. This tract is admired and celebrated as the most beautiful and romantic spot in all the Tonga Islands: by the *natives* it is thus admired and celebrated; and it is with considerable surprise that we read of some of them wandering sometimes among its bowers, and rocks, and caverns, and precipices, for the purpose of indulging moral and pensive meditations. No part, perhaps, of the book, more strongly tempts the suspicion of a little officious *extra-colouring* on the part of the Editor than this. The representation is in a certain degree warranted indeed by the several passages in the song frequently chanted in the solemn and beautiful scene; for the correctness of the rendering of which, in every word, we may justly hold Mariner himself immediately and alone responsible. In the original it is, he says, 'without rhyme or regular measure, although some of their songs have both.' It is added as a remarkable circumstance, 'that love and war seldom form the subjects of their songs, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.' We will repeat a part of this effusion of some wild unacknowledged relative, some sister Perdita, of the classic Muses.

'Let us repair to the back of the island to contemplate the setting sun: there let us listen to the warbling of the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at Matáwto,' (a place at a short distance from the romantic spot,) 'We will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers.' And now as we stand motionless on the eminence near Anoo Manoo, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring, but in vain, to tear away the firm rocks. Oh! how much happier shall we be thus em-

ployed, than when engaged in the troublesome and insipid affairs of life.....Alas! how destructive is war! Behold! how it has rendered the land productive of weeds and opened untimely graves for departed heroes!.....But let us banish sorrow from our hearts; since we are at war we must think and act like the natives of Feejee, who first taught us this destructive art. Let us therefore enjoy the present time, for to-morrow perhaps, or the next day, we may die.'

The descant is indeed eked out with poor stuff, just on the level of the condition of the people; but several of these passages, if faithfully given, are somewhat unaccountably above it.

The martial and politic tyrant, Finow, though not old, was approaching the close of his career, an event which was preceded by the death of his youngest daughter, six or seven years of age, named *Sāw-an māi Lalāngi*, which means, in the Hamoa language,—descended from the sky. There is an exceedingly curious account of the manner in which it was earnestly endeavoured to avert her fate, by sacrifices and entreaties first to one god, and, on that proving unavailing, to another, and still another, the child being carried for the purpose to the different sacred places in the islands. Nearly the same form of intercession was employed in each instance to the following effect, as pronounced by one or other of the matabooles, and sometimes two or three in succession :—

“ Here thou seest assembled Finow and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles of thy favoured land; thou seest them humbled before thee. We pray thee not to be merciless, but spare the life of the woman for the sake of her father, who has always been attentive to every religious ceremony.” [A flagrant falsehood; but the persons officiating dared not say otherwise.] “ But if thy anger is justly excited by some crime or misdemeanour committed by any other of us who are here assembled, we entreat thee to inflict on the guilty one the punishment which he merits, and not to let go thy vengeance on one who was born but as yesterday. For our own parts, why do we wish to live but for the sake of Finow; but if his family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, innocent as well as guilty. How canst thou be merciless! dost thou not see here Finow,—and is not Afoo here, descended from ancient Tonga chiefs—[a number more are named.] Then why art thou merciless?” (spoken in rather an impatient and peremptory tone,) “ have regard for Finow, and save the life of his daughter.”

He survived her just long enough for celebrating the funeral ceremonies after a manner which was suspected to be designed as a revengeful insult to the gods for having denied his request,—and for ‘ one of his children, by a female attendant, to be sacrificed to the gods, that their anger might be appeased, and the health of its father restored.’ This was not by his own order, but that of the heir apparent.

The general persuasion on the minds of the people was that

Finow's death was a direct infliction of the gods in punishment of his impiety. His irreverence toward them had been sufficiently notorious; but now, when his subjects were no longer afraid to say what they thought and tell what they knew, such proofs of irreligion were disclosed as made all shudder with horror. Testimony was produced that from spite against one particular god, for neglect of his interests, he had given directions, but very few days before his death, for the murder of the priest of that god. This revenge implied faith in the existence of the deity in question: but, at the same time the belief in gods seems to have been most reluctantly retained in his mind, as a relic of early impressions which he was indignant he could not shake off; but for which he partly indemnified himself by a proud contempt of the pretended powers of those beings.

‘ He had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods: he thought that men were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mariner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their existence when he acknowledged that he had more than once felt himself inspired by the spirit Moomoe (a former How of Tonga): “ True!” replied the king, “ there may be gods, but what the priests tell us of their power over mankind, I believe to be all false.”

There is a long and lively account of the funeral ceremonies, — the mourning women, the furious and frightful self-inflictions of the men, with knives, axes, and clubs, accompanied by invocations and protestations to the dead, the procession for baskets of sea-sand to be heaped on the grave, the grand wrestling-match, and various other particulars. Upon our Authors, however, it has devolved to pronounce, in full form, the funeral eulogium, with a considerably greater prolixity, we think, than even so uncommon a subject demanded; since the facts of his history can have left in no reader's mind an uncertain estimate of his character. The facts being given in a full and explicit manner, the reader can accept or reject just as much as he pleases of those palliations and apologies by which either the gratitude of Mariner to a person whom he justly remembers as considerably a benefactor, or a certain partiality on the part of the Editor for a character which gives so much interest to the story, has repeatedly and most officiously attempted to qualify the impression made by the bad exhibitions of that character.

This king of the Tonga Islands must have been a very extraordinary man. The story throughout displays most palpably an intellect, a firmness, and an energy, eminently adapted to command, in a barbarian or any other community. He possessed great sagacity, and comprehension, and foresight. He could act with vigorous promptitude or calculating delay. Though of

a most irascible temperament,* he did on some great occasions maintain an invincible coolness. He had boldness to act the hero, and artifice to play the hypocrite, as occasion might require. He appears to have possessed no small share of eloquence, whether to convince, or beguile, or overawe. His pertinacious, systematic, insatiable ambition was commodiously accompanied by, we think we may say, a total negation of moral principle, in the sense of an influential or conscientious sentiment; and this notwithstanding that he would frequently evince a sound and reasonable judgement on questions of right and wrong. If we ought to place it, in a great measure, to the account of the general savage state of the community, we may yet justly make it, in a considerable degree, a crimination on him personally, as endowed so much above the mental level of that community, that he was very nearly if not entirely devoid of every thing which is meant by that worst misnomer in our language, humanity. Not Graham of Claverhouse himself could have ordered persons to death, or seen the execution, or talked of it when it was over, with a more undisturbed coolness, with more of the air of having merely transacted or witnessed one of the ordinary matters of life. Among the numerous illustrations of this part of his character, we were particularly struck with his manner of talking on one occasion, in which he scorned to take the trouble to order a massacre. A detachment of his soldiers had contrived to come by surprise on a party of the enemies' women while collecting shell-fish. In neglect of the royal orders to dash all their heads in pieces on the spot, they brought eleven, as a capture, to the camp. There the women were recognised and claimed as relatives by some of Finow's people. This produced a violent dispute, which was at last referred to Finow;

* who replied that he should not interfere in it, and they might settle it themselves as well as they could, for they had no right to bring the prisoners there at all to create disturbances, but should have knocked out their brains according to his orders. At length he condescended to give his opinion, viz. that the most proper method would be, under these circumstances, to cut each woman in two, and give one half to her relation, and the other to the captor. The affair, however, was amicably settled.'

* This would sometimes kindle into a rage which was terrible. He was himself so much afraid of its effects that he charged his mataboos that they should hold him by force when they saw him becoming violently angry this they used to do, and were sure to receive his thanks afterwards. He believed this temper to be an infliction of the gods. 'The Tonga people believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the delight they take in punishing mankind.' Vol. I. p. 426.

His ambition was, it seems, of such a reach as to despise, comparatively, the very objects it was immediately intent upon. When conversing with Mariner on the power of the king of England, he would break forth in such expressions as the following:

“ Oh that the gods would make me king of England! There is not an island in the whole world, however small, but what I would then subject to my power. The king of England does not deserve the dominion which he enjoys: possessed of so many great ships, why does he suffer such petty islands as those of Tonga continually to insult his people with acts of treachery? Were I he, would I send tamely to ask for yams and pigs? no, I would come with the front of battle, and with the thunder of Bolotane. I would shew who ought to be chief. None but men of enterprising spirit should be in possession of guns; let such rule the earth, and be those their vassals who can submit to such insults unrevenged!”

There follows an extended description of the person and personal manners of this would-be subduer and castigator of the world, which degenerates, in parts, into bombast, mixed with an impertinent sort of attempt to force a character upon the man, upon the shewing of his face, in substitution to the manifest and habitual evidence of his conduct. The *mild expression* of his dignified and commanding countenance, is to satisfy us that ‘severity’ is the strongest appropriate denomination of what by all practical tests we should have decided to be malevolence and cruelty.

‘Without the knowledge of these facts’ (the cast and expression of his countenance, and his personal carriage) ‘we might suppose him to have been cruel and malevolent: with the knowledge of them, we rather suppose him to have been severe; but that his severity, where it degenerated into harshness, was occasioned sometimes by hastiness of temper, sometimes by—&c. &c. &c.’ ‘If, on the other hand, we were to find that his countenance spoke the same harsh language that his actions appeared to speak, we might without much fear of error, set him down as being really capable of malignant and atrocious actions.’

What a misfortune then it is to a bad man when he is unable to *look* an effectual lie to his habitual conduct!

There is handsome use made of the Editor's rhetoric in the descriptive estimates of some other of the leading personages; and possibly in that of Finow's son and successor. There are matters of fact, however, in the history of his commencing reign, which prove *him* also to have been greatly superior to his countrymen. These facts bear evidence to an acute intellect, stimulated by an ardent passion for knowledge, and to an enlightened conviction of the vanity and mischief of war and conquest. His government was beginning on a system perfectly the reverse of

that of his predecessor, on a system of peace and internal improvement, when the Englishman suddenly met with the opportunity of bidding him and his territory adieu. While on a fishing excursion in his canoe, he descried a sail on the horizon, and came up with an English vessel from Port Jackson, after many hours of hard rowing. His men had positively refused, till he had struck one of them dead, (a miscreant who had killed and eaten his wife,) to aid his escape, well knowing, as they assured him, that it was the determination of the chiefs never to let him quit the island. The young king made him a last visit on board the ship; and the description is extremely interesting of his intelligent, graceful deportment, and his most urgent earnestness to be taken to England, chiefly from the desire, as it appeared, of making the attainments which had so much excited his admiration in the Europeans. His rapid progress in those improvements, had he been brought under the experiment, would appear to have been infallibly certain, from the rational and vigorous manner in which his mind was observed to work in several curious and interesting cases. One of the most pleasing stories in the book, is that of a perilous adventure in a mistaken and lost direction at sea, safely terminated by means of a small mariner's compass which had been accidentally brought into the canoe. The property and the effect of this instrument excited his amazement to a degree almost of religious worship; especially after he found that Mariner could not explain the ultimate principle of its operation. But in things of a more explicable nature, his understanding went very directly and rapidly to the apprehension of the cause.

We have so unpardonably transgressed all laws of proportion in this cursory notice of the remarkable matters of the narrative, that a necessity is now imposed on us to dismiss in a very few sentences the portion of the work which undertakes the formal description of the whole social economy of these islanders, under the respective heads—'Rank in society, religious, civil and professional; religion; religious ceremonies; knowledge; dress; domestic habits; pastimes; music and poetry; language.'

Tooitonga and Veachi, two personages of divine descent on the fathers' side—whether their mothers were goddesses is not recorded—take precedence in rank of all other persons on the island, and are honoured with a more worshipful ceremonial; or rather *were* so honoured, for a signal innovation was effected in this long established adjunct to the religion of the islands by the new king, who, soon after his accession, resolved on the abolition of the office and title of Tooitonga, as an institution productive of no good equivalent to the costly tributes exacted by it from the community; which consideration of cost in-

duced, in spite of superstitious prejudice, the acquiescence of the people of weight in the state in the determination of the king. The mysterious character common to the two sacred personages, was yet of much more exalted degree in the former, who was the object of reverential ceremonies strictly peculiar and exclusive. When happening to meet either Tootonga or Veachi, the king was under obligation 'to sit down on the ground till the other had passed him,—the same mark of respect that a common peasant would be obliged to shew to any chief.' There are also several other chiefs to whom the reigning family, as being of less noble descent, and having been advanced to the supreme authority on account only of superior talent, are obliged to pay the same deference. It was natural enough, therefore, that the king should be careful to avoid all unnecessary rencounters with these subject-superiors, while they on their part felt it a duty of courtesy to keep as much as possible out of his way.

It is a most curious circumstance, however, that all these high personages, including the most 'divine chief' himself, might very possibly find themselves at times in the presence of their betters. And the person before whom they are all to bend, shall be probably of the family of some of the lower order of the chiefs. This happens when a priest is inspired by a god; for at such a season the priest is believed to be literally possessed or identified with the god, 'and has the same deference and respect shewn to him as if he were the god himself.' Indeed those who come to invoke the god, whether in the way of petition or consultation, make their address directly to the priest, as if he were the god, and he, in replying, personates the god. He never fails, or most rarely, to become thus inspired when the proper offerings and ceremonies are performed by the applicants to the oracle. Often the whole working of this supernatural state is a very sober business; but in some instances it is a tolerable imitation of the Delphic style.

'His countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling: the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men, under other circumstances, could devour.'

Mariner was induced to believe that this was not a mere sham, but that there was, from whatever cause, a real violence of emotion.

There is a long and exceedingly curious chapter on the religion of these islanders. If we may assume the accuracy of its

statements,—and we are not aware of any reason for not doing so,—it affords evidence of a very extraordinary inquisitiveness and memory in our young Englishman. It is far too crowded with particulars to admit of a brief abstract, even had we any remaining room. It represents that the people are all firm believers (Finow being perhaps an equivocal exception) in the existence and agency of Hotooas, or gods, who reside in a certain spiritual region named Bolotoo, which they conceive of as a great island situated somewhere far to the north-west, where things and persons exist, not in an immaterial state perhaps, but in comparatively unsubstantial forms. These celestial beings are of several classes; the highest being the primitive gods, who never existed otherwise than as divinities. The next are the souls of departed chiefs and kings, who are of various ranks, corresponding to what they were in their earthly life. The souls of matabooles also attain there a certain humble *grade* of divinity, and are ministers to the gods.

‘There are, besides, several Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles, not as a punishment, but indiscriminately to whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischievous disposition.’

The primitive gods are the grand conferrers of the good and inflictors of the evil experienced by mankind,—the secondary class, however, contributing their smaller share. The evils are inflicted chiefly on account of neglect of religious duties. It is a most remarkable article of their creed, that the future life is in no degree a state of retribution. The best of human beings will after death have no advantage over the worst. ‘All rewards for virtue and punishments for vice, happen to men in this world only.’ But though no account will be taken of character, the *ranks* respectively held by the individuals in this life, will be carefully maintained in Bolotoo! This must, to be sure, be about the last possible degradation of the sublime idea of a Divine government of the world.

With this astonishing debasement of notions well accords another article of their belief,—that the lower order of the people, the tooas, have no life after death. It is matter of great doubt whether the class next above them, the mooas, have souls capable of surviving the body; the certainty of this great privilege does not descend lower than the matabooles. The souls that can survive disembodied, will exist in a form appearing like the bodies they left, and will be immortal. However turbulent they may have been in Tonga, they have sense to let fighting alone in Bolotoo. They have indeed their animosities and conflicting opinions, and these are vented in verbal debate, in so truly Olympic a style as to produce the thunder and lightning.

Several of the gods are named individually, as presiding, each respectively, over elemental phenomena, human occupations, &c. The denomination of one of them signifies The Unknown. There is good store of idle dreams of tradition about the interventions of the gods among mortals, and about the first bringing up of the habitable world from the abyss of the ocean, by the casualty of some god's fish-hook catching hold of the top of one of the Tonga Islands. The place where it caught, is still shewn in a rock.

The state of morals is described at considerable extent, and estimated in a vastly lenient and extenuating spirit.

Much information and entertainment will be found in the account of the customs and ceremonies, the arts and the amusements; but we must not allow ourselves to particularise any longer.

Nearly half the latter volume relates to the language, of which Dr. Martin has constructed a Grammar and Dictionary. As Mariner's excellent memory retained the major part of the words forming the medium of communication among these savages, it was eminently well worth while thus to fix them down in characters, as capable of being of great use to future voyagers or missionaries. And so much the better if an orderly grammatical system could be developed from the assemblage, by an investigation of numerous specimens of its construction in composition, as furnished by Mariner. It can be but a meagre system; but Dr. M.'s industry and intelligence have given it more of a definite and rational form than we should previously have conjectured to be possible.

Art. II. *Apostolical Preaching considered, in an Examination of St. Paul's Epistles.* By Rev. J. B. Sumner, M.A. Second Edition. 8vo. Price 9s. Hatchard. 1817.

(Continued from page 100.)

WE must call the attention of our readers to another passage, which appears to us of an objectionable nature:

'If,' says Mr. Sumner, 'the Christian minister boasts of deriving his commission to preach the Gospel by an uninterrupted succession from the hands of the Apostles; consistency requires that he should apply to the same Apostles for the doctrine which he is to deliver.'

Could we have supposed this to be intended as merely an *argumentum ad hominem*, we should have passed it over with perfect good will; but it comes in so questionable a shape, and is so vain an allusion to an unmeaning boast of the Church to which the Author belongs, that we cannot pass it over unnoticed. The argument is unsound. The Apostolical succession, as it is called, is surely not the reason that the ministers in the

supposed line of succession, should preach their doctrine. The Apostles themselves, an opponent of Episcopacy might say, only transmitted an office which they also received, but did not institute. Though first in the series, they are surely not simply on that account superior. If I am bound to imbibe their doctrine because I receive my office through their hands, consistency equally requires me to accept the doctrine of all the other intermediate authorities through whom this office has been transmitted, because all in the line are equally authorized, and consequently their *doctrine* equally Divine. Is it not obvious, that if there is any virtue depending on the succession, the virtue must be in the discharge of the office; that every official in the series, has consequently an equal claim upon our faith; and that the minister who boasts of this succession, must, to be consistent, apply to all the bishops of the Church of Rome, who also hold an unbroken succession, or any other bishops that may be in the line of this official genealogy? The Author appears to us to mistake Apostolical succession for Apostolical inspiration. We had presumed it was not because the Apostles had power to ordain bishops,—for presbyters had the same power,—(see i Tim. iv. 14.) that we are bound to apply to them for instruction, but because they were inspired teachers and spake by direct authority from the Lord. It is grievous to find Protestant ministers advancing this absurd and empty boast, which we defy them and all the authorities of Rome to make out. They may boast of Apostolical succession, but they cannot substantiate the boast. It is not known to us who were the seven first bishops of Rome; and if our episcopalian friends would attend a little to Eusebius, their great favourite, he would teach them the difficulty of making good their pretensions. He says, (Eccl. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 4.)

“Ὅσοι δὲ τέτων, καὶ τίνες, γνήσιοι ζηλωταὶ γεγονότες τὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἰδρυθείσας ἱκανοὶ ποιμαίνουσιν ἐδοκιμάσθησαν ἐκκλησίας οὐ ῥαδίον εἰπεῖν, μὴ ὅτι γε ἔσους αὖ τις ἐκ τῶν Παύλου Φωνῶν ἀναλέξοιτο.

If the Church of Rome had this authority all through the dark ages, what became of it at the Reformation? Was it all converted into the English Protestant channel; or was it divided into streams? and if so, are the waters in them all equally pure? Did the English reformers bring away this authority from Rome in spite of Rome's will and pleasure, and did they conceive, that once a bishop, always a bishop? Then the same thing applies to all other bishops as well as to the reforming: the same thing applies to all the Nonconforming ministers; once ordained, always ordained. The descendants of the Puritans may begin to boast of Apostolical descent, and all secessions from the Church of Rome, together with every subordinate secession, have as

good ground to claim their lineal descent, as the first that stepped over the boundaries of the holy Romish Church. If there is any virtue in Apostolical descent, then let not the English Episcopalian make the boast of alone possessing it; for the Dissenters of the present day are ordained by those who were ordained by the Nonconformists, and they were ordained in the Church of England; and the Church of England received her charm from Rome; and Rome from—but here we must stop, because there is a chasm we cannot supply.* Should it be said, But the dissenting ministers are not ordained by Bishops, we reply, they are to all intents and purposes ordained by the only bishops they acknowledge; and they generally admit none to ordain but their *ἐπισκοποι*; and though the Church of England disowns the authority of their bishops, yet the Church of Rome, which stands nearer the Apostles, disowns the bishops of both Churches. Where then is the wisdom of making the boast at all? We are really amused with the inane trifling, which is so pompously set forth at times on the said line of Apostolical succession. We indeed wish that there were a little more candour exercised in informing us what really is conveyed, especially as we might then be able to judge how far it has suffered contamination or deterioration while passing through this long line of mystery. We might then be able to judge how this Divine and Apostolical gift could comport with some of those atrocious sketches of Episcopal history that intervene in the said line, where whole files of wretched and abandoned, but still gifted and authorized teachers, sat in Peter's chair in succession, without a ray of Peter's light, or Peter's grace, or Peter's doctrine. Wondrous stream indeed, that could roll on through such channels unpolluted and unstained by all the blood and abominations that covered the surface!

Our Author's second chapter is taken up,—we can hardly say with a refutation of the Calvinistic sense of Predestination and Election; for he does actually grant and advocate all the leading principles involved in those doctrines,—but in endeavouring to controvert several of those passages on which Calvinists have rested their sentiments. The Author concedes the doctrine of the perfect fore-knowledge of God. We never yet could see how that sentiment could be held without at least connecting with it predestination to life: the steps to the consequent are so few and so plain. God cannot fore-know what is not certain: that cannot be certain which does not depend on immutable laws: if God does fore-know the future and final

* See Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. VI. P. 432.

salvation of any of the human race, it can be only as the result of causes which derive their efficiency from his power, their immutability from his will, their ultimate effect from his primary appointment. Admit the will of the creature as a link of the chain, and you admit uncertainty, except as that will itself is subject to the infallible agency of God;—and God cannot know the result of any series of causes and effects but as the measure both of the causes and effects is determined by his own intention. The fore-knowledge of future good must with Deity be the same as the volition, for He must will the existence of all good. And where is the distinction between supposing God to foresee the salvation of only a portion of the human race, and his purposing and intending their salvation? He must intend, and purpose it, or else it never will be; and if he both intends, and purposes their salvation, this is Predestination to Eternal Life. The only ultimate difference we can perceive between the two schemes, is, that one brings all the glory of human salvation to the Divine Being; the other ascribes it to the independent and self-moved will of man. Were we about to enter the lists with Mr. Sumner, we should ask him, to what cause he ascribes the salvation of any human being. Should his reply be, To grace, we should then ask, If the same grace is given to all, why does not the same cause, in the same circumstances, produce the same effect? God could give that grace which should compel universal belief in the Gospel. why does He not? The only reply we can give, is, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." Mr. S. must give the same answer. We cannot find an issue to these difficulties but in the Divine Sovereignty; and in the midst of the embarrassments which attend every philosophical view of this subject, this is the only consideration that can impose silence upon our murmurings. Every theory is attended with its difficulties, perhaps we might say with equal difficulties; the only superiority of Calvinism, is, that it leaves those difficulties at the foot of the Divine throne; led to do so, as it appears to us, by the authority of Scripture.

We should be happy to follow the Author through his examination of particular passages of Scripture, and especially to see the success with which he thinks he has applied to the language of Scripture on this point, the mighty solvent of all such difficulties,—National Election; which, in the analysis, we conceive, must share the same fate as the doctrine of a general, to the exclusion of a particular, Providence. But we forbear upon this topic, that we may notice what the modern Calvinist will complain of as an inference unfairly charged upon his system. The doctrine of predestination to misery and death, is not, in

the opinion of the modern Calvinist, necessarily associated with predestination to life. Mr. S. says, page 55, 'If mankind are appointed to sin and punishment, to holiness and salvation, irrespectively, then they will be judged in exact opposition to our Saviour's declaration, and much will be required of him to whom little is given.' That there are individuals who connect predestination to death with predestination to life, we are not disposed to doubt; but that this connexion is maintained by the generality of modern Calvinists, we are sure is not true, and we think we may say that we never heard predestination to sin and death preached publicly. Modern Calvinists almost uniformly maintain, with Mr. S., that the process of the last judgement will be conducted exclusively on the principles of man's moral constitution, and the impartial justice of the Divine administration. Outward means, and natural and moral advantages, without any reference to the Divine decrees, will certainly form the basis of the Divine sentence upon individuals. The Divine decrees are not viewed by the consistent Calvinist, as a rule of human duty, or as in any case an intelligible principle of action for us. The doctrine is confined exclusively to its development of the Divine intentions in the mystery of Providence, upon the characters and features of which, it is admitted we should pronounce with caution. It is one of those mysterious, but yet revealed truths concerning the Deity, which we may not know how to reconcile with our own mental and moral constitution; but which is no doubt perfectly accordant with His system of moral administration; a system which indeed we dare contemplate only in its final consequences, but which he can both contemplate and superintend in its secret springs and very first principles, in His own infinite mind.

The whole passage from page 68 to 72, is a specimen of very unfair reasoning, and seems to us a two-edged sword, which, while it wounds the Calvinist on one side, wounds equally on the other every man that holds the Divine foreknowledge. The Author says:

'When all these circumstances are weighed together, I think it must be acknowledged, that the preacher of absolute decrees gives too implicit confidence to human interpretation, and teaches the doctrine of Calvin for the doctrine of St. Paul. If it be so, it is no light matter. It is not a question of trifling importance whether we disseminate just and worthy notions of the Divine attributes. The general impression which the scripture leaves upon our minds, is this, that God desireth his creatures to entertain a reverential love of his goodness, as well as a reverential awe of his justice, in his administration of the moral government of the world; and does not call upon us, in studying the terms of our acceptance with him, or in meditating upon his counsels, to abandon our notions of right and

mitted or forbidden in the revealed law, but on the doer being in a regenerate or unregenerated state at the time when he performs them? How is the fact of *regeneracy*, upon which no less than eternity depends, to be discovered? The Apostle enumerates the works of the flesh and the fruits of the spirit; but his text is insufficient, for the two lists are here mixed and confounded. The hearers appeal to the Church, an authorized interpreter of Scripture. The Church acquaints them, that they were themselves regenerated, and made the children of grace, by the benefit of baptism; while the preacher evidently treats them as if it were possible they might be till unregenerate.' p. 158.

How likely they are to be injured by such a supposition!—But it would be indeed lamentable, were Mr. S.'s plan acted upon, and every baptized congregation through out the land told that they need no repentance, and that they are bodily in a state of acceptance with God. A more general adoption of a style of preaching the very reverse of this, would, we feel persuaded, be infinitely more useful, and recommend itself better to the consciences of the unsophisticated and simple. The fatal consequences of such a style, are, however, set forth in rather an imposing but after all a very feeble paragraph, which we quote, that our readers may be prepared for the formidable results of so grievous a heresy against the doctrine of St. Paul.

'It is indeed a sufficient confutation of the doctrine of special grace, that it absolutely nullifies the sacrament of baptism. It re-

* Bishop Hopkins is certainly here greatly misrepresented. He says: 'The best duties of unregenerate men are no better in God's account and acceptance, than abomination.—This man hath prayed so often and heard so often, &c. but yet all this while he was in an unconverted state; these actions therefore are set down in God's day-book in black; and they are registered among those sins that he must give an account for, *not for the substance of the actions themselves, but because they come from rotten principles that defile the best of actions he can perform.*'—*Hopkins on the New Birth*. Mr. Sumner says, in a Note: (observe the difference between his language and our cautious reformers:) 'Since actions which spring not of faith in Christ, are not done as God has willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.' It is a pity the Author did not spend one line to shew the difference between this statement and that by Bishop Hopkins. To our plain understandings they seem equivalent. But it does not appear to us that the Bishop has confused good and evil actions; but that he has clearly said, 'The virtue of the doer of an action must depend on the principle by which he is actuated. He is not speaking of good and bad in the abstract, but of the acceptance or rejection of good and bad men; and as far as we can judge, he is supported both by Scripture and the Articles of the Church of England.

duces it to an empty rite, an external mark of admission into the visible church, attended with no real grace, and therefore conveying no real benefit, nor advancing a person one step towards salvation. But if baptism is not accompanied with such an effusion of the Holy Spirit towards the inward renewing of the heart, that the person baptized who, of himself and of his own nature could "do no good thing," by this amendment or regeneration of his nature is enabled to bring forth fruit "thirty or sixty or an hundred-fold," giving "all diligence to make his calling and election sure,"—if the effect of baptism, I say, is less than this, what becomes of the distinction made by John, "I indeed baptize with water, but he who comes after me shall baptize with the Holy Ghost?" What becomes of the example of Christ himself? After his baptism, the descent of the Holy Spirit, in a visible form, was surely intended to confirm his followers in a belief that their baptism would confer upon them a similar gift; and besides the washing away of their sins and the remission of the penalty entailed upon the posterity of Adam, would bestow upon them a power enabling them to fulfil the covenant laws of their religion.' p. 172.

We have seldom had to remark in any theological writer a passage so disjointed in argument, and so unsound in doctrine. The whole of it presents a lamentable specimen of that debility in reasoning on a particular subject, which is the certain effect when the mind has long been fettered in its operations by the strong bonds of prejudice. Let the view of Baptism here condemned prevail, what then?—Let it have to meet the formidable array of gigantic syllogisms, we are convinced they will be found by any one who will look them through, but thin shadowy ghosts, and a few words of Scripture will lay them all. "I thank God that I "baptized none of you, but Crispus, &c." We cannot conceive how the Apostle could thus rejoice, if Baptism really were the *organ* of so much grace; nor how it could be said, with regard to that ordinance to which it is represented as bearing an analogy, "Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor "uncircumcision, but a new creature." Were the ordinance in question all that Mr. S. represents it, how could the Apostle, in any sense, or with any propriety, say, "Jesus Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel?" It is unnecessary to enter further into the Author's views respecting Baptism, which, however consistent they may be with the language of the formularies of the Church of England,* are clearly at variance with the paramount authority of Scripture.

In the chapter on Justification, we find much to approve, but much which we are at great loss to reconcile with the other propositions of the Author's creed. He clearly asserts the doctrine of Justification by faith alone; and had he but recollected in

* See Eclectic Review for May 1816, p. 429.

every part of his Treatise, one sentiment of that Apostle whose views he was deciphering, we think he would not have found quite so much to condemn in the system of the modern Calvinists: "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." The following extract will favourably exhibit the Author's view of Justification, and afford our readers much pleasure.

"The attachment to Jewish ceremonies was no sooner dissolved by the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jews as a people, than a fresh inroad upon the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice was virtually made by a race of ascetics and anchorites, who nourished that self-righteousness which is so natural to the human heart, under the disguise of "will-worship and voluntary humility." Then began the curious refinements and proud pretensions to sanctity, joined to unprofitable ceremonies and bodily austerities, which ended in the establishment of the throne of the fatal, though predicted, apostacy in Papal Rome. It is in the nature of the Roman Catholic religion silently to undermine the notion of true Christian justification; and such must be its practical effects as long as pardons, masses, auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for sins, are supposed available, however its language and professed tenets may be purified by the influence of the Reformation. Whether purgatory is believed—whether fasts, celibacy or penances are imposed, is not a matter of indifference; wherever they exist they will gradually supersede the righteousness which is by faith, and, like the errors of the Judaizing Galatians, destroy the spirit of the Gospel. ——— The prevailing error of later generations is equally destructive to the true doctrine of the Gospel, though more favourable to good morals; and is not the less to be guarded against for coming under a more specious form. An age which flatters itself that "vice has lost half its evil in losing all its grossness," is sure to entertain an inadequate apprehension of the value and necessity of the atonement, and to exalt, proportionably, the sufficiency of obedience to moral duties, and of an useful life, for the purpose of justification. This mistake particularly belongs to an advanced state of civilization: a rude age has recourse to a severe ritual, and trusts to the efficacy of penances, and ceremonies, and gifts to the church or ostentatious charities: an intelligent age sees the vanity of all these; but justifies itself by its supposed morality. Now, error is never eradicated with more difficulty than when it is mixed with truth. A crop that is altogether bad may be swept down at once: but it requires the most careful husbandry so to separate the bad from the good, as not to root up the wheat with the tares. And as it cannot be doubted that a strict compliance with the moral law is necessary to form the christian, a door is easily opened for the erroneous belief that it is able to justify the Christian."

"To this it may be added, that the vice which most naturally springs up in a state of refined society, is pride, the very vice which is most exactly opposed to the reception of the Gospel. The acceptance of salvation as "a free gift," implies the acknowledgement of personal insufficiency; but pride refuses any such acknowledg-

ment, and whispers that it is derogatory to the dignity of human nature to suppose it unequal to satisfy the strictest demands. A feeling of this kind perverts the truth, however plainly declared, and insists on resting our salvation on something we do, instead of what has been done for us.—If, then, Justification by faith alone is the foundation of the Christian scheme, as St. Paul unequivocally declares; and if justification by works, of some sort or other, is the error most flattering to the human heart, and appears, under various shapes, in the corruptions of every age; it follows that the preacher of the Gospel should regard this point as at the same time most important and most likely to be assailed.' &c. pp. 211, 12.

These excellent sentiments appear to us in total disagreement with the Author's representation of the moral ability of human nature to recover itself, or to be at least the first agent in the important work.

In Chapter VI. on Sanctification, the Author's sentiments are judicious and pious, but by no means novel. This chapter is well calculated to display the importance which is attached to personal holiness, in the Apostolical writings; but it is not sufficiently comprehensive or clear in exhibiting the influence of the Holy Spirit as the vital agency by which all human exertions in this work must be sustained. After what the Author had said on Justification by faith alone, we were somewhat startled at the tendency of the following remarks:

'But if sanctification is thus both indispensable and of laborious acquirement; if reason and Scripture assure us, and experience proves, that to the consummation of his holy work, the will, actuated by Divine grace, must zealously and patiently contribute, and persevere unto the end through repeated disappointment, mortification, and self-denial;—what is to become of those late conversions, which allow no time for such an evidence of their sincerity? I confess I cannot discover in St. Paul the vestige of an encouragement to a death-bed repentance.' p. 237.

Now, though this is somewhat softened down by what follows, yet the sentiment appears to us much too strongly stated. We can discover much encouragement in the language both of St. Paul and of his Divine Master, to those who sincerely repent at the eleventh hour, though none to those who defer repentance to that hour. We accede to all that can be said upon the folly of blazoning about the repentance of malefactors and of others whose last hours may afford to those that witnessed them much room for hope;—unless such cases are recorded simply to shew what Divine grace can do, and as evidences rather of the difficulty and peril than of the ease with which their salvation has been effected. "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire," is a sentiment which, when rightly improved, would rather impress us with the idea that every successive period of a sinner's life becomes less hopeful, and that the

peril of the state described by being "in the fire" was far greater than any preceding state; while the obvious tendency of the whole passage is clearly to shew that every advance towards "the fire" is a remove from salvation. That must indeed be a mind of a strange texture that could infer from such a case, that the salvation of a sinner was equally certain at such a crisis, as at any of the intervening periods of his career.* We apprehend the censures of Mr. S. on this point, are really misplaced, for we never heard of any minister who held up such cases as encouragements to delay. The very reverse is the inference most ministers would draw from such cases; and those who are found, at times, to allude to such conversions, are generally the most urgent in recommending and enforcing immediate repentance.

Chapter VII. On Personal Application of the Gospel. In this chapter, the Author gives an interesting sketch from Justin and Origen, of the mode of procedure adopted by the early Christians in the admission of members into the churches; a method from which all national churches have lamentably and systematically departed, and our own as egregiously as any. Christianity, it will be acknowledged, in order to be individually available to salvation, must become a personal concern. Tertullian justly remarks, '*Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.*'

* In the first ages, the open assumption of the Christian faith was for the most part a matter of long and serious consideration. It commonly took place at a time of life when the converts could both understand and ratify the covenant which reconciled them to God, and engaged them, for the future, to obey a new law, and put off "the old man with its deeds." They underwent, as catechumens, a long and strict probation. When they were convinced of the truth of the Christian doctrine, and had pledged themselves to the utmost of their power to live accordingly, they were directed to perform a solemn exercise of prayer and fasting for the forgiveness of past sins; and then, and not till then, they received baptism and were pronounced regenerate. Even in the third century, Origen acquaints us that the Christians were accustomed carefully to examine into the morals and disposition of those who offered themselves, and admitted none till they had given some evidence of a progress in virtue. So serious was the obligation considered, and so strict the discipline preserved, that many who were persuaded of the truth of the Gospel delayed the profession of it, by baptism, as in their age, men procrastinated repentance, because they could not prevail on themselves to resign those sinful habits which they were well aware must be resigned by Christians.' pp 245—7.

* Logan well observes in relation to the repentance and salvation of men at such a crisis: 'There is one such case recorded in Scripture, that none may despair and *but one* that none may presume.'

The last sentence is an unequivocal proof that they considered Baptism not as *imparting* that regenerating grace by which they were to overcome their evil habits, for then they would have been inexcusable for neglecting it, but simply as a public profession of their faith in the Gospel.

At the close of this chapter, there is an excellent passage, on the necessity of watchfulness against the vanity of the world. We insert the closing sentence.

‘ We have only to consider for a moment the injunctions which the Apostles enforce to charity of thought and word as well as of deed; to spiritual mindedness; to humility; to indifference towards the opinions of others in all cases where custom leads one way and duty another; to zeal in the practice and propagation of religion; to perseverance in prayer; to resignation under afflictions, to gratitude in temporal prosperity: we have only to consider these in order to be convinced of the perpetual necessity incumbent on the preacher to fix the attention of his hearers on the original draft of Christianity, instead of its imperfect copy as represented in the mixed and tumultuous scene of human society.’ p. 258.

We are truly grieved to find after this any thing that looks like laxity in the Author's views of a Christian intercourse with the world, which forms the subject of his eighth Chapter. We object to the pernicious, at least the perilous tendency of such sentiments as the following:

‘ Nor is it just, or practically useful, to inveigh in general terms against public assemblies and amusements sanctioned by society, as if all toleration of them were positive evidence of a worldly spirit, and a heart alienated from God; and as if a practice necessarily became unchristian because it had public opinion in its favour.’ p. 284.

Strongly as the Author's piety led him to censure worldly conformity when he was treating of sanctification, he seems in this chapter actually to cut the very sinews of that holiness and separation from the world, “without which no man shall see the Lord.” The secret seems to be this: the World and the Church are, as he says, ‘so melted into one another by such imperceptible shades,’ (in the Church to which the Author is attached,) that he felt it necessary rather to soften the severity, and shade the prominence of Scriptural instruction upon this point, by calling up the idea of a whole nation of Christians, all regenerated at baptism, and consequently by no means to be contemplated as in the same state as those the Apostles had to address. This at all events shews the danger of constituting persons members of the Church of Christ, not upon the evidence of a renewed heart, but upon their facility of submission to the unscriptural ceremony of Confirmation; not upon “the putting off the sins of the flesh,” but the putting on of the hands of a bishop. Here indeed is ‘a melting into one’ of those discordant

elements, the World and the Church, which ought to make every Christian minister seriously consider the support and sanction he gives to a system so much the reverse of the Apostolical.—With regard to the concluding chapter, in which the Author endeavours to display, rather fearfully, some of the supposed practical results of Calvinism, it is not necessary for us to say much, since it is far from our wish to defend all that goes under that name. He must be very partially acquainted with the style of preaching adopted by that class of ministers, who can suppose that the doctrine of the Divine decrees is ever allowed by them to interfere with the use of the ordained means. It may be a charge applicable to a few antinomian fanatics both in and out of the Church of England; but it is by no means the error of the Calvinists in general, so far, at least, as our observation extends. If they say that Divine influence is necessary to faith and salvation, they no less uniformly and strenuously add, “Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find.” Without attempting to justify in every particular any class of preachers, we have yet felt it our duty to vindicate those, whose whole system is attacked by this Author, from the greater part of his charges, and we now leave them and their censor at the bar of the public. Let candour and experience pronounce their sentence: and when the Calvinistic ministers, whether Episcopal or Dissenting, fall behind their fellow Christians in practical piety, in connecting the means with the end, or in making a free and unshackled offer of salvation to all men that they may be saved, let their system be hated and avoided as a more pestilent vapour than was ever emitted from the lake on whose borders the celebrated reformer first propagated his system.

Art. III. *Armata: a Fragment*. 8vo. pp. 210. London. Murray. 1817.

The Second Part of Armata. 8vo. pp. 209. London. Murray. 1817.

TO know how other men have thought, is a predominant desire of the human mind, and the gratification of this desire, appears to have been one of the objects of the eminent person to whom our readers have been taught to ascribe the production now before us. In this point of view alone, and independent of weightier reasons, we have no hesitation in saying, that “*Armata*” will retain its claim to interest, long after it shall have ceased to occupy a place among the topics of the day, even in the literary discussions of our tardy friends in the seclusion of the country. It is not precisely to the stage-effect of public life, or to the complicated influences of public occasion, that we look with confidence for the unshackled result of the workings of a great mind. There are certain minute pro-

es and necessities of time and circumstance, which mix
 selves up so unavoidably with the ostensible character and
 nents of every man who stands in the focus of public obser-
 i, that they who have well observed the world, as it is po-
 ly termed, will be anxious for the occurrence of opportu-
 to hold communication with the minds of great men, in
 ions where the absence of worldly influence may extricate
 et at large their genuine and unadulterated convictions.

is but few to whom such opportunities are presented in the
 ource of private life: when, therefore, the object of curio-
 oluntarily places himself before the eye of public observa-
 n such a situation as to afford ground for rational confi-
 i, that he is not actuated by the insidious and complicated
 of the politician, it is natural to expect that the public
 l discover considerable eagerness to become acquainted
 his real sentiments. We were at first inclined to regret
 the Author of "*Armata*" should have adopted a medium
 centric fiction, the development of which, from the space it
 dies, often excited our impatience; but we are more than
 ciled to what at first appeared to us a needless incum-
 e, by the peculiar terms of confidential intimacy on
 we feel ourselves placed, when, for a time, the machinery
 allegory retires into the back-ground, and in the person
 : Armatan Mentor, we find ourselves holding a philosophi-
 ession with a great statesman, on the most vital and
 tant questions which concern our political existence and
 ness, precisely in that strain of abstract and purified re-
 n in which the inhabitants of another planet might be sup-
 l to discuss the affairs of ours. It is not all the 'Letters
 the causes and consequences of the war with France,' nor
 e 'Speeches on miscellaneous subjects,' which can inspire
 ith the deep, the solemn interest which we feel in pe-
 g the greater portion of the fragment of "*Armata*." If
 e asked to explain the causes of this feeling, our answer is,
 erhaps they are only to be explained by a contemplation of
 xuliar character of the work itself. It is not the political
 ertist, or the advocate of party, enlisting the powers of
 nent and eloquence in the defence of a particular system,
 olly intent upon the demonstration of a favourite position;
 t is the statesman sitting down in the seclusion of his own
 , indulging in all the freedoms and innocencies of literary
 alness, escaping, as it were, from the trammels of real life,
 a *this* tone of mind,—in this defiance of party spirit and
 ly impulse, unfolding to us the cool philosophical view of
 political effects and causes, which has been the result of
 ng and anxious devotion to the operations of the vast ma-
 of organized society.

It is this that gives the charm to the pages of *Armata* in our estimation ; but that their claims to attention do not stop here, will, if we mistake not, be sufficiently demonstrated by the insertion of a few unconnected extracts, which we are induced to lay before the reader by their own intrinsic importance and interest. He is previously to understand that in a new world, which the Author of the work under consideration has had the singular good fortune to discover, and which is, in some very incomprehensible manner, connected with our own planet, there is a very renowned island, called *ARMATA*, which has risen in process of time from a state of comparative insignificance, to command the deference, and to attract the attention of the whole globe ; and which, after arriving at a degree of internal prosperity and wealth unparalleled in the history of nations, has very surprisingly and unexpectedly (except in the predictions of a few long headed and stubborn politicians, who were called hard names for their pains,) stumbled upon a state of internal embarrassment, and experienced a reflux of the tide of prosperity, of which the good people of England cannot possibly form any idea, never having been exposed to any thing of the kind.

The origin and formation of the political constitution of this singular country, are rapidly traced in the following extract, up to the period in its annals, which, as is alleged by historic records, laid it at the feet of a military despot of the barbarous ages. The relation is supposed to proceed from a certain denizen of the other world, named *Morven*, whose personal history is, at any rate, too copious for the space we could afford for it.

‘ One of those invaders once swayed by force and terror the sceptre of *Armata* ; but conquest and the tyrannical abuse of it may lay the foundation of a system of liberty which no courage could have conquered, nor human wisdom have contrived. Perhaps in this short sentence, you have a faithful, though, as yet, an obscure account of the origin of that singular constitution which has raised *Armata* to the highest pinnacle of fame and glory. Great and invulnerable as she now is, she was once subdued, and all the monuments of her ancient wisdom overthrown : but the dominion of one man, however gifted or fortunate, is sure to pass away when it tramples upon the principles that gave it birth. The successful invader confounding his free and fierce companions with the nation they had conquered, the oppressors soon became numbered with the oppressed, and after the reigns of but a few of his descendants, the successor to his arbitrary dominion was forced to submit to the establishment of freedom demanded in arms by the conquerors and the conquered, now forming an unanimous and indignant people.

‘ The extraordinary feature of this singular revolution was, that a nation in arms against its sovereign and reducing him to terms of submission, had the discretion to know exactly what to demand, and, by demanding nothing more, to secure the privileges it had obtained. The ordinary insurrections of mankind against oppression have gene-

rally been only convulsive paroxysms of tumult and disorder, more destructive than the tyranny overthrown, and often ending in worse, because civil societies cannot be suddenly new-modelled with safety. Their improvements, to be permanent, must be almost insensible, and growing out of the original systems, however imperfect they may have been.

‘ The rude forefathers of this people had fortunately not then arrived at that state of political science which might perhaps have tempted them to a premature change of their government upon abstract principles. They looked only to their actual grievances. They did not seek to abrogate the system which was the root of their ancient laws and institutions, but only to beat down usurpations, and to remedy defects. They seem indeed to have discovered that there is a magnet in the civil, as in the natural world, to direct our course, though the latter was for ages afterwards unknown. The magnet of the civil world is a Representative Government, and at this auspicious period attracted like the natural one by iron, became fixed and immutable from the sword.

‘ The consummate wisdom of those earliest reformers appears further in the public councils which they preserved. From the most ancient times the people might be said to have had a protecting council in the government, but its jurisdiction was overborne. They had only therefore to guard against the recurrence of that abuse, and as the power over the public purse had been the most destructive engine of their arbitrary sovereigns, they retained in their own hands by the most positive charters that palladium of independence, re-enacting them upon every invasion, aiming at nothing new, but securing what they had acquired.

‘ To have gone farther in improvement, *at that period*, would not only have been useless, but mischievous, even if the bulk of the people could have redeemed themselves by force from many intermediate oppressors; because, having most of all to fear from the power of their monarchs, the privileges of their superiors were indispensable supports; invested for many ages with the magistracies of the country, powerful in themselves from rank and property, having a common interest with the whole nation, *and no temptations being then in existence to seduce them from the discharge of their duties*, they were the most formidable opponents of the prerogatives that were to be balanced; and therefore it was the most unquestionable policy to enlarge and confirm their authority, instead of endeavouring to controul a long established and too powerful a dominion by an untried force.

‘ From this period the principles of civil freedom struck deep root in Armata, deeper perhaps from the weight by which they continued to be pressed, the prerogatives of their princes being still formidable and frequently abused. Perhaps the law which governs the system of the universe may be the grand type and example of human governments—the immense power of the sun, though the fountain of light and life, would in its excess be fatal; the planets, therefore, though they yield to its fostering attraction in their unceasing and impetuous revolutions, are repelled from it by a kind of instinctive

terror ; since, if the sun could by its influence detach them from their force centrifugal, they would be absorbed with the swiftness of lightning into the centre, and like the fly allured by the light of the taper, be instantly consumed.

‘ The powers given to executive governments for great national purposes, like those given to the sun, ought to be extensive, nor can they be dangerous if they are *sufficiently balanced*, and that balance preserved upon the very principle of *centrifugal* force ; because the existence of a strong government, and the possibility of its misconduct, are the strongest securities of freedom. Every page of the history of Armata illustrates this important truth ; since, in the same proportion that executive power has at different periods become the object of salutary jealousy, popular privileges have been uniformly strengthened from the abuses, and when at last a grand and glorious struggle to put an end to them for ever was crowned with the justest and most triumphant success, constitutional fear, which had for ages watched over and subdued them, unhappily fell asleep—the *centrifugal force was lost* ;—and power, stripped of its terrors, but invested with the means of *dazzling and corrupting*, soon began to undermine a system of government which the most formidable prerogatives had for ages been unable to destroy.

* * *

‘ The prosperity which then exalted Armata, after all her dangerous divisions had been swept away by an auspicious renovation of her constitution, was unexampled, and although she has been thought by some to have risen much higher afterwards amidst a splendid career of national glory ; yet she then perhaps touched her meridian height, not having at that time embarked in an habitual system of expenditure, beyond the golden medium just adverted to, her debt being then no larger than to create a wide spread interest to support the state, but leaving what might be fairly termed the full fruits of industry and talents, subject to no tormenting visitations of a prodigal government, which can in the end have no escape from bankruptcy but by rendering its subjects bankrupt. In the first condition of a nation, the people may be compared to the crew of a well manned vessel in a prosperous voyage, called upon for no exertions but to forward her in her course ; the second may be better likened to the toils and sufferings of a tempest. when the ship can only be kept even in doubtful safety, by incessant pumping, when all hopes of advantage are extinguished, and the only principle of obedience is the preservation of life.’ pp. 36—48.

Morven then takes a rapid but impressive view of the political history of the Hesperian (American) war, one of the first fruits of ‘ the lust of dominion, or rather of revenue, beyond the usefulness or even the capacity of enjoyment.’ In answer to the question, ‘ How could it possibly happen, that with so celebrated a constitution as he himself had described, and when the people had obtained so complete a controul over the public councils, they should have suffered so unjust and ruinous a war to be so long persisted in, contrary to their most ma-

nifest interests, and in the face of the most enlightened opinions,'—he replies,

‘ The answer to your question involves one of the most curious and extraordinary changes that has ever taken place in the political history of any nation. In the earlier periods of that of Armata, though the sovereigns had more power, and the people’s representatives were comparatively nothing in the balance, the Hesperian war could not have been carried on. The delegates of the people would have strenuously opposed it in every stage of its disastrous progress; the whole nation would have upheld them, and the government even, if not subdued, would have been over-awed and checked in its impolitic course; but before this period, the ancient system of the government had been completely inverted; the popular council, though in theory scarcely entitled to that name or character, had for ages fulfilled all the practical purposes of the most perfect representation; because, having the same interests with the universal mass of population, and nothing then existing to seduce them from the discharge of their duties, it mattered not by whom they were elected; but the time was arrived when the right of election became a vital principle. The crown was now possessed of a great revenue, which was rapidly increasing, and as the Commons had advanced in power and importance, it was thought convenient by its ministers to act no longer upon their own responsibility, even in the most ordinary details of business, but to take their constitutional opponents into pay, and make them ministers in their stead; well knowing that they could not possibly oppose, nor even censure the measures which were their own. Neither can it be matter of wonder that the people at large, though wise to a proverb, should be the dupes of so artful a contrivance. They had been long accustomed to regard every act of the executive power with the most jealous apprehension, and to consider the voice of their representatives, who had never betrayed them, as the Law and the Gospel. When they saw, therefore, the crown, upon this tremendous occasion, so humbly deferring to the wisdom, as it was called, of the national council; when its ministers were entirely behind the curtain, and every step that was taken was by the authority of their own servants, they threw up their caps into the air, and poured in addresses from every part of the island, offering their lives and fortunes in support of the glorious contest; gifts which unhappily no opportunity was left them to recal, the personal supporters of the war being knocked on the head, and the pockets of the rest completely emptied. When the illusion was at length dissolved by disappointment and defeat, an universal hue and cry was raised against the whole system, set on foot by its loudest supporters; and the minister of that day, a most able statesman, though in that matter most undoubtedly mistaken, and in private life one of the most agreeable and amiable of mankind, was attacked without measure or mercy. He manfully stood his ground; and, I am persuaded, with a clear conscience; maintained the policy and justice of his administration; but the most zealous of his adherents now seeing the clearest rea-

sons for condemning him, though none whatever existed which had not been as manifest from the outset, and many more finding it impossible from business to be in their places to defend him, though they had nothing at all to do, he was compelled to retire; and in a few weeks afterwards a man would have probably been mobbed in the streets, or perhaps imprisoned as a lunatic, if he had been rash enough to assert that the whole nation had been otherwise than mad, and without a lucid interval for fourteen years together.' p. 52—5.

This narrative naturally leads to a discussion of the defects in Armata's representative constitution, which are radically traced to the influence arising from the administration of a great revenue.

'A sufficient guard had not been placed upon this influence in the public councils, without which no forms of election, however free and extensive, can secure a wise and prudent administration; but the evil must manifestly be greater when the popular council, erected as the balance of a monarchical state, does not emanate from the people, but in its greater part from the crown which is to be balanced, and from a body of nobles, powerful from rank and property, who are to be balanced also; and who have besides a scale properly allotted to them, in which their great weight is judiciously deposited. It must be obvious to the meanest capacity that if those very powers which are thus to be balanced can create or materially influence the antagonist power, the constitution must at all events be theoretically imperfect.' pp. 58, 59.

Judging, as men are wont to do, from their own immediate circle of information, the inhabitants of this world may perhaps be inclined to suspect, that there was more of courtesy than of honesty in the qualification which Morven introduces into his statement of the imperfection of the Armatan constitution; and that a defective representation would be likely to have produced *practical* 'imperfection' as well in one planet as in another: indeed, looking to subsequent statements, of the matter of fact kind, which make their escape incidentally, in the course of discussion, we believe the suspicion is not altogether unfounded.

To select where *all* is of equal importance, and equal interest, is a matter we scarcely know how to accomplish; we must therefore decline following the Author in his disquisitions on the character and causes of Armata's present embarrassments, which occupy the latter half of the 'fragment.' While, however, we husband our own labour, we would *uno flatu*, and for the very same reasons, exhort our readers to bestow especially upon this portion of the work their utmost attention.

Of the "Second Part of Armata," which has very recently issued from the press, the range of subjects are of a lower scale of importance, but they are touched throughout with the hand of

a master. As we descend, however, to the details of domestic life, the air of fiction becomes cumbrous, not to say intrusive, and the writer has evidently been glad to get rid of it, wherever he could do so with decorum. The larger portion of the book is principally remarkable as shewing, what we have occasionally observed in the intercourse of private life, namely, how amusingly and philosophically men of transcendent talents and important avocations can sometimes stoop to generalize upon subjects which, in the detail, can hardly be supposed to have ever passed through their minds.

We scarcely expected to find the discoverer of the new world, philosophizing upon such things as Man-traps—Road travelling—Hyde-Park dust—Affrays of Coachmen at Grand Routs—Men's Coats or Ladies' Bonnets. If we know any thing of the reputed author of *Armata*, the cut or colour of men's coats, is the very last thing that ever occupies his consideration when walking through the streets; although, as we do not wish to cast the shadow of an imputation upon his gallantry, we will not venture to suppose that he is equally indifferent to the head-dresses of our fair country-women;—but it certainly remained for the appearance of *Armata* to testify to the public, how well qualified a certain illustrious person, is, in addition to his many other talents, to become the rival or the compeer of the ingenious author of “*Horace in London*.”

On one of the subjects connected with fashionable life, which he has incidentally discussed, we are anxious to come to a better understanding, viewing it as we do as a matter of no trifling importance to the cause of Morality, and to the amount of human happiness. We confess, that we were taken by surprise at the very unqualified manner in which the generally prevailing ideas upon that subject, are here discountenanced by one so competent, from his deep and varied knowledge of the world, to arrive at a correct judgement. We allude to the influence of high-bred life and habits upon the tone of the female character. After discussing at considerable length, and with much ingenuity, the merits and demerits of the system of fashionable routs, *Anglicè*, suffocation, as opposed to the more rational and edifying plan of moderate private parties, but which it seems they have nearly supplanted in the metropolis of *Armata*, as well as in that of England, the Author proceeds :

‘ I was the more surprized at this strange perversion of taste, and abandonment of all comfort, when I was afterwards introduced into their private societies, which were every where delightful.—I forbear to dwell upon them, lest I should seem to be casting into the shade even English accomplishments and beauty.—I shall content myself therefore with saying, that almost every woman I saw, when drawn out from the confused masses where I had seen them

before, or rather *not seen them*, appeared like the sun himself when emerged from clouds that had obscured him.—From the great care, even from infancy, of their hair, their teeth, their complexions, and their whole persons, beauty had almost ceased to be a distinction, and when I afterwards became acquainted with their language, I found them so amiable in their dispositions, and captivating in their manners, so delightful in conversation, so highly accomplished, so well instructed in all useful knowledge, and so domestic in the midst of allurements all around them, that had my heart been disengaged, it must have been at a loss where to fix. Most of them indeed, when in youth, “might have lain by an Emperor’s side to command him tasks.”—And as to those who had passed that prime season, I found them also, upon acquaintance, to be just what the wisest of us in England would wish to see in the dearest of our kindred or our friends.—I met with very few who were debauched in their principles, or disqualified by habits of dissipation for the offices of domestic life; they knew all that women ought to know; they spoke of the scenes they mixed in very much as I have done myself, and preserved, in the midst of them, the same moral feelings, the same affection for their families, and the same attention to their duties, that the simplest times ever knew.” pp. 97—8.

This is certainly a very delightful picture, and little as we profess to have to do with the fashionable world, we are much mistaken if we do not know enough of it, to be able to identify it with real life. But it is not of individuals that we understand the Author of *Armata* to be speaking: it is of an order of society; and an order of society can be spoken of, as such, only by its generic character; and we confess that, with every inclination to be open to conviction, we feel great misgivings upon this topic. In alluding more especially to the tone of sentiment prevailing in high life upon the sanctity of the conjugal relation, and the general chastity of the female character, we cannot be justly accused of selecting one invidious particular, because, were any one to attempt to persuade us that a woman may be a very virtuous and a very estimable woman, notwithstanding she has adopted a low scale of sentiment on these points, our answer, and the answer of every man of common sense, would be, that we had something else to do than to attend to his argument. None can despise more than we do, the insinuations of vulgar slander, or the prejudices of ignorant credulity; but we are not prepared to say, even after reading the flattering declaration of the Author of *Armata*, that the general feeling upon this subject can be referred to either of those sources. We appeal to those who are conversant with the class of writings understood to emanate from persons moving in fashionable circles, or to be descriptive of the manners of those circles;—we appeal to those who are in the habit of devoting their leisure hours to the perusal of such works as the “*Six Weeks at Long’s*,” whether there is not a concurrence,

too universal to be suspected, in identifying with the features of high life a degree of effrontery in the prosecution of criminal improprieties, and of familiarity in the allusion to them, which would not be tolerated among the middling classes of society. We appeal to the low estimate of female character, professedly entertained by all young men of fashion; an estimate which is not referrible only to their habitual intercourse with the licentious, how much soever it may be heightened by that circumstance. Lastly, we appeal to the obtrusive fact of the frequency of connubial violations among the higher circles. Nor is it on these circumstances alone that we have unwillingly formed our judgement. A number of minute particulars go towards the formation of an opinion, of which many will be trifling in the detail, and many it may be inconvenient to specify. We have heard assertions drop from young men of fashion, pregnant with the most appalling inferences, but which our respect for the feelings of our readers forbids us to detail; and indeed, after reviewing the grounds of our opinion with no indulgent scrutiny, we must candidly confess, that until we have some more explicit testimony to the contrary than the picturesque delineation which we have just transcribed, we must continue to think that the hot-bed of high life is not exactly the place to which we must look for the largest amount of female virtue.

The following observations upon the subject of *libel*, are important; particularly so, as applicable to a question which has recently been the subject of public discussion.

‘ Though the definitions of crimes are as much the province of judicial learning as the rules which govern property, and all civil rights, yet the Armata were always alive to the clear and vital distinction between civil and criminal justice. What is a crime is a question of *LAW*; but whether committed or not, must always be a question of *fact*, which they would never trust to any decision but *their own*, nor permit any plea or answer to be addressed either in form or substance but to *themselves*. They were, from the most ancient times, therefore, an integral part of the Courts; more independent indeed than the highest judges, whose decisions might be reviewed by superior tribunals, but no tribunal could ever touch an acquitting sentence by the equals of the accused.

‘ This had been the life’s blood of public freedom through all ages, yet a few years had only passed since it was running out like water in Armata, and she was dying without attending to her complaint. Her judges, following one another, had, it seems, settled, as they called it, by a series of decisions, that *writings* forming an anomaly in criminal proceedings, were to be left to *their* censure, and that it was for *them alone to decide*, even when no rights of individuals were affected, in what language the opinions of mankind upon every possible subject was (were) to be expressed; assuming to themselves the sole judgement of *intention* whilst they shut themselves up from all

testimony by which alone it could, in many cases, be ascertained. This blind and presumptuous pretension was not only a palpable violation of the ancient law through which every popular jurisdiction might in turn have been argued away, but gave to the fixed magistrates, appointed by the crown, the power of controuling the press, which is but another name for AN ABSOLUTE DOMINION OVER THE PEOPLE.

‘ The conflicts to resist this usurpation were obstinate and protracted, but *common sense* prevailed in the end, and *sophistical nonsense* was overthrown.

‘ I wondered much when I heard this strange history, but I have wondered *much less* since I came home; because I never can admit that Armata has more public spirit or wisdom than England, yet what at this moment is our own condition, though we are in complete unquestioned possession of the privilege just spoken of, and which for a season only she had lost? The subject is so clear, that I enter upon it without apprehension; though I declare, *upon my honour*, that I should have known nothing of the law, nor even thought of it, if I had not left my own country, and visited the nation I have been describing.

‘ The Libel Act of Mr. Fox withdrew a long exercised jurisdiction over the qualities of writings upon general subjects, even from our most exalted judges, not because their justice and independence were then particularly suspected, but because it appeared to Parliament that it *never had been, nor reasonably could be*, any part of the judicial office, to judge on subjects as lawyers where the law could give them no possible rule to go by, or to exercise a boundless and dangerous dominion over the free thoughts and opinions of mankind, when no individual complained that his character had been invaded.

‘ One would have thought it must have been held to be a mere corollary to such a proposition, that a jurisdiction thus taken from the superior judges *could not remain with the inferior magistrates, even if it had been vested in them before*; and that it never could have been thought just, nor in England practicable, to stimulate the most unlettered justices, without the aid of legal advisers, to act, perhaps beyond the dictates of their own opinions, upon questions which no court in England, without the concurrence of a jury, could decide. One would have thought, that upon any sound construction of this modern statute, whatever might have been the practice of former times, a jurisdiction to arrest before indictment found, must have been virtually abrogated; or, at all events, that the people of England would not have been *more than ever* subjected to arbitrary imprisonments by the lower magistrates appointed and removable by the crown, after it had been declared by Parliament that it was not safe to confide a jurisdiction over libel, even to superior and independent judges, as an abstract question of law. It may be safely admitted, that there may be many libels so clearly mischievous as to require no judicial discretion; but what can that have to do with an universal jurisdiction over every thing that is written, whatever it may be?

‘ In all other criminal cases within the power of justices to arrest before indictment, the definitions of the crimes imputed are legal.

questions, which a magistrate may therefore examine, and which are generally of a plain and simple character; but *what is a libel*, is not now matter of *law*, nor even a *fact* which any tribunal but a jury is competent to decide. This must have been the opinion of Parliament, when, by the Statute of the 48th of the King, they gave to the justices of the King's Bench, *and to them only*, a power to issue warrants after information filed in that court, and such must be the opinion of every man living, lawyer or no lawyer, who has read the speech of Earl Grey in the House of Lords, which *even as it is published*, may range with the most invincible arguments ever delivered from the bench, or at the bar, and his opponents may well say with *Æschines*, in doing justice to Demosthenes, *What would you have said if you had HEARD him!*

‘ This power, nevertheless, still remains in England, and probably will for some time continue; but common sense, and the spirit of English freedom, will, in the end, be triumphant.

* * * *

‘ I have the rather enlarged upon this momentous subject, because it is so dangerously misunderstood. They who hold high the popular institutions of the country are supposed of late to be adverse to the monarchy, whereas they are its *only* supporters: *a revolution*, and of a very different character from the last, might be the probable consequence of any attempt to bear down THE TRIAL BY JURY, OR THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; and whilst they remain undisturbed, and in full action, the multitude so unjustly suspected will not only be obedient, but government itself may be often saved from the fatal consequences of ignorant misrule. What spectacle indeed can be more sublime than to see a blind system of jealous and arbitrary dominion carried on through the profligate and corrupting agency of spies in every part of the kingdom, receive, as it were, a DEATH BLOW from twelve honest men, indifferently chosen out of the undistinguished mass of our people!’—pp. 125—132.

We shall close our extracts with the Author's sentiments upon the subject of religious establishments, which, as proceeding from one who evidently has thought so much and so well on other subjects, our readers will naturally be anxious to learn. On a topic on which the higher orders of society have, till of late years, been content to let others think, or rather dictate without thinking, for them, it is pleasing to see that some degree of illumination has taken place. If the Author's remarks are not profound, they are at least candid, and worthy of the enlightened intelligence of his general character. They are comprised in the following account of a conversation with an eminent member of the Armatan communion, ‘ most virtuous in his life, and devoted to the practice of every good work.’

‘ He deeply lamented the growth of what we call *sectaries*, and dwelt with great anxiety upon the unhappy state of his country, predicting at no very distant period the utter extinction of the church. Clear as, he said, were the Articles of her religious faith, they had by

no means been universally accepted, and that, although those who rejected them were not only excluded from the priesthood but from many civil offices and distinctions, yet they still persevered in their own opinions, and were corrupting the world by their unbelief. *great bulk of the Articles* would, he admitted, have been accepted, that *some of them*, though standing upon Divine authority, were wickedly rejected; a heresy the more detestable, as their writings were not only circulated by authority for public instruction but by the charity of many pious persons were now universally read.

“I here interrupted to observe that I did not altogether comprehend him.—“How,” I asked, “can your people be thus invited by public law to study a book, of which they are told that God himself is the author, yet be expected to receive its interpretation from men, and be charged moreover with wickedness for having an opinion of their own. I do not at all object to your national church for adopting and adhering to the most approved doctrines, but what principle of policy do you exclude men from your ministry much more from any office in the state, on account only of different impressions of the Divine nature, or of the hopes and expectations of mankind, as they faithfully believe them to be derived from the word of God, so given to them, without comment, by both church and state, which concur in such exclusions?—I must suppose the professed beliefs of such persons thus shut out from your communion are either so manifestly erroneous as to carry with them evidence of fraud and irreligion, or that they involve political principles which might endanger the establishments of your country.”

“I am not prepared, (said the good and reverend pastor.) to answer either of such charges upon those who are yet properly excluded from our sanctuary, and even from some of our civil functions.—times have undoubtedly passed away since disaffection to our government can be justly imputed to them; neither can I go the length saying that their beliefs, or rather their unbeliefs, ought to be considered as proofs of irreligion or fraud; but can any church receive communicants who do not accept her communications, or ministers who deny her creeds?”—“That,” I answered, “no common sense can require; but why in matters not absolutely material to faith or morality, do you hold up mysteries to be as tests or conditions which you do not even agree upon among yourselves? If you have such immaterial differences of opinion why do you enforce them by laws and statutes, which are wise in themselves?”

“Cousin,” (replied the good old man) “I have set upon it, though of a long time, among many others, of you say to their refusing to believe in the visible or invisible?” I acknowledge that though, perhaps, its genuineness may be doubted, it is indeed, the essence of God, and I should be visible to the right; but.”

THINGS," I said, " was rather a startling proposition." " Not at all," said the good old man, " when in the mouth of the church that pronounces it, as it can *then* only mean *all things which the Church believes*."—" And pray, Sir," said I, " what are they? "—He here looked at his watch, saying that at another time he would converse with me further, but that he was engaged to go out.—Suspecting, however, (though I am persuaded without foundation,) that he was rather puzzled and wished to evade the question, I said I waved it for the present, as it might run into length, and that I wished only to revert to the absurdity of circulating the Scripture without comment, yet insisting upon their own interpretation.—" We have found that to be an error," he replied, " and are now beginning to correct it by notes and commentaries of our own."

" That you may undoubtedly do," I rejoined with warmth, " as learned commentators, *leaving other men also to their own expositions*; but if you were to do this in England, *upon the footing of authority*, we should tax you with relapsing into the very errors of the Catholic church, by beating up for proselytes to your own establishment, instead of publishing the pure word of God as proceeding, through inspiration, from himself.—This was the damnable usurpation of the papacy in the world I came from, and after having shed our blood for its extinction, we should hardly submit to it again.—*Any man*, with us, may write what notes upon the Bible he pleases, but *no man, nor the state itself*, can put upon it, any fetters of the law."

The old man made no reply to this, and I rather thought he was ashamed of what he had said.

I found, after all, when the differences came to be sifted between the Armatan church, and *many, at least*, who had ranged themselves under various establishments of dissent, that they had arisen, *for the most part, from the adoption of mysteries as inexorable articles of faith*, instead of softening them by expressions, that, without departing from the best interpretations of Scripture, might give a fair latitude to conscientious men, who, whilst they revered the Established Church, and in general embraced its doctrines, could not honestly swear to an implicit belief in matters so deep that the human mind could not fathom them.

The excellent old man seemed to feel the force of this, yet such is the dominion of prejudice over the most enlightened understandings, that he made only this reply—" We have done every thing to open our arms to all Christians who would subscribe our Articles.—We have held out *in one hand* large ecclesiastical preferments, and mortifying exclusions in the *other*, yet the *former* have been rejected, and the *latter* patiently endured.—I ought, however, to do justice to numbers who have consented to become priests *with benefices*, by swearing in the end to what before they had utterly denied."—He raised his voice at the conclusion of this sentence, as if an irresistible demonstration had been wound up; and so indeed there had, because the proof was irresistible that his church had shut her doors against the highest proofs of religious sincerity, and thrown them open to self-interest and falsehood.

I did not chuse, however, to mortify him by this declaration, but

contented myself with repeating my admission that every main church was fully justified in publishing its own creeds, and that no professions should, in a *religious sense*, be considered as the *notion* faith, but not so as to touch the consciences of men by excluding any description for differing only as to *mysteries*, the truth of which church could perfectly know, and which were immaterial if they can be known.—“How far,” I said, “are we distant from that *beast* bridge, which promises to be as immortal as the victory it has recorded?”—“Above a mile,” he answered, “but I cannot comprehend the meaning of your question.”—“Then I will tell you,” answered, “in a word.”

“Some of the mysteries which you insist upon, and make the parents of a widely-spreading dissent, are so immaterial to the *truth and character of divine revelation*, that perhaps, on that account, they are covered as with a veil from the presumptuous sin of man; and so little do I seek to remove it, that if an angel were now standing upon the centre arch of the bridge I point to, I would not walk through the rain that is falling, to know from him which opinion concerning them was best, so as I knew that God had through redemption received me, and in *any manner* had enlightened me with his holy spirit. It is most fit, nevertheless, that your Scriptures should in those points be examined, and that the best exposition should be supported and illustrated by your church, but they should neither be made proscriptive articles of belief, nor subjects of contention among mankind. Her establishment, as you have described it, is entitled to reverence for its purity and wisdom, and if all her ministers would only preach their own evangelical doctrines, *columns* of the chapels that within a few years have started up and outnumbered your steeples, would probably tumble down of themselves, *as* as she has not half room enough for her own congregation, it might then build even cathedrals from their ruins, and bring her into her bosom dissenters of all descriptions, who now threaten to swallow her up.”

“I intended this advice to be private, and that it should not travel from thence into our own world, though the gossip of a traveller has revealed it; because, though I sincerely honour the Church of England, and hold by the doctrines as the purest, and the best, yet I wish that our national religion, as well as our civil state should be balanced by a proper constitution, and that the free spirit of the dissenters should continue.

“Absurd, enthusiastic ardour ought to be exposed and *discouraged*, because it brings religion into contempt, *but it consists in* my own knowledge that many persons in England, of the purest line and of the most exalted wisdom and virtue, have been reproached and sneered at as *Methodists*, only for maintaining and believing the very same doctrines which our Saviour preached when upon the earth.”—pp. 186—196.

The greater part of Armata is occupied in *treating of subjects* too important for our attention to ha to its merits, considered simply as a *literary* questions where corruption and error

much *directed* exposition. On the arrangement

one side, and the interests and happiness of society on the other, we have no room or leisure for minute criticisms on the arrangement of words, or the combination of sentences. The Author of *Armata* has apparently written under the influence of a common feeling with us in this particular. His work is accordingly distinguished more by the perspicuity and force of expression arising from a thorough comprehension of the subjects discussed, than by a strain of ambitious or imposing eloquence. He has indeed modestly disclaimed any pretensions to critical honours, in a passage with which we shall conclude this article, and to the justness of which we, as parties concerned, most unreservedly subscribe.

‘ I am not a candidate for literary reputation, and shall bow with submission to our established critics, because their judgments have, for a long time, been sanctioned by general consent, evinced by the reception of their works. They are, for the most part, men of talents and learning, and seem never to forget, that an enlightened people are critics over themselves. This is the only shape in which the press ought to submit to censorship, and it has greatly contributed to the advancement of literature in Great Britain; it prevents us from mispending our time and our money upon useless or mischievous publications, and serves as a sample before we buy. Authors, whatever may be their genius or acquirements, are the worst possible judges of their own works, and the great masters of criticism, aware that for the same reason they are subject to error, are remarkable for the candour with which they examine publications at all entitled to respect.’

Art. IV. *Lectures, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans*. By the Rev. John Fry, A.B. Rector of Desford, in Leicestershire. 8vo. pp. 511. Price 12s. London: Ogles and Co. 1816.

IT is a little curious, and also somewhat instructive, to notice the feelings excited in some of the members of the Church of England, by the publication of Dr. Mant's Tract on Regeneration, and the expedients to which they have resorted, for the imaginary purpose of saving the Church's credit. The circulation of the Dr.'s pamphlet was lamented, as though it had been a novel instance of departure from generally received and well-defined doctrines, included in the Articles of the Church, and uniformly professed by writers within i . . . Just as if doctrinal schism in the Church of Eng . . . coeval with the publication of the ‘ Tract . . . led to c . . . ey correct notions ‘ of regeneration!’—as if, till . . . rbed the harmony, her members were all agreed in t . . . s . . . ment, and were all of one mind! So notorious are . . . oofs, and so common is the practice of a differing and con . . . ung . . . pr . . . tion of articles of faith in the Epi . . . two . . . ive works of a the- . . . ological nature . . . s . . . s, are scarcely

ever in unison with each other. This fact is exhibited, not only in works of direct theological controversy, in which indeed the discrepancy on the most important topics is signally displayed, but in works of expository and practical divinity. We had not dismissed Mr. Gisborne's volume of Expository Sermons, when Mr. Fry's Lectures were put into our hands. These Authors, though more nearly related to each other than are many others, and though far removed in their theology from the tenets asserted by Dr. Mant and his supporters, are, nevertheless, divided in opinion. They are members and ministers of the same Church, but they belong to different schools. Mr. Gisborne considers the Calvinistic tenets to be unwarranted; Mr. Fry gives them most prominent rank throughout the whole of the work now before us. How extremely idle then is the boast of a 'fixed creed' in the face of such accumulated and overpowering evidences of discordant sentiments in the clergy, who have all subscribed the Articles of the Church! In what sense can a creed be said to be fixed, which is subscribed by men of various and opposed opinions? A 'fixed creed' looks well, it must be admitted, in the declamation of a churchman lamenting over, or inveighing against, the discordant opinions of his brother churchman; but as a standard of doctrine, implying in the appeals of those who have subscribed it uniformity of religious sentiment, it is most perfectly unmeaning and deceptive. *Vox preterea nihil.*

We had occasion in our late remarks on Mr. Gisborne's Expository Sermons, to state the opinion of that very respectable writer, on the design of the Epistles of the New Testament, and to correct his representation of the sentiments of the Calvinistic divines, on that point. These divines, we then said, do not consider the Epistles, as intended to communicate 'new articles of faith,' and they are therefore improperly charged with 'error of momentous magnitude.' On this subject, we shall introduce the sentiments of Mr. Fry, from which it will evidently appear, that he, in common with Mr. Gisborne, regards the Epistolary parts of the New Testament, as 'expositions of truths already revealed;' though it is not less clearly manifest, that as to the value of these expositions, there is a difference between them. It does not derogate, Mr. Fry remarks, either from the perfection of the Scriptures, or from the honour of that Spirit under whose immediate influence they were written, to ascribe to some parts a superior excellence and importance, and to conceive of others as having only a subordinate use. This view of the Divine Oracles is, in his apprehension, sanctioned by the Apostle's assertion, when, contrasting certain parts of Revelation, he declares, that "That which was made glorious, had no glory in this respect, by reason of that which excelleth." The Dis-

eiples of Christ, he imagines, discovered more of their Master's will, from the communications made to them subsequently to his departure, than from their personal intercourse with him.

‘ Our Lord, indeed, in his discourses recorded by the *Evangelists*, has left intimations, more or less, of every truth of the Christian scheme; but, for the most part, he veils his instructions in parables, which, even when explained in private to his disciples, leave confessedly much untold.’—‘ *The Acts of the Apostles*—contain only short and occasional allusions to the ‘ scheme of doctrine’ which they delivered.

‘ It is to the Apostolical Epistles, therefore, that we naturally look for the full developement of the Gospel dispensation. These Epistles are, in fact, pastoral letters written by the Apostles, under the full inspiration of the Holy Ghost, either to distant churches which they were prevented from visiting, or to their younger brethren in the ministry. In these Epistles they give a full account of the doctrine which they preached, explain its difficulties, and obviate errors which had arisen concerning it. We are fully warranted, therefore, in asserting of this portion of Holy Writ, that it contains the fullest declaration of the will of God, and that, in reference to this clearer manifestation of the truth, all preceding revelations are to be understood.’ *Preface*, pp. v. vi.

Mr. Fry has fallen into an error, in his illustration of the introductory verse of the Epistle.

‘ At this place (Antioch) it was, that St. Paul was outwardly called and consecrated to the discharge of the apostolic office. The event is thus recorded in the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: “ Now there were in the church that was at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed.” Hence it appears, that Paul was already an acknowledged teacher in the church, and perhaps endowed also with the spirit of prophecy, but that on this occasion he is called and publicly ordained to an higher office, even to the highest order of the Christian ministry, to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ.’

This account is unquestionably erroneous. Paul's sole designation to the office of an Apostle, was the appointment of Jesus Christ, who invested him with that character immediately on his conversion. He was “ An Apostle, not of men, neither by man, “ but by Jesus Christ and God the Father.” Gal. i. 1. He neither was, nor could be, publicly ordained to the Apostolical office; which implies authority received immediately from Christ. “ Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our “ Lord ?”—is the manner in which he speaks of himself, when as-

no means been universally accepted, and that, although those who rejected them were not only excluded from the priesthood but from many civil offices and distinctions, yet they still persevered in their own opinions, and were corrupting the world by their unbeliefs. *The great bulk of the Articles* would, he admitted, have been accepted, but that *some of them*, though standing upon Divine authority, were wickedly rejected; a heresy the more detestable, as their sacred writings were not only circulated by authority for public instruction, but by the charity of many pious persons were now universally read.

“I here interrupted to observe that I did not altogether comprehend him.—“How,” I asked, “can your people be thus invited by public law to study a book, of which they are told that God himself is the author, yet be expected to receive its interpretation from Man, and be charged moreover with wickedness for having an honest opinion of their own. I do not at all object to your national church for adopting and adhering to the most approved doctrines, but upon what principle of policy do you exclude men from your ministry, much more from any office in the state, on account only of different impressions of the Divine nature, or of the hopes and expectations of mankind, as they faithfully believe them to be derived from the word of God, so given to them, without comment, by both church and state, which concur in such exclusions?—I must suppose that the professed beliefs of such persons has shut out from your communion are either so manifestly erroneous as to carry with them the evidence of fraud and irreligion, or that they involve political tenets which might endanger the establishments of your country.”

“I am not prepared, (said the aged and reverend pastor,) to make either of such charges upon those who are yet properly excluded from our sanctuary, and even from some of our civil functions.—The times have undoubtedly passed away since disaffection to our government can be justly imputed to them; neither can I go the length of saying that their beliefs, or rather their unbeliefs, ought to be considered as proofs of irreligion or fraud; but can any church receive communicants who do not accept her communications, or admit ministers who deny her creeds?”—“That,” I answered, “no man of common sense can require, but why in matters not absolutely essential to faith or morals, and of most obscure and doubtful import, do you not leave men to themselves? Why do you hold up mysteries to others as tests of acceptance which you do not even agree upon among yourselves? and if you dread such immaterial differences of opinion, why do you embalm bodies of men by laws and statutes, which otherwise might disperse and perish?”

“We complain of their perverseness, (replied the good old man,) which ought surely to have a mark set upon it, though of a gentle character.—To give you one instance, among many others, of their obstinacy and blindness, what do you say to their refusing to attest even their belief in all things visible or invisible?” I acknowledged that this was certainly most provoking; though, perhaps, its generality might alarm tender consciences.—If they doubted, indeed, the existence of God, because invisible, I should condemn and reject them; since the Deity could not be visible to mortal sight; “but all

THINGS," I said, " was rather a *startling proposition*." " Not at all," said the good old man, " when in the mouth of the church that pronounces it, as it can *then* only mean *all things which the Church believes*."—" And pray, Sir," said I, " what are they?"—He here looked at his watch, saying that at another time he would converse with me further, but that he was engaged to go out.—Suspecting, however, (though I am persuaded without foundation,) that he was rather puzzled and wished to evade the question, I said I waved it for the present, as it might run into length, and that I wished only to revert to the absurdity of circulating the Scripture without comment, yet insisting upon their own interpretation.—" We have found that to be an error," he replied, " and are now beginning to correct it by notes and commentaries of our own."

" *That you may undoubtedly do,*" I rejoined with warmth, " as learned commentators, *leaving other men also to their own expositions*; but if you were to do this in England, *upon the footing of authority*, we should tax you with relapsing into the very errors of the Catholic church, by beating up for proselytes to your own establishment, instead of publishing the pure word of God as proceeding, through inspiration, from himself.—This was the damnable usurpation of the papacy in the world I came from, and after having shed our blood for its extinction, we should hardly submit to it again.—*Any man*, with us, may write what notes upon the Bible he pleases, but *no man, nor the state itself*, can put upon it, any fetters of the law."

The old man made no reply to this, and I rather thought he was ashamed of what he had said.

I found, after all, when the differences came to be sifted between the Armatan church, and *many, at least*, who had ranged themselves under various establishments of dissent, that they had arisen, *for the most part, from the adoption of mysteries as inexorable articles of faith*, instead of softening them by expressions, that, without departing from the best interpretations of Scripture, might give a fair latitude to conscientious men, who, whilst they revered the Established Church, and in general embraced its doctrines, could not honestly swear to an implicit belief in matters so deep that the human mind could not fathom them.

The excellent old man seemed to feel the force of this, yet such is the dominion of prejudice over the most enlightened understandings, that he made only this reply—" We have done every thing to open our arms to all Christians who would subscribe our Articles.—We have held out *in one hand* large ecclesiastical preferments, and mortifying exclusions in the *other*, yet the *former* have been rejected, and the *latter* patiently endured.—I ought, however, to do justice to numbers who have consented to become priests *with benefices*, by swearing in the end to what before they had utterly denied."—He raised his voice at the conclusion of this sentence, as if an irresistible demonstration had been wound up; and so indeed there had, because the proof was irresistible that his church had shut her doors against the highest proofs of religious sincerity, and thrown them open to self-interest and falsehood.

I did not chuse, however, to mortify him by this declaration, but

contented myself with repeating my admission that every national church was fully justified in publishing its own creeds, and that such professions should, in a religious sense, be considered as the national faith, but not so as to touch the consciences of men by exclusions of any description for differing only as to *mysteries*, the truth of which no church could perfectly know, and which were immaterial if they could be known.—“How far,” I said, “are we distant from that beautiful bridge, which promises to be as immortal as the victory it has recorded?”—“Above a mile,” he answered, “but I cannot comprehend the meaning of your question.”—“Then I will tell you,” I answered, “in a word.”

“Some of the mysteries which you insist upon, and make the parents of a widely-spreading dissent, are so immaterial to the essential truth and character of divine revelation, that perhaps, on that very account, they are covered as with a veil from the presumptuous mind of man; and so little do I seek to remove it, that if an angel were now standing upon the centre arch of the bridge I point to, I would not walk through the rain that is falling, to know from him which opinion concerning them was best, so as I knew that God had through redemption received me, and in any manner had enlightened me with his holy spirit. It is most fit, nevertheless, that your Scriptures should in those points be examined, and that the best expositions should be supported and illustrated by your church, but they should neither be made proscriptive articles of belief, nor subjects of contention among mankind. Her establishment, as you have described it, is entitled to reverence for its purity and wisdom, and if all her ministers would only preach their own evangelical doctrines, one half of the chapels that within a few years have started up and outnumbered your steeples, would probably tumble down of themselves, and as she has not half room enough for her own congregations, she might then build even cathedrals from their ruins, and bring back into her bosom dissenters of all descriptions, who now threaten to swallow her up.”

“I intended this advice to be private, and that it should never travel from thence into our own world, though the gossip of a traveller has revealed it; because, though I sincerely honour the Church of England, and hold by the doctrines as the purest, and the best, yet I wish that our national religion, as well as our civil state, should be balanced by a proper constitution, and that the free spirit of the dissenters should continue.

“Absurd, enthusiastic ardour ought to be exposed and discountenanced, because it brings religion into contempt, but it consists with my own knowledge that many persons in England, of the purest lives, and of the most exalted wisdom and virtue, have been reproached or sneered at as *Methodists*, only for maintaining and believing the very same doctrines which our Saviour preached when upon the earth.”—pp. 156—196.

The greater part of *Armata* is occupied in treating of subjects too important for our attention to have been much directed to its merits, considered simply as a literary composition. On questions where corruption and erroneous opinion are arranged on

one side, and the interests and happiness of society on the other, we have no room or leisure for minute criticisms on the arrangement of words, or the combination of sentences. The Author of *Armata* has apparently written under the influence of a common feeling with us in this particular. His work is accordingly distinguished more by the perspicuity and force of expression arising from a thorough comprehension of the subjects discussed, than by a strain of ambitious or imposing eloquence. He has indeed modestly disclaimed any pretensions to critical honours, in a passage with which we shall conclude this article, and to the justness of which we, as parties concerned, most unreservedly subscribe.

‘ I am not a candidate for literary reputation, and shall bow with submission to our established critics, because their judgments have, for a long time, been sanctioned by general consent, evinced by the reception of their works. They are, for the most part, men of talents and learning, and seem never to forget, that an enlightened people are critics over themselves. This is the only shape in which the press ought to submit to censorship, and it has greatly contributed to the advancement of literature in Great Britain; it prevents us from mispending our time and our money upon useless or mischievous publications, and serves as a sample before we buy. Authors, whatever may be their genius or acquirements, are the worst possible judges of their own works, and the great masters of criticism, aware that for the same reason they are subject to error, are remarkable for the candour with which they examine publications at all entitled to respect.’

Art. IV. *Lectures, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans*. By the Rev. John Fry, A.B. Rector of Desford, in Leicestershire. 8vo. pp. 511. Price 12s. London: Ogle and Co. 1816.

[T is a little curious, and also somewhat instructive, to notice the feelings excited in some of the members of the Church of England, by the publication of Dr. Mant's Tract on Regeneration, and the expedients to which they have resorted, for the imaginary purpose of saving the Church's credit. The circulation of the Dr.'s pamphlet was lamented, as though it had been a novel instance of departure from generally received and well-defined doctrines, included in the Articles of the Church, and uniformly professed by writers within its pale. Just as if doctrinal schism in the Church of England, was coeval with the publication of the 'Tract intended to convey correct notions of regeneration!'—as if, till Dr. Mant disturbed the harmony, her members were all agreed in the same judgement, and were all of one mind! So notorious are the proofs, and so common is the practice of a differing and conflicting interpretation of articles of faith in the Episcopal Church, that two successive works of a theological nature from the pens of its public teachers, are scarcely

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serting his extraordinary office. He never refers to the transaction at Antioch, as in any respect connected with his appointment to it; nor could he, as the latter had no dependence upon the former. The work (το ἔργον) for which Paul and Barnabas were separated from the church at Antioch, by the Holy Spirit, was, not the Apostolic office, but a mission to the Gentiles. That this is the fact, is evident, not merely from the details which follow the passage quoted by Mr. Fry, but from the direct information of the Historian in Acts xiv. 26. where Paul and Barnabas are said to have fulfilled the work to which they had been engaged: (τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν :) which is incontrovertible proof that it was special and temporary.

The following rather unusual but correct and important remarks are deserving of attention.

‘ The inspired Apostles do not seem to have been so far advanced above other Christians in their religious experience, as some may be ready to suppose. They were, it appears, often harassed with the same fears and doubts, and had to struggle with the same temptations and infirmities, as others; and they seem, in general, to have derived their consolation and joy in the same way as the poorest of the flock. For, as the power of working miracles, which the Apostles possessed, was never exerted to relieve their own temporal wants, when they hungered, or thirsted, or were exposed to distress or injury; so, we discover, their extraordinary spiritual gifts could only be exercised for the public benefit, and did not, at all times, set their own minds, in sensible experience above their less distinguished brethren.’ p. 17.

A more appalling description of human nature in its actual state and uncontrolled tendencies, than that which occurs in the concluding part of the first chapter of the Epistle, does not exist. Free from the grossness which pervades the moral pictures of Juvenal, it is more correct and more impressive; and, bearing marks of a penetration which his indignant muse could not supply, traces the errors and the crimes of the Gentile world to their original and fertile source. With this subject the Third Lecture is wholly employed: and the manner in which it is treated, is very judicious. As specimens of just sentiment and a forcible mode of expression, we extract the following passages.

‘ The great crime of the Gentile world, as is well known, was that of idolatry. Ignorant of the true God, yet sensible of their dependent situation, and at the same time full of superstitious fears, they transferred that religious worship which they felt to be due somewhere, to created objects, or to the representations of imaginary beings. To dispense with religion altogether, was reserved for the more enlightened infidelity of after-times: in the ancient world, the great mass of mankind, at least, never thought but of paying adoration to some God or other.

‘ That they so fatally mistook the object to whom this worship was due, might at first sight seem to have arisen from their being des-

stitute of the means of attaining the knowledge of the true God. But the Apostle asserts that this was not the case; that from the works of Creation, a book open to the eyes of all, the glorious attributes of the Creator were clearly distinguishable by the common sense and understanding of mankind; so as to leave the idolater without excuse, when, in the place of a perfect, eternal, and omnipotent Being, he chose, as the object of his religious fear, the image of some inferior creature.

‘ From whence the shameful rites of idolatry did in fact take their rise, we are next informed: they sprang not from any insurmountable ignorance of the Divine attributes, but from the guilt and foolish vanity of man. That great and gracious Being who in his works was every where presented to the view of his understanding, man did not regard or honour suitably to his character: ungrateful for the bounties he was continually receiving at his hands, instead of employing his faculties to meditate upon his Maker and Preserver, and to praise him as the author of all his mercies, he betook himself, in the pride of his heart, to vain and foolish reasonings and idle speculations. The consequence was, that his mind became by such exercises unwise and indiscriminating, till at length its faculties were overwhelmed with darkness.

— ‘ The reflection of the Apostle is particularly striking: while they professed themselves to be wise, set themselves up, as it were, for reasoners and philosophers, “ they became fools.” In this proud affectation of superior wisdom, they overlooked the simple truths of nature; and a greater instance of folly and debasement of intellect, except in the fool who says in his heart, “ There is no God,” can scarcely be conceived, than to substitute, as they had done, the image of a man, and even of a beast, or a reptile, for the Supreme and Glorious Majesty of Heaven. But mark the consequences!’ pp. 34—36.

— ‘ As a punishment for their thus reprobating the knowledge of God, God gave them up to a “ reprobate mind:”—a mind reprobate in respect to those things which concerned their own honour and well-being. A reprobate mind signifies a mind that has lost its powers of just discrimination. The human mind had so ill and wickedly discriminated, in rejecting the knowledge of God, that it was doomed forever to the same *wayward choice*, and to the same practical insensibility to the beauties of virtue and holiness. Thus, in the shocking instances just recorded, it desired and chose things, not only incompatible with the welfare of man, but absolutely unsuitable to his nature.

‘ Such was the recompence of their error! They, as rational creatures, rejected the holy and eternal God; henceforth their reasoning faculties served not to keep themselves from sinking in sensual gratifications, not only below the dignity of rational creatures, but below the level of the most unclean beasts. The same proud reason, which had *undeified* the Creator, was permitted to go on till it had worse than *brutalized* the man!’ p. 40.

One of the least disputable and most distressing facts in the modern history of nations, is the extensive prevalence of War.

It was impossible for Mr. Fry to avoid adverting to this sore evil, in his illustration of the passage—"Their feet are swift to shed blood." *Rom. iii. 15.* This, he remarks, is a part of the picture of the state of religion and morals among the Jews, drawn by an unerring hand; and applicable to the character of those nations which have been distinguished from others by the possession of a Divine Revelation, in every age of the world, and in every state of society.

' The life of a fellow-creature, we know, was held very cheap among the heathen; as is illustrated by many of their histories. Their cruelties to captives taken in war, the unfeeling exposure of children, the fact that, in the combats of the gladiators, numbers of poor creatures were every year murdered as a spectacle exhibited for their amusement; these circumstances stamp the character of the heathen as *murderous*, to a degree unknown in the worst state of things, among those who have lived under the establishment of revealed religion.

' But at the same time, when we reflect upon the blood that has been shed either at the command of tyrants, or in popular commotions, both among Jews and Christians; when we remark the readiness and evident delight with which, for the most trifling causes, bloody and destructive wars have been waged; and also when we notice the levity of mind and unconcern with which lives are squandered in wars admitted to be just and necessary, we must acknowledge the judgment true: "Their feet run to evil, they are swift to shed blood." ' p. 99.

These sentiments are well calculated to exhibit Mr. Fry to our readers as one on whom the religion of Him who came, *not to destroy men's lives, but to save them*, has shed its holy and pacific grace; and most seriously and gladly do we enter on the pages of our Journal this truly Christian protest against the custom of War. It is a wish deeply rooted in our minds, that every Christian Minister might exhibit to the eyes of all men a character in which the graces of a renovated nature shall be so well defined, as to shew it in its proper form and colours; "*pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits.*" Many painful recollections give to this cherished feeling of our hearts an affecting interest. With an influence at command, which, in its proper exertion, might, perhaps, have successfully resisted the rising spirit of hostility between nations, the clergy have never effectually made the experiment of its power.

The influence of system has, we apprehend, led Mr. Fry astray in his explication of a very plain passage, as it had already seduced Macknight from the right path, though his interpretation is very different from that of the present Expositor. We refer to the view given of a part of the Fifth Chapter.

* Verse 9th. "Much more then being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him."

‘ — What is the wrath mentioned in the verses above, as endangering the believer’s safety, after that he has rejoiced in hope of the glory of God, and which, it might be feared, would put him to shame in his glorying? Not, surely, lest God should reverse the sentence of his justification, and call again to remembrance the sins which he had blotted out and cast behind him? No: but his fears are, lest himself, through temptation, after all the favour shown him, should fall into sin, and God for that should cast him off as a monster of ingratitude! This is the wrath he fears, and has reason to fear; and unless a provision were made in the life of the risen Saviour to relieve him from this fear, it would most effectually stop the boasting of every saint upon earth.’ p. 197.

‘*Ἡ ὁπρῶν* in this passage, does not import rejection, but is used in its common acceptation. Mr. Fry unnecessarily refines.

It but seldom happens that the opportunity of presenting to our readers a passage equal to the following extract, in all the essential qualities of sound and vigorous writing, is afforded us, numerous as are the volumes of religious discourses which come before us. It is from the Eighteenth Lecture, which includes a portion of the Eighth Chapter of the Epistle.

‘ Verse 19. “For the earnest expectation of the creature,” or, rather, “of the creation waiteth for,” or, “is directed to the manifestation of the sons of God.”

‘ That God has prepared for his children a state of bliss and glory, which will make them rich and ample amends for all their sufferings and humiliation here, the Apostle argues from what he sees in the creation around him. He beholds universal nature fixed, as it were, in anxious suspense, and looking in expectation of some great event, which is none other than the “manifestation of the sons of God,” the full exhibition and public acknowledgement of the heirs of promise in that character; “in the glory which is to be brought to us at the coming of Christ.”

‘ Now the *creation*, it appears, as well as the believer, is much interested in this event; and every thing bespeaks its greatness and importance, and the superior blessedness of those whom God shall so delight to honour. By *creation* St. Paul means the whole fabric of nature, as formed by the great Creator, in subserviency to man, all of which has been much affected by his apostacy from God, and awaits a glorious restoration, when the work of the Redeemer shall be finished.

‘ Verse 20. “For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who has subjected the same in hope.” Or, perhaps: “For the creation (not willingly, but through Him who subjected it) was subjected in hope.”

‘ Verse 21. “Because the creature itself shall be delivered;” or, “Seeing that the creation itself will be emancipated from the bondage,” or, “slavery of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.”

‘ The fabric of nature, so much of it, at least, as is connected with man, and was formed for his habitation and service, is now subjected

to vanity. It does not now answer that end and design, for which it was created; not agreeably, at least, to the excellency of the plan devised in the mind of the Creator. In numberless instances its noblest productions and greatest blessings are lost, or perverted to evil instead of good! The whole scene around him has been affected by the fall of man. *His* aberration from his proper orbit has disordered the course of nature, and all inferior beings have, in a manner, been dragged after him into the same abyss of corruption,—“not willingly.” The Apostle personifies creation, and represents it, as neither by its own will becoming subject to vanity, nor willingly enduring the bondage. When the Almighty considered the works of his hands, he pronounced every thing that he had made, to be “very good.” It is from no failure or imperfections of the creation, that what we now see, has taken place,—the subjugation of creation to vanity, and the bondage of corruption. It was not its own act; but came to pass through its connexion with man. He has subjected it, or, the great Creator, on his account.

‘ The sentence of God was, “Cursed is the ground for thy sake. Thorns also, and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.” This is not to be regarded as a particular instance, but as a general intimation, of the subjugation of the powers of nature to vanity. By thorns and thistles, we may understand, noxious weeds in general; in the production of which, the same powers of nature are employed, as in the most valuable productions; yet, they are useless, and do but mock the cultivator’s toil. In the animal world, also, we see many instances of the same subjection of the creature to vanity. Here, how often does nature bring forth for nought! Beasts, and birds, and fishes, let loose upon each other, full of evil dispositions, exhibit, as it were, in the oppressor, and the oppressed, an exact counterpart to the wretchedness of fallen man.

‘ Consider in this view, the disorder in the elements, experienced more or less in every climate. What ruin and devastation! What a continual frustration of purposes! and revocations of apparently destined blessings! how short, in a general point of view, of what the powers of nature could, and in some instances do, accomplish!

‘ A promise indeed has been interposed in mercy; “that summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, shall not fail,” and man may, therefore, toil in hope of the reward of his labours. But the very circumstance of a promise’s having been given, implies, that such had been the disorder introduced, such the perversion which the powers of nature, and all secondary causes, had suffered, that, but for *his* staying hand, who in a similar manner, to prevent the entire destruction of the human race, puts a check upon their evil propensities, the regular revolutions of the seasons, upon which the subsistence of man and beast depends, were in danger of being interrupted, and might have failed in their expected returns.

‘ Look again at the actual state of the surface of this globe, as subjected to the dominion of man. He was bid to subdue and replenish it: but see to this present hour, its fairest parts lying desolate; the most valuable productions useless and waste; the “rain falling upon the land which no man inhabiteth;” extensive continents “the habi-

tation of dragons, the joy of wild asses." See, too, whole races of men pining in want and in squalid misery, appearing scarcely human, where, had but the gifts of nature been applied to their destined end, they might have enjoyed themselves as in a paradise. Think, moreover, of the human intellect uncultivated :—man, created in the image of God, become a prowling savage in the wilds of America and Africa, a ferocious *cannibal* in the islands of the southern ocean !

‘ What is worse, see the good things of nature, where they are enjoyed in the greatest perfection, and where the intellect of man is most cultivated, used to the dishonour of God, and become a snare and an occasion of misery to man. See the fine powers of reason and imagination employed to counteract the mercies of God, and establish more firmly the empire of sin ! Surely this is that part of the subjugation to vanity, of which the creation, if it had a voice, would most loudly complain, and from which it would ask most earnestly for deliverance.

‘ In viewing the state of this lower world, might it not be asked with amazement, Is this the world, which the wisdom of the All-bountiful contrived and pronounced so good ? Yes ; so far, reflection will teach us, it is plain ; for the very magnificence of the ruin discovers the art of the builder, and still preserves, in its fallen state, an idea of the original design of the structure. When the traveller meets with the solitary fisherman spreading his nets upon the foundations of Tyre ; or when viewing the remains of Balbec or Palmyra, he notices, that the neighbouring shepherds have erected their huts out of their curiously wrought pillars, and have occupied their majestic porticos with their stabled herds ; he is in no danger of confounding the uses and appropriations which he sees before him, with the original intention of the architects, and of the great founders of these stupendous piles. Thus in contemplating the puny works of the present race of mortals, and the small portion of nature which they have subjected to their sway, it strikes us forcibly ; how different must have been the end and design which the great Author of nature had in view, in the formation of all these things ! The world, indeed, resembles a magnificent city, which some dire disaster had plunged in ruin. And its present occupants may justly be compared to a degenerate race, occupying in poverty and meanness, some small portions of noble edifices erected for the grander purposes of a better people.’

Valuable as is Macknight's work on the Epistles, its faults are neither few nor unimportant. Scarcely any commentator so much requires a judicious and well-instructed reader. The lights which he exhibits, are often brilliant, but sometimes false and delusive, conducting the inquirer after scriptural knowledge aside from his proper course. In many parts of his version of the Greek text, the improvements are great and striking ; in others, he betrays inattention to the style of the original writers, and seems more solicitous to surprise by novel construction, than to express the correct sense of his author. The example which he has given of philological dexterity in the management of Greek words, is, we think, but ill calculated to promote the cause of sound criticism. These remarks

may be considered as admonitory hints to the theological student, who is about to enter on the perusal of a most valuable work, which every person interested in his respectability as a Christian scholar, will recommend to his attention. One of Macknight's most prevailing, and at the same time most injurious, practices, is thus noticed by Mr. Fry, in the justness of whose remarks we entirely accord.

‘ This unwarranted liberty in translating the Greek particles every where adopted by the last mentioned commentator, (Macknight,) greatly disturbs the sense of St. Paul. Permit him to change *illative* into *causal*, and *causal* into *illative*; *causal* into *adversative*, and *adversative* into *causal*; *illative* into *suppositive*, and *suppositive* into *illative*; and any sense whatever may be brought out of his author.’ p. 385.

In explaining the passages which occur in the Eleventh Chapter, relative to the restoration of the Jewish people, Mr. Fry does not hesitate to adopt the opinion, that an undisguised and general apostacy from the Christian faith will precede that event.

‘ It may be, we have not seen the apostacy in its height,—in its most avowed shape. It has hitherto claimed the title of *Catholic*, or *most Christian*, and has persecuted, to maintain its right to that title undisputed. But perhaps the world has yet to witness ANTI-CHRIST in his proper shape, avowedly and openly Anti-christian,—the very profession of Christ's religion being cast off.’ p. 441.

Now, if persecution be the distinctive mark of Antichrist, it is very possible that Mr. Fry may be in an error as to the real extent of that tyranny: persecution has conferred an *undisputed* but not a peculiar or exclusive title on ‘ *Catholic*’ and ‘ *most Catholic*’ communities. The blood of righteous men, “ *slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held,*” stains the altars of a Church to which the Author is not a stranger, and their cries, loud and grievous, protest against the exclusive appropriation of the ‘ *title*’ to the parties to which Mr. Fry would concede an undisputed claim.

Probably, many persons may wonder at the Author's boldness, or strangeness of opinion, in asserting that ‘ the Christian world was never more indifferent about retaining the form of that religion than at this present hour.’ Look at our Bible Societies, our Missionary Societies, and our other numerous institutions for the support and diffusion of the Christian religion,—may probably be the reply of many readers, who may further be disposed to suspect Mr. Fry of a morbid mental temperament. To others, perhaps, his sentiments may not appear strange, how alarming soever they may be, though they may probably feel some inclination to amend the proposition which conveys them, by reading ‘ *substance*’ in the place of ‘ *form*.’

They may allege, that the ostentatious pomp with which many of the religious institutions of the present times are invested, is an omen of ill. It is evidently, they may suggest, the object of the conductors of these, to give them acceptance with the World, as a part of its business and pleasure; an object which can never be attempted without derogating from the pure and elevated spirit which pervades the whole Gospel, and which should ever accompany the means of its support. There is, they may admonish us, such a prostration at the shrine of temporal grandeur, on the part of professing Christians, who lead the institutions of the age, as they can view only with alarm: when the proper protectors and advocates of the truth as it is in Jesus, can solicit without scruple and without a blush, names which they see placed in the very front of their publications,—and can place these names there as honourable to the cause,—then, they will probably urge, are not their fears to be confounded with imaginative alarms.

What credit Mr. Fry may obtain for the correctness of this opinion, we will not presume to say; but we feel it to be impossible for us to extract the following passage, without remarking on the strange sentiment which occupies a place in this part of his work.

‘ In our country, where there is reason to suppose the remnant of true Israelites more numerous than in most other nations; and where many of the servants of Christ are trading with their talents, insomuch that we still indulge the hope of an exception from the common doom of the apostate nations of the Gentile Christians; yet, even in Great Britain, if the general voice could be collected, at least if the enemy shall prevail a little farther in the removal of those wholesome prejudices, that bind the thoughtless to the religion of their country; might not a message be sent, after the departed Saviour, as the decision of the majority, “ We will not have this man to reign over us!” ’ p. 442.

From such a man as Mr. Fry, who identifies true religion only with the spiritual renovation of the mind and holy conduct, we could not have expected language of this nature and tendency. Are the *thoughtless*, then, who are *bound by prejudices to the religion of their country*, the persons who maintain the loyalty of Christ's subjects, and retard his lingering steps? From Mr. F. we should rather have expected a full exposure of the evils included in the prejudices and thoughtlessness to which so much honour and power are here attributed. Nothing can be more injurious to the cause of truth, nothing more opposite to the principles and demands of Christ's religion, than that ignorant and prejudiced formality which is here represented as so important. This and some other passages of the work, exhibit a strong evidence of the influence of

a secularized Church, in the avowal of sentiments and the use of expressions totally unwarranted by pure Christianity.

Sometimes Mr. Fry writes carelessly. On some very important topics his sentiments are delivered in a very indistinct form, and he attempts to make impression rather by declamation than by argument. Specimens of this kind occur in the exposition of the Thirteenth Chapter, on the Duty of Christians to Civil Government. Mr. Fry assures us, that the Apostles 'were in political wisdom, as well as in religious knowledge, far more excellent than the princes of the earth.' We cannot divine in what manner Mr. Fry obtained his information, and we should imagine, that with equal propriety it may be affirmed, that the Apostles were the best astronomers and the best metaphysicians that have existed. Be these things as they may, it appears to us, admitting Mr. Fry's assurance, that as it is the duty of all Christians to make the Apostles models of imitation in religious knowledge, so are they under obligation to study political science, as a part of Christian perfection. Does the following sentence require no explanation?

'—No time nor situation can be supposed, when either the Church as a society, or when any authority exercised therein, can lawfully claim an exemption from the authority of the sovereign; and much less any individual member of the church, acting among men in his private capacity.' p. 465.

This is a very indefinite and blameable expression. Does Mr. Fry mean to say that the Church, as a society, is to receive the authority of the sovereign in the regulation of its religious proceedings? Most certainly the authority of the sovereign ceases when religion is separated from political elements, and a 'church as a society,' that is, a number of professors of religion met together for spiritual purposes, is exempted from all magisterial control by civil rules. The proof of this point is most clear and abundant from the authoritative records of the New Testament. If Mr. Fry means nothing more than that the obligations of civil authority are binding on the professors of the Christian faith in matters purely civil, he only asserts an admitted doctrine; though he ought to have expressed his meaning in a more lucid and intelligible manner.

That the Apostle in the terms Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, enjoins obedience to civil government, as part of the will of God, is unquestionable, but that he gives any sanction to 'the doctrine of the divine right of sovereigns,' is a gross error. As well might he be represented as asserting the Divine right of republics or any other actual or possible form of civil government. Nor does the direction of the Apostle prohibit Christian professors, from employing their influence, in a correct manner,

for the purpose of improving civil government and civil institutions of every kind. These are at all times essential duties to men as the members of civil society, which are permitted to take their course; the Gospel never interfering to displace man from the station which he occupies in society, or to divest him of any of the rights which belong to him. Will Mr. Fry allow, that Clarkson, Wilberforce, and their coadjutors, were, in their efforts to procure the abolition of the slave-trade, adopting a conduct worthy of good men and perfectly consistent with a Christian profession? Doubtless he will. But was not this union of Christian men formed for the express purpose of obtaining an alteration in the laws, or, in other words, of the conduct of the Government? Was not that the object to which their unabated exertions for many years were directed; and were their wishes or their exertions ever satisfied till the object of abolition was obtained? No one ever imagined that these persons were offending in these proceedings against either the spirit or the precepts of Christianity. In like manner it is the duty of Christians to attempt the correction of errors and the reform of abuses in the civil polity of their country. To represent the Christian doctrine as restraining its professors from political interference, is unjust and mischievous; calculated not only to excite prejudice against it, but to deprive the institutions of society of a large portion of most salutary influence. Mr. Fry, like some preceding writers on the subject, is rash and indiscriminate in explaining the duty of civil obedience; and by the concessions which he feels himself compelled to make, reduces to insignificance his magnificent array of imperial and sovereign attributes, which apply alike to a tyrant and a patriot king, a legitimate monarch, and an usurper. Who would object to the answer which Mr. Fry himself supplies in the following words, to the question which proposes to ascertain the limits of the subject's obedience?

‘—The limits of his obedience, in the first place, are the laws of God; and where they neither command nor restrict, the laws and authorized customs of our country. We may not be the tools of an oppressor, nor his aiders and abettors in the abuse of his authority: neither may we at any time cease to “obey God rather than man.”’

Now, with so large and comprehensive a qualification of all his other statements, as these words contain, the business of government is so regulated, and the duty of the subject so defined, as effectually to provide a safeguard against the encroachments of sovereigns on the rights and liberties of mankind; and all the resistance for which the sober advocate of popular rights would contend, is granted. The absurdity of some other points introduced into Mr. Fry's exposition of political obligation is, quite apparent;—as in the case of his citing the example of our Lord,

In confirmation of his opinion that it is the Christian's duty quietly to surrender himself into the hands of a wicked sovereign who attempts to deprive him of his liberty and life. Who perceives not the correctness of an innocent person's conduct in withdrawing himself from the hand of a wicked ruler?

Our readers may expect some account of Mr. Fry's expository remarks on the fourteenth Chapter of the Epistle, in which the Apostle treats of Christian liberty, and prescribes the duty of Christians towards each other in things indifferent. We shall endeavour to gratify them; but we apprehend they will unite in our expressions of deep regret, that such a man as Mr. Fry should be so fettered with the bonds of a secularized church, as to write in a manner little worthy of a Christian Minister, and altogether unworthy of the truth itself. We cannot permit him to impose upon the world the statements which follow, without furnishing the correction of his errors, and something in the way of rebuke proper for his temerity.

The general rule which the Apostle lays down as a maxim of conduct in the professors of the Christian religion, to be applied as frequently as differences not involving the violation of its essentials might occur, is contained in the expression, "*Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.*" This rule the Apostle illustrates, by shewing its application to existing cases. Some kinds of food were freely used by many of the Christians at Rome, to which others, their brethren, scrupulously objected. The conscience of each was alike good, whether they used, or abstained from, the meats in question; and therefore, as each was in the same manner in a state of acceptance with God, the points in difference not affecting their character in His account, mutual forbearance was their appropriate duty. Their Christian communion was not to receive any interruption from the variety of their allowable practice.

* Ver. 2d. "For one believeth that he may eat all things: another who is weak, eateth herbs."

* This was the dispute: the truly enlightened knew that all descriptions of food were lawful; but some were so weak in maintaining gospel principles, it is most probable from their prejudices concerning the Jewish distinctions of meats, that they abstained from eating this food altogether in heathen countries, where such distinctions could not be ascertained. This is a weakness, it is admitted: but let it be tolerated; let it not cause disputes among you.

* Ver. 3d. "Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth: for God has received him."

* He who knows his liberty in these matters, is not to despise his weaker brother an account of his foolish prejudices: neither, on the other hand, is the brother, who dares not from scruples of conscience in-

indulge in those liberties which some of his fellow Christians freely partake of, to judge them, or to take upon himself to pronounce them offenders. "For God has received them:" though you presume to judge them, God has declared his acceptance of them.'

' Ver. 4th. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand."

' We perceive here, from this strong expostulation of the Apostle, that it was the weaker brother, that was in reality more to blame in this dispute, than the less scrupulous Christians. And in subsequent differences, which have arisen in the church, what rancorous judgments and unchristian censures have often been passed by some Christians on their brethren, either because they would not be tied by their narrow rules; or because strangers to their scruples, they felt themselves at liberty to conform to such things as the weaker brothers conceived to be sinful and abominable." p. 480—481.

We regret that we cannot permit the Author to escape our censure; but the manner in which he has commented on the Apostle's sentiments, is so injurious to the spirit and object which are identified with them, that we must not slightly pass over its impropriety. Mr. Fry has ventured on an alteration of the record, in no part of which does the Apostle designate the scruples of the Christian brother who limited the supply of his table to vegetable food, as '*foolish* prejudices.' It was assuredly no part of his design, to attach a term of reproach, or an offensive epithet, to the conduct of either party. He could never have delivered the exhortation which was intended to effect a respectful and kind attention among all Christians, in a manner directly calculated to counteract the object. The scruples of a good mind, as they are the dictates of conscience, are never to be represented as '*foolish*:' the very principle of mutual forbearance demands in every Christian the use of conciliating terms, and strictly forbids the employment of words calculated to depreciate and irritate his brother.

Mr. Fry, we apprehend, is altogether mistaken in his remark, that the weaker brother was, in the judgement of the Apostle, more to blame than the less scrupulous Christian. *Blame* is not asserted of either party. The Apostle does not pronounce judgement between the parties, nor does he suggest that one, rather than the other, was in the wrong. To discuss or settle this point, was remote from his intention. "Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant?"—is an appeal addressed equally to the weak and to the less scrupulous; while the declaration that "God is able to make him stand," relates to the one whom the other might judge or despise.

We shall not proceed further in our remarks, till we have extracted a few more lines from this part of Mr. Fry's volume.

— 'The Christian is not his own master, neither is he to call any

man master, upon earth; one is his master, even Christ.'—'And over the consciences of his people there is neither judge nor lawgiver, nor king besides. This is the great fundamental principle of Protestantism; and however those in power may, on some occasions, have attempted to violate it, and however the schismatical and seditious have abused the principle, and prejudiced its cause; this, I am bold to say, is the fundamental principle of the Church of England, which her soundest members will be found ready to maintain and to act upon.' pp. 485, 486.

Here we would admonish Mr. Fry, that boldness is neither truth nor argument, and that it is very possible his glorying may not be good: the loudest boasts and the strongest confidence, are not seldom the most empty and baseless. To Mr. Fry's assertion, that in the Church of England there is neither lawgiver nor king besides Christ, it is quite sufficient to oppose the power which the said Church claims to decree rites and ceremonies, and the right which it challenges to exercise authority in matters of faith. For the complete refutation of his position, it is unnecessary to go beyond the fact, that the secular magistrate is the supreme governor of the Church of England, and that Acts of Parliament are the laws on which its whole polity is founded. As 'for those in power,' Mr. Fry well knows, that he and his brethren must obey their instructions and comply with their will, they being the persons who alone are competent to direct and coerce the ministers of the Church. 'Her soundest members!'—Who are they? There is assuredly no difference among the members of the Church of England; they are most perfectly all in the same condition, so far as the obligation of the laws which bind the clergy are concerned; these laws emanating from civil authority, they neither can nor dare resist; they must not presume to judge the ordinances of man, to which the whole clergy must at all times render prompt obedience. Mr. Fry has no more liberty than the most heterodox of his brethren. They must in the same manner bow their wills to the secular authority which prescribes their duty. The Rector of Desford must 'act upon this principle,' and no other. He must not, at his peril, omit the reading of a prayer which he is ordered to pronounce. He is not at liberty to preach the Gospel but within consecrated walls. Over the discipline which Jesus Christ has ordered to be maintained in every Christian community, he has no right of superintendence, but must submit to the interference of secular tribunals, under whose cognizance cases, to which a spiritual discipline alone is appropriate and appointed by the authority of Christ, are visited with the vengeance of temporal punishment!

The reader will have noticed the extremely unjust representation which Mr. Fry has allowed himself to make, of the law

of Christian forbearance; as he will also be reminded of the gross and constant violation of it which he is commanded to practise. With the law of Christian liberty, as it is prescribed by the Apostle, Mr. Fry refuses compliance, and affords another most decisive proof, by offering resistance to the will of Jesus Christ, the only legislator of Christians, that he admits another lawgiver over the consciences of believers. What can Mr. Fry say for himself, if we charge him with imposition on the conscience? And what is more easy? Should the most holy and humble follower of Christ offer himself as a communicant in Desford Church, and scruple to *kneel* at the communion, Mr. Fry would reject him. How conscientious soever the scruples of the pious candidate might be, they would meet with no indulgence from him. He would not tolerate this weakness, though he knew it to be such. He would insist on conformity. He would allow no plea of Christian forbearance. Kneeling at the Lord's Table, is a case to which the law of Christian liberty expressly and signally applies: to compel the use of it is a gross outrage; it is forcing the conscience which Christ has left free, and therefore, notwithstanding Mr. Fry's boldness, the Church of England is built on another foundation than that which is laid in Zion. The sole legislation of Jesus Christ over the consciences of his people is not its fundamental principle.

Mr. Fry seems to be much displeased with some persons, whose names, he says, might be mentioned, for resisting the payment of certain ecclesiastical dues, (p. 488) and he imagines that, in this particular, the pleasure of Jesus Christ will be best fulfilled by a meek submission to every ordinance of men invested with public authority in the Church! What copy of the New Testament does Mr. Fry use? We have never found the payment of ecclesiastical dues prescribed in the code of Christian law. The voluntary support of its teachers by those persons who receive their instructions, is the only mode of providing for their subsistence which Christianity sanctions. On what principle of equity are '*ecclesiastical dues*' demanded from professors of the Christian faith, or from any other class of religionists, for the support of a Church to which they do not belong? To the support of Civil government, all subjects are unquestionably under obligation to contribute; but as the State has no legitimate concern with the religious profession of its members, it is, we conceive, beyond the line of its duty, to burden one class of Christians with the expense of maintaining the teachers of another class. Here, again, Mr. Fry infuses the principle of self-destruction into his argument, by the admission that the resistance to ecclesiastical claims, which is purely religious, is an '*appeal to Christ as coming to take account of his servants*;' and surely those who withhold their sanction from human ordinances founded on the usurpation of

his authority as the sole legislator of Christians, may await their final audit, without trepidation, in the calm and satisfactory assurance that he will approve their conduct, and pronounce upon them his holy benediction, "Well done, good and faithful servant!"

The extracts we have made from this work, will enable our readers to form their own opinion of the general cast of the sentiments and manner which distinguish it. We cannot, however, withhold our opinion, that this volume of lectures, considered as a theological publication, is highly creditable to the Author. We have specified some instances, in regard to which we wish he had been more sober and accurate in his statements, and less confident in the tone of his declamation; but to the evangelical complexion of the work, to the seriousness and fervour of the Author, the strong but well-tempered confidence with which he asserts some points of doctrine, and to the subserviency of the Exposition to the purposes of devotional and practical religion, we give unreservedly our warm recommendation. We remark with pleasure, that Mr. Fry has adopted the text of Griesbach, where its variations are of any moment, and that many readings are quoted from the Syriac version, in the margin of his work. Altogether, the volume is one of much excellence and value, such as proves its Author to be a good scholar and a good divine. It is entitled to take the precedence of many theological writings of our own times, which have obtained both currency and reputation

Art. V. *The History of the Church of Scotland; from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution: illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurencekirk. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1467. Longman and Co. 1815.

(Continued from the last Number, p. 32.)

THE ill-concerted attempts of the ministers to oppose the impolitic measures of the king, gave the Court a decided advantage, the ordinary result of ineffectual resistance to established authority, and they did not fail to improve it. Orders having been issued for the apprehension of the ministers concerned in the late commotion, they fled. The clergy were required to recognise the King's authority, and in all cases to punish sedition; magistrates, and all possessed of power, were commanded to interrupt the preachers, if they uttered sedition in the pulpit: they were to commit them till the King should be informed, or to prevent them from preaching in the jurisdiction of those who interrupted them. The city of Edinburgh, completely humbled, was stripped of its most important privileges. James, in expectation of carrying his measures respecting the church,

summoned an assembly at Perth. As every artifice had been employed to secure a majority favourable to the views of the Court, though several of the zealous Presbyterians defended their privileges, it was agreed that many of the points for which former assemblies had contended, should be abandoned; that the King should have influence over all ecclesiastical judicatories, as well as power to suppress seditious preachers; and that a small number of commissioners should be nominated to discuss with him the most important regulations respecting the administration of the church. From the result of this Assembly, James derived great satisfaction, which was heightened by the treatment of the Popish lords whom the church freed from the sentence of excommunication. Though the strictest of the ministers were highly displeased at the proceedings of this Assembly, and endeavoured to convene another, they met with no encouragement; and in the subsequent Assembly, all the acts of the preceding one were ratified with additions.

‘ Soon after the dissolution of the Assembly, the commissioners having been summoned by the King, met at Falkland, and, from the steps taken by them, it is evident that, as had been apprehended, they were not averse to be in some degree guided by the Court. Lindsay of Balcarras having complained to the presbytery of St. Andrews, that Wallace, one of the ministers of that city, had made from the pulpit an indecent attack upon his character, the presbytery, influenced by Andrew Melvil, treated the complaint with contempt. Lindsay brought the matter before the commissioners, who, disregarding the plea of some of the clergy, that they had no power to enter upon the investigation, began to examine into the truth of the charge. Wallace refusing to answer the questions which were put to him, they transferred their meeting to St. Andrews, that the whole information requisite for pronouncing a judgment might be obtained. The King accompanied them, and having interrupted Wallace during the delivery of a sermon, Melvil sharply rebuked him, denouncing heavy judgment against him, if he did not repent. The commissioners removed Wallace from his charge, and they also dismissed Black, who had a little before resumed his ministry in St. Andrews.

‘ The violent and disrespectful conduct of Andrew Melvil, who was irritated by the proceedings of the commissioners, and by their substituting in the room of the ministers whom they had censured, Gladstones, a man more tractable, and not disposed to resist the King, determined James to humble this intrepid leader of the Presbyterians, to whom he imputed all the commotions which had agitated the church, and disturbed the tranquillity of the state. For this purpose, under the pretence that he had too long held the office, Melvil was deprived of the honourable situation of Rector of the University; the state of the new college, over which he presided, was examined, and the persons who conducted the examination, having discovered, or affected to discover, that politics had been preferred to religious topics in the lectures to the students, the King, not very

judiciously, prescribed the subjects upon which the professors were to enlarge, regulated the management of the revenue, and, which was the chief object in view, prevailed upon the commissioners to pass a resolution, that no doctors or professors, particularly professors of divinity, not having care of souls, should vote in ecclesiastical judicatories. The reason assigned for this was, that attendance upon these judicatories would interfere with more important duties, but the design really was, to prevent Melvil from being present in Assemblies, in which he would employ all the energies of his vigorous mind, in resisting innovations which he condemned and abhorred.' pp. 95-7.

To preserve the constitution entire, the King was desirous of preventing the abolition of the ecclesiastical state; and, deeming the present occasion favourable, he procured an act of parliament, authorising those ministers whom he might invest with the office of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, to vote in the national council. A clause was artfully added in favour of the Presbyterian discipline. The commissioners, by a skilful address, softened the prejudices that were entertained against the slightest approach towards prelacy; and though opposition was made in the Synod of Fife, the measure was at last carried in the Assembly of March, 1600.

* The King, believing that he had no further reason to fear that the discontent at the new ecclesiastical regulations would become so formidable as to prevent their being carried into execution, summoned the General Assembly to meet at Montrose, probably for the conveniency of the northern clergy. Notwithstanding the vigorous and well-conducted opposition of the advocates for the established discipline; notwithstanding their attempts to shew that the granting to the clergy a vote in parliament would terminate in "antichristian and Anglical episcopal dignities, offices, and titles, flatly repugnant to the word of God," and that the avocations which thus would arise to the ministers were inconsistent with their pastoral duties, the two offices which would be held by those who were elected commissioners being incompatible, the resolutions passed at Falkland were sanctioned with the cautions or limitations by which they had been checked. Two points, however, still remained to be decided,—the title to be assumed by the commissioners, and the duration of their commission. With respect to the former of these, it seems to have been at once determined, that the appellation of bishop should not be used, but that of commissioner retained; with respect to the latter, there was much discussion and diversity of sentiment. The object of the Court was, that the appointment should endure for life, or till the person who received it was convicted of a crime. This, however, could not be effected; and it was at length determined, by a majority of votes, that the commissioners should annually give an account of their commission, and lay down the same at the feet of the Assembly, to be continued or altered as that high ecclesiastical judicatory, with the consent of his Majesty, should think most expedient for the good of the church. Two additional restrictions were, at the same time,

enacted; that they who had a vote in parliament should not come as members to any general assembly, or vote in it, except they were authorized to that effect by their respective presbyteries, and that *crimen ambitus*, or solicitation for the continuance of the commission, should be sufficient ground for its being taken away. All these arrangements having been made, it was ordained that the ministers throughout the kingdom should, in general terms, intimate, that the vote in parliament had been fixed by the Assembly, and that none should speak against it.

‘ This assembly may be considered as having introduced a new form of ecclesiastical polity and as thus marking an epoch in the history of the church of Scotland. Instead of the parity for which Melvil, in conformity with the principles which he had embraced at Geneva, had strenuously contended, and which he had successfully established, there was recognised an order of ministers, who, in addition to the pastoral office, had civil duties to perform, and were, consequently, in a different situation from the rest of their brethren. The system was one of pure representation. The commissioners were elected by the great body of the clergy, who were their constituents; were to be guided by their instructions in what related to the interests of the church; were responsible for their conduct in parliament; and could be removed from the place which they held, if they proved unfaithful, or were regarded as unfaithful to the trust which was reposed in them. Perhaps it was impossible to devise any better mode of giving to the clergy that influence in parliament, which, as the third estate, they had long possessed, and which, as forming a numerous and enlightened part of the community, and as having separate and important rights, it was, in various respects, desirable that they should possess; and, had the restrictions been rigorously enforced, there would have been no more danger of the clerical representatives usurping a permanent superiority over the rest of the ministers, than there is at this moment of the representatives of the people becoming totally independent of those by whom they are returned as members of the legislature.’ pp. 115, 118.

A spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed, but it led to no important result.

Soon after this period, James ascended the English throne, an event which had a considerable influence on the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. Dr. Cook exhibits a view of the religious parties into which the English nation was divided, Catholics, Puritans, and Episcopalians, as well adapted to throw light on this subject. He then details the proceedings of the mock conference of Hampton Court, and exposes the impolitic conduct observed toward the Puritans.

The severe and unwise treatment of the Puritans, excited alarm among the Scottish Presbyterians. Their opinions of the King's duplicity, they perceived, were well founded: they viewed, with suspicion, the acts of his government, distrusted his promises, and abhorred his tyranny. To render the pro-

jected union of the Two Kingdoms acceptable to his new subjects, James proposed to extend Episcopacy into Scotland, and, with this view, he deferred the meeting of the General Assembly, which was likely to resist innovation. When the commissioners of the church requested the advice of their brethren, respecting the points that it was known would be agitated in Parliament, the Synod of Fife expressed, in a respectful but decided tone, the spirit of opposition which generally prevailed to all encroachment on the ecclesiastical constitution. This expression of popular feeling should have induced the King to pause, but, as he absurdly imagined that a hierarchy is essential to monarchy, he pursued his resolution of re-modelling the Scottish church, and sowed the seeds of future convulsions. The assumption of the titles of episcopacy, by three of the commissioners of the church, and the rejection, by the courtiers, of a clause for preserving, in case of union, the religious polity by law established, increased the apprehensions of the Presbyterians, and induced them to petition the king for the meeting of the General Assembly. The King resolved not to accede to their request, but in order to amuse them, he professed to their agent, that he still retained the principles in which he had been educated, and was determined to maintain the order of the Scottish kirk. His ministers indeed intimated that a General Assembly would not be held; but as the communication was not official, several of the Presbyteries elected their representatives to the Assembly. A late notice, which was afterwards recalled, on condition of adjourning the Assembly, was sent to the Presbyteries, to detain their brethren.

* About nineteen members, returned by nine out of fifty presbyteries, came to Aberdeen in the beginning of July. The smallness of the number has been stated as a decisive proof, that the great part of the ministers were averse from holding the Assembly; but there was some misunderstanding respecting the day of meeting, and several of the clergy, amongst whom was Welsh, afterwards so disgracefully persecuted, arrived after the Assembly had been dissolved. It is, besides, to be recollected, that a numerous convention of the ministers was not desirable. They had no intention of passing any important acts,—the purpose of their coming together was solely to preserve their privileges, and, in as far as was consistent with these, to yield obedience to the King. Several of the most distinguished of the clergy, it is admitted, were present; and they conducted themselves with a moderation, yet with a firmness, which should have commanded the respect, rather than exposed them to the resentment of government.

* It was intended to constitute the Assembly on the forenoon of the 2d of July, but from the singular severity of the weather, this was, with the concurrence of Straiton, delayed till the latter part of the day. He then produced a letter from the council, directed "To

our trusty friends and brethren of the ministry, convened in their General Assembly at Aberdeen," a title recognising the lawfulness of their convention. The ministers justly observed, that, before they could receive the letter, they must take the usual steps for forming the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and choose a moderator and clerk. Upon the suggestion of Lauriston, who declined being present at the election, lest any difference might afterwards arise, and his conduct in countenancing them be blamed, Forbes was chosen to preside, and the letter which requested them immediately to dissolve their meeting, without appointing another, was read. Although they were convinced that the situation of the church much required the interference and direction of a General Assembly, their anxiety not to oppose their sovereign, induced them, without hesitation, to resolve upon adjourning; but they could not, without tearing down their ecclesiastical polity, agree to do so, without fixing a day for a subsequent Assembly. They referred the nomination of this day to Lauriston, expressing their willingness to acquiesce in whatever time he might think would be most agreeable to the King. He now peremptorily insisted upon their instantly dissolving, without nominating the time for re-assembling, upon which they framed an act of adjournment till the 5th of September, and wrote to the council, explaining the motives by which they had been influenced. Lauriston probably at length saw that this resolute purpose of the ministers would not only give offence, but might expose himself to the resentment of the prelates, and through them of his Majesty; and to guard against this, he solemnly declared, that he had from the beginning considered the Assembly as illegal; he commanded the ministers by a proclamation to leave the city, and he afterwards affirmed, that, upon his arrival on the first of July, he had, in name of the sovereign, charged them upon pain of treason to disperse. Of the falsehood of this assertion, it is almost impossible to doubt. The ministers had never heard the charge, and they called upon him to produce any of the inhabitants of the town who were present when it was given. They said, what he could not deny, that when he was at their meeting, he never made the most distant allusion to the charge, which he would certainly have done had his account been founded in truth; and the fact, that he even pointed out who should be elected as moderator, places himself amongst the most unexceptionable witnesses against his own veracity. The clergy having on their part protested that the Assembly was held upon the warrant of the word of God, and agreeably to the laws of the kingdom, left the city.

'The point now at issue between the King and the great majority of his Scottish subjects, whose sentiments coincided with those of the ministers, was not merely what, at first view, it may appear, a matter of ecclesiastical regulation, of little importance to the community, or affecting only the privileges and the interest of the clergy, but it was a great constitutional question, involving in it the establishment of despotism, or the assertion of those noble principles of political freedom, upon which all government, entitled to the vene-

ration and submission of rational beings, must rest. The church, identified at this period with the rights of the people, had obtained from the legislature certain powers and privileges, not extorted by force, but granted from the conviction that they were requisite for the peace and happiness of the kingdom; the statute conveying these privileges had not only been regularly sanctioned, but had for several years been acted upon as the law of the land. His Majesty, desirous to take them away, instead of having recourse to Parliament, and endeavouring to obtain the repeal of the statute become obnoxious to him, issued an arbitrary mandate that it should be disregarded. Had the ministers tamely yielded to this, they would have recognised a dispensing, that is, an absolute power in the crown,—they would have contributed to subvert the liberty which was their birth-right, and would have subjected to the will of the monarch their most invaluable civil and religious blessings. There is perhaps no incident in the history of Scotland, which more strikingly than the one now recorded, branded as it has been by many writers as seditious or treasonable, shews the vast obligations which posterity owe to the defenders of the Presbyterian polity; because freedom was never in greater danger, and at no period would the slightest deviation from the manly principles disseminated by the reformation, have more firmly shackled our country with the fetters of oppression' pp 160—164. Vol II.

The council resolved to proceed against the ministers who had held what was contemptuously styled, a convention; and six of them, who maintained its legality, were thrown into the prison of Blackness. This iniquitous measure justified the clergy in affirming that it was deliberately resolved to subvert the ecclesiastical constitution; though the King, to efface this impression, issued a proclamation, appointing a General Assembly, and pretending that he meant not to attempt any violent innovation.

' This proclamation was sent to the imprisoned ministers, whose numbers had been increased, with the intention of removing their apprehensions, and of leading them to acknowledge that they had acted improperly; but when it failed in producing these effects, they were again required to appear before the council, that the punishment which they had justly incurred might be inflicted. When they were asked to make their defence, they declined the jurisdiction of the council, as the matter with which they were charged was purely ecclesiastical, and ought to be decided by the judicatories of the church. This declinature, as it was denominated, was not received or no attention was paid to it; and they then, confident in the goodness of their cause, justified their conduct in a strain of energetic reasoning, which reflects the highest honour upon the soundness and vigour of mind, which Forbes, who took the chief burden of pleading, in an eminent degree possessed. All their efforts, however, were insufficient to procure their release; they were remanded to prison; and the King, irritated by their declining

ority of the privy-council, and thus reviving a controversy, in the early part of his reign, had occasioned to him much loss, commanded six of them, amongst whom were Forbes and Welsh, to be tried for treason. Upon the day of trial, they appeared before the justice-depute, Sir William Hart, to whom of the nobility and lords of the council were appointed assessors, and the indictment was laid upon the act of the parliament relating to his Majesty's power over all estates; which act, it stated, that the pannels, by declining the jurisdiction of the council, had traitorously violated. Much intreaty was used in private to induce the ministers to withdraw the declinature. This they refused to do, and the trial having proceeded in a manner inconsistent with those by whom it was sanctioned, they were, notwithstanding, by powerful and affecting speeches of Forbes, and of Welsh, acquitted of treason, and ordered to be detained in confinement until his Majesty's pleasure respecting the punishment to be inflicted should be ascertained.' pp 166, 167. Vol. II.

absurdity might be united with injustice, the Court censured all censure of their own proceedings.

When these matters were brought to extremities, the King resolved to hold a conference in his own presence, and summoned eight of the most eminent Scottish ministers to London. From the tenor of the summons, they concluded that no good could be expected from the measure, and begged to be excused: eventually, however, they complied with the King's importunity. When they arrived in London, they were compelled to attend in the Chapel Royal, a course of lectures, preached by English preachers in order to expose the principles prevalent in Scotland. Afterwards, they appeared before the King, and were required to state their opinion of the Assembly held at Aberdeen. As they did not do so at that meeting, the King despaired of making a favourable impression on them, and the conference terminated. Had the ministers should now have been allowed to return to Scotland, James detained them, and ordered the members of the privy council, to propose to them captious and ensnaring questions.

James Melvil, moderate and patient as he was, felt the indignation which such oppression was calculated to excite in every independent well-constituted mind; and after he had been required by the King's advocate, to say whether he prayed for the imprisoned ministers, whether he approved of the Assembly at Aberdeen, and whether the ministers having declined the jurisdiction of the council, and James having his letter to the synod of Fife? he thus remonstrated: 'I am a free subject of the kingdom of Scotland, as free as any man in the world, to which I will stand. There has been no law legally executed against me. The noblemen here present, and I, are not in our own country. The charge, *super inquisitione*, was declared long since to be unjust. I am bound by no law to assist myself, neither to furnish matter of accusation against

myself." He then desired the noblemen "to deal with him; although a mean man, as a free born Scotchman, as they would be content to be used themselves, that is, according to the laws of the realm of Scotland."

"Such language might surely have protected a man who had been guilty of no crime, who was not even accused, but who, in obedience to the order of his Sovereign, had come to court, leaving his family and his charge, and incurring an expence which his limited circumstances could with difficulty afford. The lords of the council still, however, pressed their inquiries, and seem to have felt no emotion of patriotism at what every patriot should have heard with the deepest interest. This exasperated Andrew Melvil, who could not behold, with indifference, what he believed to be wrong; and when he was at length admitted, he, in a tone of dignified reproach, told the noblemen before whom he appeared, "that they knew not what they were doing,—that they were degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to give their lives and lands for the freedom of their country and of the Gospel, but that they were betraying and overturning both." ' pp 180, 182. Vol. II.

They answered the questions proposed to them; but they were still iniquitously prevented from returning home. Provoked by the contumacy of the ministers, the Court was eager to inflict punishment on them. Andrew Melvil had, in an epigram, exposed the pompous worship of the King's chapel, and being summoned before Bancroft, he inveighed against the parts of that prelate's conduct, that were deemed objectionable by the Presbyterians. For this boldness, he was committed to the custody of the Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards imprisoned in the Tower, where he languished several years. He was afterwards permitted to accept the professorship of divinity, in the university of Sedan; and died there in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His nephew, James, was obliged to reside first at Newcastle and then at Berwick; and the other ministers, though sent home, were confined to particular parts of Scotland.

A short time before the ministers were summoned to London, the Parliament had passed several acts tending to introduce despotism, and to restore prelacy. Those acts, together with the iniquitous and cruel policy observed toward the ministers, exasperated the minds of men, and excited violent prejudices against the prelates; which they confirmed rather than softened, by conforming to the manners of the Court, and abetting its tyrannical measures, by the haughtiness of their deportment, and by their contempt of that severity and decorum of behaviour that were thought essential to true piety.

Some of the clergy having been thus drawn to London, others banished, and consternation struck into the whole order, the King appointed a convention for regulating ecclesiastical affairs

to be held at Linlithgow. The Assembly being most irregularly convened, the Earl of Dunbar read a letter, explaining the object of the meeting.

‘ He proposed that, till tranquillity was happily restored, one prudent minister in each presbytery should be chosen constantly to preside, and that this office should belong to the bishops in those presbyteries, within the bounds of which they resided. The tendency of this measure was at once perceived, and notwithstanding all the means which had been employed to secure compliance, it could not be carried in the general form in which it was presented; but to prevent the danger from it which was apprehended, it was ordained that the moderators of presbyteries and provincial assemblies should not presume to do any thing of themselves, without the advice and consent of their brethren; that they should have no greater jurisdiction than had been assigned to former moderators by the constitution of the church; that they should be subject to the trial and censure of synods; and to these restrictions were added several others, which, had they been put in force, would have rendered this new scheme little prejudicial to the Presbyterian discipline.’ p. 199. Vol. II.

These resolutions were steadily opposed by the ministers, and were far from giving satisfaction to the King, who, foreseeing opposition, ordered ‘ the council to direct charges, as well for ‘ those that were nominated to accept the moderation, as to ‘ the ministers of every presbytery to accept them that were ‘ nominated.’ Though the innovations were very unacceptable to the people, the prelates, by addressing the fears and hopes of the clergy, prevailed on the weaker men of the ministry to choose as their representatives to the next Assembly, those who were friendly to the views of the Court, and they availed themselves of the great apprehensions entertained of Popery, to inculcate unanimity and moderation. The success of the bishops was considerable, though no direct innovation was made. The Assembly did not condemn the innovations; it again authorized several of its members, including the prelates, to correspond with the King; it recognised a difference of opinion respecting ecclesiastical government; and it allowed the titles of the bishops to be inserted in its register. When James Melvil heard of the proceedings of this Assembly, he declared, ‘ that either God must ‘ change the King’s heart, or the government of the Scottish ‘ church must be overturned.’ The spirit of opposition, however, was far from being subdued. In a conference, held pursuant to a resolution of the last Assembly, the ministers, though every art was employed to secure compliance, could not be brought to acquiesce in the views of the Court.

Meanwhile, the determination of the King was discovered in acts of parliament, which restored the prelates to civil jurisdiction, and empowered the King to regulate their dress. The bishops, now threw aside the disguise under which they had

concealed their designs, and, that scope might be afforded to their ambition, they trampled on the laws of the church, debarring the clergy from secular employments; while they lent themselves to be the tools of despotism in administering the Court of High Commission.

' Delighted with the means which, through this court, he could employ for distressing or imprisoning, or banishing his subjects, and thus compelling them to silent submission, the king had, about two years before this period, formed the design of establishing a similar court in Scotland, and endeavouring, by its arbitrary proceedings, to eradicate that turbulent spirit, before which he had in early life often trembled. The state of the country, or the apprehension of resistance, delayed the evil; but the time at length appearing favourable, an act of council, under the great seal, was addressed to the two archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, erecting a court of high commission in each of their provinces, and defining the powers of the judges. A number of the bishops, and some of the most distinguished of the laity, were constituted members of these courts, and any five of them were declared competent to act, provided one of the five was an archbishop. They were authorized to call summarily before them all persons being offenders, either in life or religion, whom they held to be any way scandalous, and proceed to their trial; and if they found them impenitent, to issue a mandate to the pastors, under whose ministry they lived, to pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication. If the pastors refused to comply, the court was empowered to proceed against them by suspension, deposition, or imprisonment. They were also empowered to fine, at their discretion, such persons as had been dragged to their bar, and as appeared to them to be guilty. They could even imprison them; a warrant of the commissioners, signed by the archbishop, being sufficient for all jailors to bury in dungeons the unhappy men who had fallen under the displeasure of this detestable inquisition. In cases of contumacy, the privy-council were commanded to employ the whole force of government in executing the sentences pronounced by the court of commission; and if the persons summoned did not obey the order of the council, they were denounced as rebels, and subjected to all the weight of punishment inflicted upon the enemies of the state. It might have appeared, even to the abettors of despotism, that the clauses already specified gave a sufficient range for the exercise of tyranny; but James farther authorized the commissioners to watch over the conduct and conversation of all ministers, preachers, teachers in schools, colleges, or universities, and to proceed against those who used what were termed impertinent speeches in public: in other words, a system of jealous inspection was established, which destroyed all confidence amongst men, and annihilated the happiness derived from the intercourse of society.' p. 223.

The prelates, viewed at once as apostates and instruments of tyranny, were held in abhorrence. All the odium of the court of commission fell upon them.

As he had succeeded in raising the bishops to rank and power, James thought he might, with their assistance, be able to induce an Assembly to sanction the subversion of the Presbyterian polity. Having most indecently prescribed to the different presbyteries the persons whom he wished to be chosen commissioners, he employed intimidation, bribery, and the prospect of emolument, to procure their compliance with his designs. Accordingly, when the Assembly met, instead of any vigorous attempts to preserve the established constitution of the church, propositions were adopted subversive of the Presbyterian discipline. Absolute power over the General Assemblies was given to the King; and the bishops were allowed an undisputed superiority. As some opposition was made, by several ministers, to the resolutions of the Assembly, an edict was issued, prohibiting all expressions of dislike, in public or in private, of the wise conclusions of the Assembly, authorizing magistrates to imprison the guilty, till the privy council should decide on their cases, and commanding those who knew, to inform against their neighbours.

The language and spirit of this edict should rouse the virtuous indignation of all who value the best interests of man. Resting upon the authority of the monarch, or of those who, in his name, exercised the government, it established the horrors of the inquisition;—it destroyed the confidence which is the charm of social intercourse;—it converted the inhabitants of Scotland into spies upon the virtuous feelings of one another;—and it sanctioned a mode of criminal procedure which could be tolerated only under the depression of despotism. For the slightest opposition to a long series of propositions, at variance with what the king, as well as the people, had sworn to maintain, every man was liable to be immured in a dungeon; he might be seized wherever the villany of his persecutors led them to search for him, even in his own house, and in the bosom of his family, and be deprived of liberty, not till he established his innocence, or demanded a trial, but till the lords of the council, the men who were capable of framing and publishing such a proclamation as has been mentioned, found leisure, or were inclined to intimate what they wished to be done with him. Could that cause be acceptable to the nation which needed support like this? Could any thing be more calculated to inspire detestation at episcopacy, and at every thing connected with it, than associating that admirable form of ecclesiastical government with a degree of oppression, which, if it be long endured, eradicates the best feelings, and sinks into the profligacy and degradation of slavery? Yet, because our ancestors were not willing to bow their necks to this iron yoke, because, from the bitter emotions with which they contemplated it, and during the noble stand which they made against it, they branded the tyranny which sought to impose it, they have been represented as unreasonable and seditious enthusiasts; and an enlightened historian, guided much more by his general principles than by accurate in-

formation, which he did not possess, has endeavoured to excite admiration of his own expanded views and liberal sentiments, by loading, with every term of contemptuous reproach, those venerable men, to whose intrepidity we are indebted for our inestimable political and religious privileges.—pp. 211—3, Vol. II.

The following passage will amuse our readers :—

‘ Nearly as the church of Scotland had now approached to the episcopal model, the king thought that something was still wanting for effecting that religious conformity between England and Scotland, which he so eagerly contemplated. The bishops in the latter kingdom, wanted the character which they could derive only through prelates regularly consecrated ; and James, that this defect might be supplied, soon after the conclusion of the Assembly at Glasgow, summoned Spottiswoode and two of his colleagues to come to London, and at the same time enjoined the Bishops of London, of Ely, and of Bath and Wells, to consecrate the Scottish prelates. Spottiswoode and his brethren seem to have been averse to this step, and insinuated that, by their submitting to consecration, the old pretensions of the English church over that of Scotland, and which had never been admitted, might be revived. The King, who had anticipated this objection, removed it, by informing them that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who alone could urge the claim to which allusion had been made, were to have no part in the solemnity. A difficulty, however, of a different kind, now occurred, which greatly perplexed the Bishop of Ely. He maintained that it would be necessary, in the first instance, to ordain the Scottish prelates as priests, they having never received episcopal ordination, and then confer on them the higher order. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was standing by, insisted, on the other hand, that this was unnecessary, because, where there were no bishops, ordination by presbyters must be esteemed valid, and that if this were disputed, it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches. The Bishop of Ely was satisfied by the judicious observation of the primate, and the work of consecration was then completed.’—pp. 244, 5, Vol. II.

In October, 1612, Parliament ratified the conclusions of the Assembly, but essentially altered the Act in favour of the prelates, who, as they reaped the advantages, incurred the odium of this disingenuousness.

The establishment of episcopacy was far from satisfying the King, who wished to introduce into his dominions a uniformity of religious ceremonies, which he deemed essential to the vigour of his prerogatives. Though the bishops were prone to gratify his Majesty, they perceived that the rash measures of the Court were fraught with danger, and therefore adopted a more cautious policy. Under the pretext of securing the reformed faith against the attempts of Popery, they summoned an assembly at Aberdeen ; and this business being settled, when many of the ministers had left, they brought forward resolutions affecting the state of the church. A new confession of faith was sanc-

tioned, a catechism and liturgy were ordered to be composed, as well as canons to be drawn up from the acts of former Assemblies. The King, in his anxiety for uniformity of worship, commanded to be inserted among the canons, regulations, afterwards called the Five Articles of Perth, respecting kneeling at the Lord's Supper, private communion and baptism, confirmation, and the observance of certain festivals. This determination of James alarmed the prelates, and, on their representing to him the difficulties of the measure, he resolved to temporize. He undertook a visit to his native country, in full expectation of effecting his purposes by the authority of his presence; but he was extremely mortified in not finding the obsequiousness that he had anticipated.

‘ He sent instructions to repair the royal chapel before his arrival, and dictated the manner in which this repair was to be executed. The people heard with amazement of the changes to be made in the appearance of the structure. Paintings or statues of the apostles were to be placed in it, and this circumstance gave rise to a report, that images were to be introduced, and that the mass would soon follow. Cowper, bishop of Galloway, who was dean of the chapel, and who, although he had conformed to the ecclesiastical innovations, was a sincere Protestant, entered into the feelings of the multitude, and conceived it to be his duty to represent to the King the propriety of departing from an intention which would spread dissatisfaction through the kingdom. The letter containing his representation was also subscribed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and some of the other prelates; but the archbishop seems to have regarded the fears of the people as totally without foundation. Cowper, however, was serious; for, in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends, he informed him, that the bishops had succeeded in getting images discharged, and he requested him to take some pains to shew, that the refusal of images was reasonable. The King was highly displeased with this interference; and although he did not esteem it prudent to disregard it, he sharply rebuked the bishops for their officiousness; ascribed it to their narrow views; and not very graciously informed them, that he would bring with him some English doctors to enlighten their minds ’—pp. 268, 9, Vol. II.

James proposed that it should be enacted, ‘ That whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, in matters of external polity, should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law.’ To the prelates, who represented the danger of such a measure, since to the making of laws, the advice and consent of presbyteries were essential, the King replied, ‘ That he was not against calling upon a competent number of the wisest and most learned ministers, to assist the bishops, but that he would never agree to having matters ruled as they had been in General Assemblies, for the bishops must rule the ministers, and the King rule

181
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
‘both.’ Though the law was, with a slight modification, approved by the Lords of the Articles, the ministers, who perceived that it tended to remove every vestige of the Presbyterian polity, entered so spirited a protest against the Act, as induced his majesty to abandon the measure. In conformity, however, with the littleness of his mind, he meanly persecuted those who had signed the protestation. This prince always betrayed his weakness:—

‘After the parliament had been dissolved, he commanded the bishops, and several of the ministers, to meet him at St. Andrews, for the purpose of arranging his plans with respect to the church. The prelates, and about thirty of the clergy, having met in the chapel of the castle, the King expatiated to them upon his great care of the church,—alluded to the articles which he had transmitted, taking great credit to himself for his moderation in not compelling their insertion amongst the canons,—spoke with much displeasure of the protestation,—graciously informed them that he would pass this over amongst many other wrongs,—and then told them that he had called them to hear what were their scruples as to the points which he had recommended. He concluded in this high strain: “I mean not to do any thing against reason, and, on the other part, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused or resisted. It is a power innated, and a special prerogative, which we that are Christian kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the polity of the church, as we, by the advice of our bishops, shall think most fitting; and for your approving or disapproving—deceive not yourselves, I will never regard it unless you bring me a reason I cannot answer.”’—pp. 279, 280, Vol. II.

Not being able to bend the constancy of the Scots, James indulged his humour in declaring it to be his pleasure, that his English subjects should be allowed to violate the Lord’s Day.

The Assembly, which the King ordered to be summoned, though the prelates took great pains to render it subservient to their views, was found intractable, and the articles proposed for deliberation, were deferred till another meeting. Filled with indignation, his Majesty ordered that no stipend should be allowed the ministers who opposed the articles. The bishops, addressing the apprehensions of the clergy, endeavoured to gain their concurrence. Festivals were commanded to be observed, and an Assembly having met at Perth, every expedient was employed to intimidate the members. After a letter from the King, written in his ridiculous style, had been read, the Archbishop said: ‘In case of your refusal, the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority.’ To prevent the decided opposition that was apprehended, it was proposed to discuss the articles in a private conference: they were then laid before the Assembly. Freedom of debate was

denied; he who rejected one article, was to be considered as rejecting all; and he was assured that his name would be presented to his Majesty. Forty-five, however, had the courage to vote against these famous articles. The violent and tyrannical proceedings of the Court, afforded great advantage to the minister.

‘ Instead of regarding the Perth Assembly as the constitutional organ of ecclesiastical power, these ministers insisted that it was not lawfully constituted,—that it had been illegally conducted, and that the sentiments of the majority had not been fairly expressed. Nor did they confine these opinions to their pulpits. They circulated them by the press, thus enabling every man deliberately to reflect upon the magnitude of the evil which they deplored.’ p. 299.

They produced on their countrymen a deep impression, which was fortified by the vexations and persecutions to which they were exposed, and the improper conduct of the prelates, who were haughty in their manners, often at Court, negligent of their duties, and, from solicitude to exhibit Popery in a favourable light, scrupled not to cast reflections on the Reformers.

Our Author has set the character of James in a just light, and the reflections in which he indulges on the close of his long reign, we should, if our limits had allowed, have adduced as a favourable specimen of his moderate and sagacious thinking.

(To be concluded in our next Number.)

Art. VI. 1. *Conversations on Botany.* (With Plates) 12mo. pp. 212.

Price (with plain Plates) 7s. 6d. coloured 10s. 6d. Longman. 1817:

2. *A Practical Introduction to Botany:* illustrated with references under each Definition to Plants of easy Access, and by numerous Figures; and also comprising a Glossary of Botanic Terms. By the Rev. W. Bingley, A.M. F.L.S. Author of *Animal Biography*, &c. 12mo. pp. 489. Price 4s. 6d.

THE advantages attendant upon an early initiation into the principles and facts of natural history, are not, perhaps, duly appreciated by many upon whom devolves the momentous duty of directing the studies of youth. We are not disposed to unite in opinion with those who affect to decry, as worse than useless, the long established plans and practices of grammar-school education, or with those who dream, that by proper management, the labour of scholastic learning may be changed into the mere pleasure of intellectual acquirement; but we do think that the understanding and the power of reflection might, with a promise of much future benefit, be earlier called into habitual exercise, than the present routine of school education seems for the most part to suppose. Not to launch out into an extended dissertation on the probable good of such a reformation as we now hint at, one benefit; and that not a trifling one, may be justly mentioned as likely to result from the endeavour to instil into

the youthful mind a *taste* for scientific researches. The love of novel-reading would, we feel convinced, be much lessened; as the world of nature opened daily upon the contemplation of the pupil, the world of fiction would gradually lose its hold upon his mind, and the main-spring of one great engine of moral and intellectual deterioration, would thus be effectually destroyed. But we must recollect the *vindice nodus* precept: our present object is not to write a treatise on education, but to review the two little volumes, the title pages of which we have just transcribed.

Botany possesses this advantage over other branches of natural history, that the student is less dependent upon adventitious aids for the attainment of a certain extent of competent knowledge and facility of pursuit. Furnish the young botanist with a few elementary principles, and you put into his hands the means of instruction and of entertainment, in whatever part of the world Providence may have placed him.—The fields are the laboratory of the botanist's experiments,—the manipulations of his science are furnished by the hand of nature.

The cramp and scholastic character, however, of some elementary treatises on this pleasing and useful science have, it may be feared, deterred many persons from breaking through the barriers which invariably oppose themselves, in the first instance, to the enjoyment of a new pursuit. When, therefore, we meet with publications undertaken professedly for the purpose of obviating this difficulty, it becomes our duty to investigate their claims, in this respect, to public sanction; and we are gratified in being able in the present instance, to place our seal of *probatum* upon both the works before us. The recent works of Keith and Salisbury, will afford the subject of a more particular investigation, of which we shall, before long, avail ourselves: in the mean time, we may safely recommend these two little volumes, as admirably calculated to furnish the instruction they are designed by their Authors to convey.

The "Conversations on Botany," is one of the most pleasing introductions to the Linnæan system of classification which we recollect to have seen. The Author has contrived to introduce, throughout the work, subjects of interest, which are admirably calculated at once to relieve the dryness of mere description, and to stamp such description more impressively and permanently upon the memory. We may cite, for example, the following account of the manner in which opium and the Chinese Tea are prepared for commerce. It must be recollected that the book is professedly designed for young persons, as well as young botanists.

'The opium which is so much used in medicine, is the juice obtained from the unripened vessels of another species of *Papaver*, the somniferous or white Poppy. In many parts of Asia Minor,

the inhabitants chew a great deal of opium, as the sailors and common people chew tobacco in England; and whole fields are sown with the seeds of this plant, just as ours are with corn. When the heads are nearly ripe, they are wounded on one side with a sharp instrument, and a white liquor flows out, which the heat of the sun hardens upon them: this is the opium, and it is collected the next day, when fresh wounds are made on the opposite side of the seed-vessel but what comes from the first wound is greatly superior to that obtained from the second. After the opium is collected, it is moistened with a small quantity of water or honey, and worked up on a board until it becomes of the consistence of pitch, and is then formed into cakes or rolls for sale' p. 115.

'The tea-tree, *Thea*, (*Polyandria Monogymia*) is a native of China, Japan, and Tonquin, and has never been found growing wild in any other country. Linnæus says, there are two species of this plant, the *bohea* or black, and the *viridis*, or green tea.

'As tea is the most important article of commerce to the Chinese, they bestow the greatest possible care upon its cultivation. It is propagated by seeds, which are put into holes about five inches deep, at regular distances from each other; from six to twelve being sown together, as it is supposed that only a small number grow. When the tree is three years old, the leaves are fit to be gathered; and the men that collect them, wear gloves, that the flavour may not be injured. They do not pull them by handfulls, but pick them off one by one, taking great care not to break them; and although this appears to be a very tedious process, each person gathers from ten to fifteen pounds a day. The tea leaves are collected at three different seasons. What are first procured while the leaves are very young, are called Imperial tea, being generally reserved for the court and people of rank, because they are considered as of the finest quality. The last gathering, when the leaves have attained their full growth, is the coarsest tea of all, and is used by the common people.

'The leaves are first exposed to the steam of boiling water, after which, they are put on *plates of copper*, and held over a fire until they become dry and shrivelled; they are then taken off the plates with a shovel, and spread upon mats, some of the labourers taking a small quantity at a time in their hands, which they roll in one direction, while others are continually employed in stirring those on the mats, in order that they may cool the sooner, and retain their shrivelled appearance: and this process is repeated several times before the tea is fit for use.' p. 117.

Mr. Bingley's Treatise, although of a different cast from the "*Conversations*," possesses considerable merit: its nature and objects may be best stated in the words of its Author.

'The claims to attention of the present publication are founded chiefly on its portable size; its comprising within a narrow compass all the principal definitions arranged in systematic order, and these being in general illustrated by reference to English plants, or to plants that are of frequent occurrence in flower gardens. In this view it may, with advantage, be used as a supplement to Miss (Mrs.) Wakefield's Familiar Introduction to Botany.'

The tyro in botany will do well to procure, and attentively to peruse both these publications, as pleasing and instructive preliminaries to a course of more comprehensive and detailed research.

Art. VII.—*A Tribute of Sympathy, addressed to Mourners.* By W. Newnham, Esq. 12mo. pp. x, 240. Hatchard, 1817.

WHATEVER partial success may attend the attempt, under many of the circumstances of life, to do without religion, by substituting other principles of action, other moral restraints and bonds of social union, no expedient that the utmost ingenuity of worldly wisdom has been able to invent, has been found to possess any efficiency in the hour of tribulation, as a substitute for the consoling influence of the Gospel. Consolation is a result which every thing, except religion, must fall infinitely short of producing; and which much that passes for religion, fails to produce in the moment of trial. Many individuals who have manifested, at other times, a disposition to glory in the superior rationality of their views, and to exult in their freedom from prejudice, somewhat to the disparagement of those whom they affected to regard as the votaries of a gloomy system, have within the curtains of a sick bed, or under the searching agonies of a broken spirit, disclosed the secret wish that they could believe as those gloomy religionists believed, and enjoy the calm, quiet hope, the unfeigned consolation which they possessed. Yes: nothing but *Methodism* will do then; and to the proflated services of the world, to the common-places of philosophy, to even the best-intentioned efforts of sympathy, as a substitute for religion, the real mourner replies in the bitterness of his heart; "Miserable comforters are ye all."

But even when the Christian attempts to administer consolation to another, he finds that the wounded heart requires delicate handling, and unless he is guided by his own experience, he will soon be compelled by tenderness to refrain from intermeddling with the grief he seeks to allay. Few, very few, are qualified to act the part of a comforter. The most successful, sometimes the only mode of gaining access to the mind, is through the medium of some tract, suited as far as may be to the case of the sufferer: and with regard to works of this kind, the Author of the present volume speaks from his own feelings when he states, that 'much that is kind, and useful, and excellent,' is to be found in them, but that he met with none exactly suited to the wants of his own heart. Under the circumstances of severe affliction which suggested his undertaking, and probably this has been the experience of many a mourner.

'During a season of sorrow the mind is softened, and prepared to

receive the instruction which may be derived from its present circumstances. But to gain access to the heart, to engage the attention, and awaken the judgment to the arduous duties which the afflicted are invited to perform, it is necessary that their sorrows should be soothed, that their anguish should be respected, their feelings participated, their anxieties allayed, and their distresses alleviated. The eye suffused with tears, is incapable of perusing and deriving advantage from the intrinsically excellent, but frigid declamations of the uninterested observer. The wounded heart must be healed, and the tearful eye must first be dried, by the tenderest sympathy, ere it can attend to the lessons of instruction. The troubled bosom must be calmed, before it can be animated with the genial glow of resignation to the will of God, or be enabled to appropriate the important truths conveyed in this gloomy and mysterious providence; before it can appreciate the duties connected with its situation, or realize the prospects of mercy and comfort, with which it is surrounded. And since the mind, oppressed with care, will very soon become fatigued with simple argumentative disquisition, in which oftentimes it can scarcely feel an interest; it is devoutly to be wished, that truth should be conveyed in a style so pleasing and so chaste, as to engage the understanding, while it wins its way to the heart. And though the Author laments most sincerely, that his situation, and constant professional engagements, disqualify him for the task of gratifying the refined taste of individuals, who may possibly honour him with a perusal of his work; yet he trusts that he has in some measure succeeded in gaining a readier access to the heart, and in preparing it for the reception of truths which in another form might have been probably overlooked.' pp. v—vii.

The reader will augur favourably from this extract, of Mr. N.'s qualifications for the truly Christian task which he has been prompted to undertake. The Contents of the Work are distributed into seven Chapters. 1. Indulgence of Grief; 2. Moderation of Grief; 3. Excessive Sorrow; 4. Advantages of Sorrow; 5. Self Examination; 6. Resignation; 7. Sources of Consolation.

Of the execution of the work, we do not feel ourselves called to speak as critics: its whole value must depend on its moral adaptation to the peculiar state of the mind under deep affliction. At that period, we believe it is generally found, that the simplest, tritest considerations resume the power of producing the strongest impression, and no others are felt to be suitable. In extreme grief, the mind is sometimes thrown back, as it were, into the simplicity of childhood; the feelings then act with the directness of instinct, seizing at once upon their natural objects, and refusing to obey all artificial impulse. 'Tell me some plain truth—some simple certainty; speak to me of the commonest things of religion in the most homely way,'—this has been the language of the most learned and profoundly intelligent of men, when pain or grief has brought them low.

We deem it morally impossible that a person in full health and enjoyment, should be a competent judge of the suitableness and probable effect of a style of address intended for a mourner under heavy affliction. Any brilliancy of thought, any deviation from perfect genuineness of manner, would, we are persuaded, be insufferably offensive. We cannot conceive of a person's deriving consolation from the most striking novelty of sentiment, or from any unexpected light flashed upon the scenery of his thoughts. We should think Jeremy Taylor himself extremely unlikely to afford the least satisfaction by his sublimest sallies of imagination, if perused under such circumstances. The mind rather requires to be gradually beguiled into those trains of thought which may soothe, without fatiguing, the faculty of attention, and insensibly mingle with the natural flow of the feelings, till at length, it is brought into a state to take up and incorporate with itself the reflections which are presented to it; and not till then, does it begin to be susceptible of the consolation they are adapted to afford.

The following extract may serve as a specimen of the general style of the present volume.

‘It is to this office that the friend who now addresses you would aspire. Like yourself, he has been visited with great distress: he has felt the want, and has experienced the worth of a kind friend to whom he could confide his feelings; particularly, in those seasons of solitude and seclusion, which are so earnestly desired by the mourner; but in which, the mind left to prey upon itself, is too apt to indulge its propensity to dwell on all the aggravating circumstances of the present affliction, rather than on the cause which has rendered it necessary, the hand which has inflicted it, the design with which it is sent, or the blessing with which it is encompassed. And, although the voice of sympathy may be removed from us for a short time only, yet we find that we require its welcome accents to be constantly reiterated in our ears, and its valuable consolations to be ever before our eyes. We need the frequent repetition of the same cheering truths, to preserve us from sinking into despondency; and a constant review of the same alleviating circumstances, the same motives to resignation, the same enlivening promises, the same animating prospects.

‘It is to remove this deficiency in the hour of solitude, that the present address is undertaken. Sympathy alone has induced the author to personate the character he has drawn. He has been the possessor of peace and joy for a short time, even in this world of woe. He has had every wish of his heart gratified. He has proudly contented himself with his domestic happiness, equally careless of the little troubles and vexations of the day, as of that beneficent hand which made his cup to run over with blessings. But he has been taught the vanity of reposing his hopes in the creature. A husband, and a father, death has deprived him of every earthly comfort. One short month has witnessed the dissipation of his prospects, which he had lengthened out to an almost indefinite period. He has been

called to mourn his folly and his loss, and has been left alone on this wilderness world, in order that he may learn by dearly bought experience, the humiliating lesson of the insufficiency of earthly pleasures, the instability of present scenes of comfort, and the perfect sufficiency of the Bible, to afford peace and consolation to the agitated mourner.²

Art. VII. *A Treatise on the Coal Mines of Durham and Northumberland*; with Information relative to the Stratification of the two Counties: and containing Accounts of the Explosions from Fire Damp, which have occurred therein for the last twenty years; their Causes, and the Means proposed for their Remedy and for the general Improvement of the Mining System, by New Methods of Ventilation, &c. By J. H. H. Holmes, Esq. F. S. A. with plates. 8vo. pp. 259. Price 10s. 6d. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, London. 1816.

THE coal district of Durham and Northumberland, is certainly unrivalled in any part of the world for its extraordinary richness in this valuable mineral; and its geological structure and arrangement, as well as its great importance as a source of our national wealth and prosperity, give it considerable interest and importance with every person whose curiosity is elevated above the immediate concerns of animal existence, or whose attention is not wholly absorbed by the indispensable duties of his station in society. When we remember that it consists of several distinct formations, that it embraces a superficial extent of 180 square miles,* that it has wholly supplied the great and continually increasing demands of London for several centuries to the present day, and that according to a very careful estimate, founded on data which appear to be sufficiently free from uncertainty, it is still capable of supplying the present consumption for 1000 years, it will be acknowledged, that, as an object merely of natural history, few subjects relating to inanimate nature, present a more interesting field of inquiry. Entertaining as we do this opinion of the capabilities of the subject, we cannot forbear an expression of regret, that Mr. H. should have bestowed the smallest portion of his labour and attention, on that part of his subject which required the most; which would most amply have repaid the labour of assiduous and careful research; and which would have stamped his work with the most valuable and permanent character that it was susceptible of receiving. Some apology may however be found for Mr. Holmes, in his having disregarded or overlooked the considerations at which we have pointed, in the circumstances which appear to have first solicited his attention to the subject, and which having their origin in the best feelings of our imperfect nature, fairly entitle him to our unfeigned respect. It was the dreadful series of

* This is the superficial extent of the least extensive but most valuable of the Coal formations.

destructive explosions in these mines, which first fixed the attention of Mr. H. upon them, and the interest which he took in the discovery of adequate means of prevention, gives him a claim to the honourable distinction which attends every disinterested exertion in the cause of humanity. Nor have the inestimable advantages arising from free communication, and liberal candid discussion, ever been more forcibly illustrated, than on this occasion. A sense of apprehension on the part of the proprietors of the mines, induced them to withhold from the public a free communication of the awful extent of the danger which was constantly suspended over the unhappy miners. But no sooner was this danger fully disclosed, by the detail, in some of the contemporary scientific journals, of actual calamities from explosion, most agonizing in their nature and extent, than public sympathy was deeply excited, and the beneficent hand of science speedily supplied, from its inestimable resource, an efficient protection from the danger.—The situation of the miners no longer excites those feelings of deep and painful sympathy, which the heart-rending calamities to which they were constantly exposed, awakened in every bosom, capable of feeling commiseration for human suffering; for these dismal regions are now explored in perfect safety by the aid of that happy discovery which has placed our illustrious countryman Davy as high among the benefactors of the human race, as his former discoveries had raised him among the successful cultivators of science. It has not always happened, indeed, that the prejudices of mankind would allow full scope to the operation of the greatest and most obvious improvements, while they were as yet new; but in this instance, the discovery comes home so immediately to the business and bosoms of the miners, it affords them so secure and easy a protection from one of the most perilous dangers to which any body of industrious labourers were ever exposed, that its rejection was scarcely within the limits of moral probability; nor could it have been perseveringly rejected except by the most sordid selfishness, or the most stupid ignorance. It is indeed peculiarly interesting and delightful to every devout and reflecting mind, to contemplate the astonishing influence which even the discoveries of science may have upon the moral and physical happiness of our species. In our own day, we have witnessed the complete subjugation of some of the most appalling evils by which the physical condition of our nature has ever been assailed, and which had for ages exerted their influence almost without control. The small pox, for example, may be said to be exterminated, (at least mankind possess the means of exterminating it,) by the general adoption of the discovery of vaccination; the great scourge of nautical life, the sea scurvy, is no longer heard of in our fleets, owing to the daily use of a

minion juice by every sailor; and the miner now pursues a dangerous occupation in comparative safety, though surrounded by an atmosphere as explosive as gun-powder, and as terrible an agent of destruction.

Interest which Mr. H. took in the discussion and labours which have led to this great improvement, has caused him to devote by far the largest part of the volume under our consideration, to this subject; and this will be found to be the most interesting, and the best executed portion of his work. He introduced a detailed statement of all the explosions which have occurred in the mines since the year 1784, a narrative of the most painful nature, but which has displayed a moral interest over his pages, which nothing but the idea of human calamity can supply.—So great has been the frequency of their occurrence, that from 1810 to the period when Sir H. Davy's lamp was introduced, not less than ten thousand awful accidents have occurred, in one of which, out of a hundred and twenty men and boys employed in the mine, thirty-three were rescued alive, and three of these died in consequence of the severe injuries which they had suffered. It is delightful to know, that these tremendous visitations of destruction and misery have now ceased, as we hope, for ever. A more perfect idea may be formed of them, from a perusal of the following circumstantial statement of one, which occurred at Felling, and which exhibits a fine piece of moral courage.

Felling Parish there are several beds which have been previously worked for many centuries, some of them being now excavated. In October, 1810, working commenced on a seam called the Low Main; and being in the proprietorship of liberal and generous persons, no expense was spared which could enhance the comforts of the mine, or tend to the security of the pitmen. The most approved methods of ventilation, according to the present state of knowledge, were adopted, and every species of mechanical apparatus was applied to the colliers, combined in the general perfection, and they proceeded upon. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of every precaution which was adopted, the pit called the Brandling exploded in May, 1812; and on the 25th of that month the adjoining neighbourhood was thrown into the utmost terror and confusion by its tremendous burst. The fire broke out in two small discharges from one of the working pits, which were shortly followed by another from a second pit. Terror and dismay spread every countenance, and the most agonizing fear took possession of the creatures who had relations employed in the mines. The caverns where the explosion first vented its fury, confined the air too much for its utmost noise to be heard on the surface; for half a mile round, the trembling vibration of the earth preceded the occurrence before the sound escaped, and for four or five miles an alarm was created by the slow and hollow rumblings of

the air. Immense quantities of coal, pieces of wood, and dust, drove high into the atmosphere, and the lacerated remains of several bodies were thrown up the shaft. The scene was dreadful, and for a time the spectator beheld himself close to Etna or Vesuvius. Darkness and misery reigned around, the roads and paths were covered in all directions with pieces of coal and dust; every species of machinery about the shafts, was, with little exception, blown to pieces or set on fire, and the chapelry of Hepworth, situate near the mine, was enveloped in darkness. No sooner was the explosion heard, than the wives and children of the pitmen ran to the working pit, where a scene of distress presented itself, which it is impossible for language to describe. Wives crying for their husbands, children for their parents, and others for some fond relative or friend. Every apparatus from whence assistance could before have been expected, was rendered useless by the convulsive eruption; and it was not until some secondary means were arranged that any steps could be taken for ascertaining the extent of the calamity. When this was accomplished, out of one hundred men and boys employed in the mine only thirty two were rescued alive, three of whom afterwards fell victims to the shatters and scorches they had received. The joy of those who saw their relations raised as they imagined from the tomb, may easily be conceived, but nothing can describe the frantic horror and wretchedness of the poor creatures who, after seeing all brought up who could be saved, did not behold among them the husband, father, brother, or son they sought. After the blasts of explosion had in some measure subsided, and the shafts became more clear from the smoke and dust which issued through them, a number of intrepid and humane people volunteered to descend in order to ascertain whether any more could be found in existence. But after several fruitless attempts, during which they suffered another partial explosion, and even great danger of suffocation from the overwhelming quantities of choak and fire-damp, they were compelled to ascend without being able to afford any consolation to the distracted people who anxiously waited their return. Despair now knew no alleviation; and those who could not number their relatives amongst the few saved, gave way to the most distressing and melancholy grief. Still when the first emotions had subsided, and the mind became absorbed in the fixed gloom of its anguish, hope presented one forlorn ray in which to venture another trial. This however was unavailing; when, insensible to the firm philosophy of stronger minds, they turned the poignancy of their feelings into distrust and imputation upon the proprietors and viewers of the mine' p. 45.

We are prevented from attempting to give any regular analysis of the work, by the miscellaneous nature of the subjects on which it professes to treat, and by the slight manner in which some of them are discussed. The first five chapters contain an account of the superficial appearance of the country, its geology, and the formation and analysis of coal. We are next presented with an account of the explosions, occupying two chapters, between which, by way of episode, an account of the theories of

et, Descartes, Whiston, Buffon, and others, on the formation of the earth, is introduced. Why these reveries of a former for it is a misnomer to call them theories, should have been inserted from the tranquillity in which they have been long lying, to the pages of a work on the coal mines, it is not easy to say, for they are of no value either for ornament or instruction. 'Non fingendum, aut excogitandum, sed inveniendum, quid Natura faciat, aut ferat,' says Lord Bacon; these philosophers reversed the axiom, and thought the business of philosophy was, to feign and to excogitate. Mr. Holmes next states the modes of tenure of coal mines, the mode of getting coal, the mode of sinking mines, boring, &c. He offers some observations on the present mode of ventilation, the means of improving it. We are next presented with a statement of the plans for procuring a safe light for the miner, which Mr. H strongly advocates the claims of the humane and ingenious Dr. Clanny. It is evident, that to do complete justice to many of the subjects we have enumerated, would require great practical knowledge, as well as no mean scientific attainments. The former could only be expected from individuals personally engaged in the business of mining, and it is therefore no wonder to Mr. Holmes, that his work is in that respect much more perfect than might have been expected from an experienced practical engineer; but its great and obvious deficiency in scientific details, might have been supplied by more diligent study, more enlarged and careful observation, and it is therefore a pardonable species of delinquency. Some copious and interestingly accurate details of the extent of the coal trade, close the volume. Its immense magnitude may be judged of by the fact that London alone requires an annual supply of 1,082,928 tons; taking the estimate on the average quantity imported in the five years ending in 1815.

Our readers will perceive, that we consider this work rather as a useful collection of miscellaneous information on the subject to which it relates, than as possessing those requisites which would entitle it to be classed amongst the works of science.

ART. IX. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

Preparing for publication in two large volumes, 8vo. illustrated with maps, "*An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*," in three parts, by Mr. T. H. HOSEA.—PART I. will contain a view of the Geography of Palestine, and of the Political, Religious, Moral, and Civil State of the Jews; illustrating the principal events recorded in the Bible.—PART II. will present a copious Investigation of the Principles of Scripture Interpretation, and their application to the Historical, Propheatical, Typical, Doctrinal, and Moral Parts of the Sacred Writings, as well as to the *Practical Reading of the Scriptures*.—PART III. will be appropriated to the Analysis of the Bible; including an Account of the Canon of Scripture, together with Critical Prefaces, and Synopses to each Book upon an improved plan. An Appendix will be subjoined, comprising an Account, 1. Of the principal MSS. and Editions of the Old and New Testaments; 2. Of Various Readings, with a Digest of the chief rules for weighing and applying them; 3. Rules for the better understanding of Hebraisms; 4. A concise Dictionary of the Symbolical Language of Scripture; 5. Lists of Commentators and Biblical Critics of Eminence, with Bibliographical and Critical Notices of each, extracted from authentic sources: together with Chronological and other Tables, necessary to facilitate the Study of the Scriptures.

In the press and speedily will be published, a *History of the Town of Portsmouth*, by Luke Allen. The work will be neatly printed in 12mo. and contain about 200 pages. Much curious and original matter respecting the ancient state and history of the town, will be introduced, and an Appendix will be prefixed, in which are inserted many very valuable papers and MSS. relating to the town, never before published, likewise several of the ancient charters granted to the borough, &c. &c. the

whole forming a more enlarged, general, and complete history of Portsmouth, and its environs, than has ever hitherto appeared in any former publication.

Shortly will be published, the 5th edition of the young Christian's Guide, by the late Rev. Charles Beck. Also, a new edition, being the 3d, of the *Treatise on Religious Experience*.

Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana.—Dr. GERRY, the Prosodian, (though not himself concerned in the edition of the Dauphin Virgil now in the press) has offered to enrich it with a Key, particularly noticing and scanning every line which presents any metrical difficulty from poetic licence of whatever kind, and explaining the nature of such licence in each individual case.—Should the Proprietors decline his offer, he has thoughts of giving this Key as an Appendix either to his "*Scanning Exercises*" already published, or to his "*Latin Versification made easy*," now in forwardness for publication.

A New Edition of Tansur's *Universal Grammar and Dictionary*, or general Introduction to the whole Art of Music, is just ready for publication.

Sir John Sinclair will publish early in the next month, a *Code of Agriculture*, with notes, in one large volume, 8vo.

Mr. Arthur Young is preparing for the press, the *Elements of the Practice of Agriculture*, containing experiments and observations made during a period of fifty years.

Mr. Fred. Schlegel's *Lectures on the History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, with notes and an Introduction by the translator, in two 8vo. volumes, will soon appear.

Dr. Blake, of Weymouth, is preparing a splendid and authentic *Peep into the United Kingdom*, from the earliest records to the present day, to be printed in several imperial 4to volumes.

A work on *Biblical Criticism of the Old Testament*, and translations of sacred songs, with explanatory notes,

by the late bishop Horsley is preparing for publication.

The Rev. J. Joyce's *Elements of History and Geography*, ancient and modern, exemplified and illustrated by the principles of chronology, will soon appear in two 8vo. volumes, with several maps.

A volume of *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of London*, is in the press.

Mr. Wm. Mackenzie, of Edinburgh, has in the press, the *Swiss patriots*, a poem.

Mr. Bernay's *Introduction to the Knowledge of the German Language*, is preparing for publication.

The Rev. G. G. Scraggs, is printing, in two duodecimo volumes, *Questions Resolved*, containing an explanation of near 400 difficult passages of Scripture, and concise answers to important questions in History, &c.

The *Remains of James Dusautoy*, late of Emanuel College, Cambridge, are in the press.

Mr. Oulton, who continued Victor's *History of the London and Dublin Theatres*, has now in the press, a further Continuation to the present period, in three duodecimo volumes.

On the first of August will be published, part 2nd, of the *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius*; comprising those Books of the Author which relate to the Public and Private Edifices of the Ancients. Translated by William Wilkins, jun. M.A. F.A.S. Fellow of Gonvil and Caius College, Cambridge, Member of the Society of Dilettanti, and Author of *Antiquities of Magna Græcia*. Illustrated by twenty-seven Engravings, executed by W. Lowry.

Preparing for the press, *Memoirs, with a Selection from the Correspondence, and other unpublished Writings of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton*, Author of *Letters on Education, Agrippina, &c.* In 2 vols. crown 8vo.

The *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. 1, 4to. illustrated by numerous engravings, will appear shortly.

In October will appear, *Memoirs on European and Asiatic Turkey*, from the *Manuscript Journals of Modern Travellers in those Countries*. Edited by Robert Walpole, A.M. In 1 vol. 4to. Illustrated with Plates.

Nearly ready, A New and improved edition of "*Conversations on Political*

Economy; in which the Elements of that Science are familiarly explained." By the Author of "*Conversations on Chemistry*."

Also, a New Edition, being the fifth, considerably enlarged, of the *Conversations on Chemistry*.

On the 1st of September will be published, to be continued every three months, Vol. 1st, Part 1st, of the *Edinburgh Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary*; comprising a complete body of Geography, Physical, Political, Statistical, and Commercial. Accompanied by an Atlas, constructed by A. Arrowsmith, Hydrographer to the Prince Regent.

The *Poetical Remains, and Memoirs*, of the late John Leyden, M.D. are preparing for publication.

In the press, the Third Volume of *The Personal Narrative of M. De Humboldt's Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New-Continent*; during the years 1799-1804. Translated by Helen Maria Williams, under the immediate inspection of the Author.

Historical Sketches of the South of India, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore, from the origin of the Hindoo Government of that State, to the extinction of the Mohammedan Dynasty in 1799; founded chiefly on Indian Authorities, collected by the Author while officiating for several years as Political Resident at the Court of Mysore. By Colonel Mark Wilks. Volumes Second and Third, quarto, will appear on the 1st of August.

A New Work entitled "*Rob Roy*," by the Author of *Waverley, &c.* is in the press.

Letters on English History by J. Bigland, Author of "*Letters on the Study of History*," &c. &c. are in a state of forwardness.

Mr. Bigland is also preparing for publication "*Letters on Universal History*."

Shortly will be published, a fourth edition of *Miss Neale's Sacred History in Dialogues*, in 2 vols. 12mo. Also, the fourth edition of *Britannicus and Africus*. By the same author.

In the press, and speedily will be published in one volume octavo, *An Inquiry into the nature, history, and first introduction of Poetry in general, but more particularly of Dramatic Poetry, and of that sort of Verse which the Latin Poets employed in their Comedies*; tending to shew, from the strongest
R

possible evidence, that poetical licences are unnecessary; and that the verses of Sophocles, Plautus, Terence, Pindar, and Horace are erroneously regulated; but may be correctly distributed without any violation of the laws of Prosodia. By John Sydney Hawkins, Esq. F.A.S.

Doctor Roche will speedily publish the following works:

1. The Sceptic, consisting of Essays on Manners, Morals, Philosophy and Politics; Theology, Literature, and the Arts. In 3 vols. 12mo.

2. An Enquiry concerning the proper objects of Philosophy, and the best mode of conducting Philosophical Researches; containing a full exposition of Lord Bacon's Logic of Induction. In 1 vol. 8vo.

3. Philosophical Researches concern-

ing the Mental Faculties and Instincts of the lower Animals, as compared with those of man, with a view to ascertain how far they agree, and in what they differ. In 1 vol. 8vo.

4. Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of the late Rt. Hon. George Ponsonby; with selections from his correspondence, and a complete collection of his Judicial and Parliamentary Speeches. In 3 volumes.

The Society for superseding the use of climbing boys in cleansing chimneys, are about to publish the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the interesting subject, with additional information relating to it under the direction of Mr. W. Tooke, the Treasurer of the Society,

ART. X. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

AGRICULTURE.

A Review (and complete Abstract) of the Reports to the Board of Agriculture from the Southern and Peninsular Departments of England. By Mr. Marshall. 8vo. 12s. boards.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Senegambian; or, the Recollections of a Literary Life. In 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 1s. in boards.

The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King Arthur; of his noble Knyghtes of the Rounde Table, theyr many-vylous Enquestes and Adventuress, thachyonyng of the Sanc Greal; and in the End, le Morte D'Arthur, with the dolorous Deth and Departyng out of this Worlde of them al. Reprinted from Caxton's Edition of 1485, in the possession of Earl Spencer. With an Introduction and Notes, by Robert Southey, Esq. 2 vols. 4to. 8l. 8s. boards—royal paper 14l. 12s.

BOTANY.

Conversations on Botany. With Twenty Engravings. 12mo. 7s. 6d. plain, or 10s. 6d. coloured.

EDUCATION.

The Traveller in Asia; or, a Visit to the most celebrated parts of the East Indies and China; with an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants, Natural Productions, and Curiosities. For the Instruction of Young Persons. By

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The Bible Class Book; or, Scripture Readings for every day in the year; being Three Hundred and Sixty-five Lessons, selected from the most instructive and improving parts of the Sacred Scriptures. Adapted to the Use of Schools and Families. 12mo. 6s. bound.

A Key to the Last Edition of Mr. Perrin's French Exercises. By C. Gros. 12mo. 3s. bound.

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Important Trifles; chiefly appropriate to females on their first entrance into Society. By Emma Parker. 12mo. 5s. boards.

gion to the science,—as to defend religion against the objections attempted to be drawn from the discoveries of astronomy.*

* Most of our readers will recollect that the topic, especially in this latter view, has been treated at considerable length, and with great ability, by the late Mr. A. Fuller, in a chapter entitled, *The Consistency of the Scripture Doctrine of Redemption with the modern opinion of the Magnitude of Creation*, in his book, *The Gospel its own Witness*. In that chapter are to be found, in a brief condensed form, several of the arguments and illustrations so ingeniously and splendidly amplified in the discourses of Dr. C. and it may be recommended to accompany the study of the Doctor's work. Very forcible in argument as that essay is, in parts it appears to us, nevertheless, to be marked with the characteristic defects of the strong and excellent writer,—a want of comprehensive expansion of thought, and an unwarranted positiveness in assumptions and inferences. Throughout the discussion, it is evident the writer has a most inefficient conception of the magnificence of the Universe. The idea does not in the least either elate or overwhelm his mind. There is no earnest, exulting, still confounded, still renewed endeavour to go out in contemplation of the stupendous and awful vision; no amazement or rapture at this manifestation of the immensity of the creating and sustaining power; no full impression of the demonstrated and almost infinite insignificance of this planet, as a material object. He admits, in terms marked by no emphasis, and betraying no delight, that there may be probability in the theory of 'a multiplied city of worlds, inhabited by intelligent beings,' but seems unwilling that probability should have its full effect, for he throws in, for the purpose of counteraction, the loose and not very pertinent remark that, 'It is an opinion that has taken place of other opinions, which in their day were admired by the philosophical part of mankind as much as this is in ours.'—Even setting aside the idea of inhabitants, and a moral economy of so many worlds, he no where uses language implying any thing at all approaching to a proper recognition of the plain facts and certainties of modern astronomy, as to the mere extent of the Creation. It may be suspected that he had a degree of horror of so vast a contemplation.

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Corrected Report of the Speech of the Right Hon. George Canning, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 6th, on Mr. Lambton's Motion for a Censure on Mr. Canning's Embassy to Lisbon. 8vo. 3s.

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Also, a Paraphrase and Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, by the same Author, Vol. 2, 4s. boards.

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Stackhouse's History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity, corrected and improved. By the Rt. Rev. George Gleig, LL.D.F.R.S.E. F.S.S.A. One of the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church. With a Portrait and Maps. Dedicated, by Permission, to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. 3 Vols 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d. boards; royal paper 6l. 6s.

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The Beauty and Glory of the Primitive Church: a Sermon delivered at Salters' Hall, June 5th, 1817, at a monthly association of ministers and churches. By George Burder, Author of Vllage Sermons, &c. 1s.

Two Letters to the Rev. D. Mant, upon the subject of his Two Tracts, intended to convey right notions of Regeneration and Conversion. By the Rev. G. Nicholson, late perpetual curate of Little Budworth, Cheshire. 8vo. 5s.

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Travels through France and Germany, in the years 1815, 1816, and 1817; comprising a view of the Moral, Political, and Social State of those Countries. Interspersed with numerous Historical and Political Anecdotes derived from Authentic Sources. By J. Jorgenson, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several articles are unavoidably deferred, for want of room. Review of *Chalmers's Discourses*, *Knor's Ceylon*, *Innes's Sketches*, *Keats's Poems*, &c. will appear in the next Number.

gion to the science,—as to defend religion against the objections attempted to be drawn from the discoveries of astronomy.*

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calmly tell science to mind its own affairs, if it should presume, with pretensions to authority, to interfere with his religion.

He may content himself thus to repel the arrogance of science, when it intrudes in the spirit of a proud and invidious interference. But if, in a large and enlightened contemplation, it is found that science comes to be in harmony with religion, and even to subserve and magnify it, such tribute and alliance are by all means to be accepted. All wise men will protest against that feeling which some good men seem willing to entertain, as if the more limited and exclusive a thing religion could be made, the better; a feeling which may have sometimes been heard to utter itself in expressions like these: 'Beware of losing your religion in those delusive vanities to which you give the denomination of enlarged views, sublime contemplations, and the like. What have we, or our religion, to do with the Universe, or its fancied inhabitants? The business of religion is the salvation of our souls; and if we are duly attentive to that concern, we shall have no time or inclination for vain speculations about the economy of other worlds and races, about the moral condition of people in the stars.' It is easy to reply, by remarking, that the amazing fact, placed within the evidence of our senses, of the existence of a countless and inconceivable multitude of worlds, each of them of a magnitude to which ours is but an insignificant ball, cannot be thus lightly disposed of, but demands a sentiment corresponding to such a fact; that, as one Being has created and sustains them all, they may rationally be conceived to constitute one system, in the sense of being formed and arranged on a scheme which combines them all in a relation to one another, in reference, at least, to an ultimate effect or object which they are co-operating to accomplish; that, if any principles or illustrative phenomena of this grand union can be described, they are obviously available for the loftiest purposes of religion; that, whether they can or not, the amazing vision of the Universe simply, in its mere mass and infinity of magnificence, tends mightily to exalt our conception of the Divinity; and that, therefore, to affect to render so much the greater homage to the principle and purpose of religion, in regarding the grandeur of the Universe as quite foreign to it, would more justly incur the suspicion of contractedness of intellect, than claim to be regarded as a concentration of piety, too intent on the personal interest of religion to go so far abroad in imagination.

In this series of discourses, it appears to be quite as much the eloquent Author's object to co-extend the truths and feelings of revealed religion, with the demonstrations and speculations of astronomy, to the utmost vastness of its field, thus at once giving the amplitude of the science to religion, and the sanctity of reli-

gion to the science,—as to defend religion against the objections attempted to be drawn from the discoveries of astronomy.*

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The first half of the performance, however, keeps in view the argument against Christianity, which 'does not,' our Author

meaning,) that the attention of the whole intelligent Creation is occupied with the condition and salvation of the human race: and the assertions are made in that easy tone in which we pronounce an ordinary and unquestionable truth which involves no manner of difficulty.

It appears to us one of the most obvious characteristics of Mr. Fuller's mind, that he was but little sensible of the *mystery* of any subject, or of the difficulties arising in the view of its deep and remote relations,—or if we may use the fashionable term, bearings. To a certain extent, and that unquestionably a respectable one, he apprehended and reasoned with admirable clearness and force; and he could not, or would not, surmise that any thing of importance in the *rationale* of the subject extended beyond that compass: he made therefore his propositions, his deductions, his conclusions, quite in the tone of a complacent self-assurance of being perfectly master of the subject: while in fact the subject might involve wider and remoter considerations, not indeed easily reducible to the plain tangible predicaments of his rough, confined logic, but essential to a comprehensive speculation, and, very possibly, of a nature to throw great dubiousness on the judgement which he had so decidedly formed, and positively pronounced, on a too contracted view of the subject.

The last paragraph but one of this essay, or section, affords a striking example of the cool confident facility with which this respectable Author could sometimes dispose of the most mysterious and awful subjects, by the help of a false analogy. Observing that the final misery of the wicked is, as a part of the Divine Government, satisfactorily accounted for on the principle of the necessity of an example of justice, for the contemplation of God's other intelligent subjects, even though there should *not* be so many of them as to inhabit a multiplicity of worlds,—he adds, that nevertheless that part of the Divine Government is placed in a still more satisfactory light, if it be true that there is such a vast population of the universe, for that then the disproportion may be so much the greater between the number of the beings who eternally suffer, and the number of the other beings who are to benefit from those sufferings: insomuch that 'to those who judge of things impartially, and upon an extensive scale, it [this final perdition] will appear to contain no more of a disparagement to the government of the universe, than the execution of a murderer, once in a hundred years, would be to the government of a nation.'

It is very wonderful how so acute a writer should deem such a comparison adapted for a triumphant close of the discussion. How did he fail to perceive the enormous fallacy introduced by adding rare and momentary occurrence to diminutiveness of number? how fail to perceive that any analogy must be infinitely absurd which should not include *perpetual* suffering, and that in the identical being? The case indeed admitted of no analogy; since no parallel represen-

says, 'occupy a very pre-eminent place in any of our Treatises of Infidelity, but is often met with in conversation; and we have known it to be the cause of serious perplexity and alarm in minds anxious for the solid establishment of their religious faith.'

'This argument involves in it an assertion and an inference. The assertion is, that Christianity is a religion which professes to be designed for the single benefit of our world: and the inference is, that God cannot be the Author of this religion, for he would not lavish on so insignificant a field such peculiar and such distinguishing attentions as are ascribed to him in the Old and New Testament.'

To meet the objectors in the fullest, boldest manner, but also with the further and higher purpose, no doubt, of aiding the mind in its apprehension of that Spirit who is the sovereign possessor of all existence, the preacher commences with a magnificent view of the Modern Astronomy. Great indeed may well be the dismay of those religious persons who dread and detest being disturbed in the indolent quietude of their little homestead of thought, the narrow range of ideas which can be surveyed without an effort,—at hearing it demanded that the theory of religion be expanded to the compass of taking account of the Universe, a scene which, whatever may be its limits, is, as to the human power of comprehension, much the same as infinite, and demanded, for the plain reason, that religion being the intellectual apprehension and the moral sentiment due to God, and this idea and sentiment being justly required to correspond to the whole of the manifestations which that Being has made of his glory, the lustre and immensity of such manifestations, presented through the entire visible creation, place all that creation within the cognizance of religion: so that a religion which should decline to include these innumerable and far-off displays of Deity within its comprehension, in forming its conception of the attributes, the works, and the government of the Almighty, would therein choose to content itself with a less glorious idea of him, and to offer him a less sublime worship, than that Being has given us the means to form and to offer.

tation could be made without introducing the impossible supposition of a mortal criminal, kept perpetually alive to undergo the pains of a perpetual execution.

In closing this note, which has grown to a length very far beyond our intention, we do not think it requisite to use many words in avowal of our high estimate of the intellect and the general energy of mind of the distinguished and lamented divine: who, indeed, has any *other* estimate? But neither can there need any apology to even his warmest friends, for the expression of an opinion in which probably more than a few will coincide, that his writings are too often marked with an assumption, and an air of having perfectly disposed of the matter, which could barely be allowed in a mind of the very largest comprehension.

While, however, such a representation may be received ungraciously by minds that have never once surmised such a thing as an obligation enforced upon our religion, as to the extent of its contemplations, by the remotest stars discovered by the telescope, we are very confident that many serious but partially cultivated persons, who have been impatient of the conscious narrowness of the scope of their religious ideas, will be greatly and devotionally benefited by this sublime introductory discourse of Dr. Chalmers.

In advancing into the regions of astronomy, in the spirit of religion, he takes both his text and his tone from a writer in whose mind the magnificence of the modern astronomy, could its wonders have been revealed to him, would have but inspired a so much the more exalted devotion.

‘The Psalmist takes a still loftier flight. He leaves the world, and lifts his imagination to that mighty expanse which spreads above it and around it. He wings his way through space, and wanders in thought over its immeasurable regions. Instead of a dark and unpeopled solitude, he sees it crowded with splendour, and filled with the energy of the Divine presence. Creation rises in its immensity before him, and the world, with all which it inherits, shrinks into littleness at a contemplation so vast and so overpowering. He wonders that he is not overlooked amid the grandeur and the variety which are on every side of him; and passing upward from the majesty of nature, to the majesty of nature’s Architect, he exclaims, “What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?”’

‘There is much in the scenery of a nocturnal sky, to lift the soul to pious contemplation. That moon, and these stars, what are they? They are detached from the world, and they lift you above it. You feel withdrawn from the earth, and rise in lofty abstraction above this little theatre of human passions and human anxieties. The mind abandons itself to reverie, and is transferred in the ecstasy of its thoughts, to distant and unexplored regions. It sees nature in the simplicity of her great elements, and it sees the God of nature invested with the high attributes of wisdom and majesty.

‘But what can these lights be? The curiosity of the human mind is insatiable, and the mechanism of these wonderful heavens, has, in all ages been its subject and its employment. It has been reserved for these latter times, to resolve this great and interesting question. The sublimest powers of philosophy have been called to the exercise, and astronomy may now be looked on as the most certain and best established of the sciences.’

The rapid and comprehensive ‘Sketch,’ which is quite in the manner of a person familiar with the speculations and facts of astronomy, begins with the planets of our sun, and the philosophic Divine illustrates the very strong probability of their being inhabited. He argues from their magnitude, and their several striking points of analogy to this world of ours. They

have their movements on their own axes, their regular periodical revolutions round the sun, and their vicissitudes of seasons. Several of them have moons to alleviate the darkness of their night.

‘ We can see of one, that its surface rises into inequalities, that it swells into mountains and stretches into valleys; of another, that it is surrounded with an atmosphere which may support the respiration of animals; of a third, that clouds are formed and suspended over it, which may minister to it all the bloom and luxuriance of vegetation; and of a fourth, that a white colour spreads over its northern regions, as its winter advances, and that on the approach of summer this whiteness is dissipated—giving room to suppose, that the element of water abounds in it, that it rises by evaporation into its atmosphere, that it freezes upon the application of cold, that it is precipitated in the form of snow, that it covers the ground with a fleecy mantle, which melts away from the heat of a more vertical sun; and that other worlds bear a resemblance to our own in the same yearly round of beneficent and interesting changes.’

We will acknowledge some little defect of sympathy with the delight which Dr. C. expresses at the ascertainment of so very close an analogy as indicated in this last instance. Really this downright ‘fleecy’ phenomenon of winter falls somewhat chilly on that animated visionary and half poetical idea, which we should have been better pleased to have been permitted to entertain of the physical condition of the inhabitants of these other worlds. This hemisphere of snow not only shuts down too much in the way of an extinguisher on that enchanting imagery of a local economy in which the imagination would have loved to place those unknown races of beings, and forcibly suggests ideas of dreariness, hardships, and even morbid physical affections, and hostility to life; it would also, as possibly or probably accompanied by these physical evils, seem too ominous of something much worse. The mind is forced to admit some fearful surmise of the too possible existence, in those worlds, of that horrible thing which has blasted the natural beauties and delights, and mainly created the natural evils, of these terrestrial scenes. An analogy so very close to an order of elemental nature which in this world inflicts so much inconvenience and suffering, in which suffering, though immediately inflicted by the instrumentality of the elements, we have the effect of sin, must throw us on the ground of some abstracted moral considerations, to maintain our obstinate hope that this infernal plague has not invaded the people of those abodes.

The passage we have transcribed is followed by one in which, highly picturesque as it is, the Doctor’s elated imagination has carried him into a very palpable extravagance, in conjecturing such possibilities of improvement in the artificial subsidiaries to sight, as shall bring at last to our perception the green of the

planetary vegetation, the dead wintry hue induced by its disappearance, the marks of cultivation extending over tracts previously wild, and even the cities forming the central seats of mighty empires. Were we obliged to go the whole length which analogy might seem to lead in shaping to our imaginations the economy of those regions, might we not reasonably be glad that such distinctness of detection as our Author is willing to anticipate, is physically impossible, lest there should otherwise have been some danger of our having at length the mortification to descry such things as munitions of war, or idol's temples, or popish cathedrals?

There can be no scruple in assuming, as a general principle, that it is in the highest degree improbable the Almighty Spirit should have constructed vast fabrics of Matter, to remain disconnected from Mind, as a conscious power to which those fabrics may be available for use. Useless to the Creator himself, they would be useless absolutely, if not serving to the purpose of the occupancy, and support, and activity, and contemplation, of sentient intelligent creatures. Prodigious orbs, disposed too in the order and movement of system, but thus desolate, and dead, and merely running vast circles in space, would really suggest something like the idea (we speak with reverence) of the Creator's amusing himself with an ingenious contrivance.—Any notion that the other planets of the solar system were created for the use of this earth, would be now too ridiculous for the grossest ignorance to dream.

When to this consideration, of the extreme improbability of immense conformations of matter being made to be devoid of the occupancy of mind, is added the whole account of the ascertained points of analogy between the other planets and our own, we think that, excepting to minds repugnant to magnificent ideas, the probability that the other orbs of our system are inhabited worlds, must appear so great, that a direct revelation from heaven declaring the fact, would make but very little difference in our assurance of it.

Following the discoveries of science no further than the limits of this solar system, we behold them, says Dr. C.,

‘—widening the empire of creation far beyond the limits which were formerly assigned to it. They give us to see that yon sun, throned in the centre of his planetary system, gives light, and warmth, and the vicissitude of seasons, to an extent of surface several hundreds of times greater than that of the earth which we inhabit. They lay open to us a number of worlds, rolling in their respective circles round this vast luminary—and prove, that the ball which we tread upon, with all its mighty burden of oceans and continents, instead of being distinguished from the others, is among the least of them: and, from some of the more distant planets, would not occupy a visible point in the concave of their firmament. They let us know that

though this mighty earth, with all its myriads of people, were to sink into annihilation, there are some worlds where an event so awful to us would be unnoticed and unknown, and others where it would be nothing more than the disappearance of a little star which had ceased from its twinkling.'

But how humiliating it is to the proud ambition of the human faculties, that thus we are already almost overwhelmed with images of grandeur when we have hardly made a first step, hardly an infant's step, in that stupendous excursion to which the mind is summoned forth,—summoned, not by wild fancy or poetry, but by grave peremptory science, with a plain austerity as if in scorn that such a thing as poetry should have been suffered to pretend to a loftier sublimity than truth and fact. It is indeed most striking to observe how all the sublimities of imagination and invention dwindle and grow dim as placed in comparative measurement against the virtual infinity of the system of visible existence; as brought into the converging light of indefinite millions of suns. It is not only that this immensity of splendid material substance has, simply so contemplated, an overpowering magnificence, rendered inconceivably more august by the accession of the idea that intelligent beings in multitudes beyond all knowledge, or calculation, or conjecture, of any intelligence but One, dwell in the universe of daylight emanating from all these luminaries: the ultimate sublimity of all this glory of material existence is, that it gives the sign every where, through its immeasurable extent, of the presence of Another Existence. The mystery of a pure Spirit, infinite, and yet bearing no relation to place, so confounds the understanding, and something at least *analogous* to vast extension is so necessary to our conception of magnitude of being, that the mind is glad, in essaying to contemplate the greatness of the Divine Essence, to accept in aid *the effect* of boundless local extension, in the way of a distinct recognition of that Essence as present in one, and in another, and in each, and in all, of the material glories of an indefinite Universe: and this it can in some measure do, or at least is beguiled to feel as if it could, without directly attributing to that Spirit a physical mode of extension from one part and one limit of the creation to another and the opposite. Thus the material Universe, with all its splendours and magnitudes, ascertained, conjectured, or possible, may be regarded—not as a vehicle, not as an inhabited form, or a comprehending sphere, of the Sovereign Spirit, but as a type, which signifies, though by a faint, inadequate correspondence after all, that as great as the Universe is in the material attributes of extension and splendour, so great is the Divine Being in the infinitely transcendent nature of spiritual existence. The least and narrowest idea to be entertained is, that in this

spiritual and transcendent mode the predominating intelligence has the extension of the Universe.—What emphasis will such a view give to the sentence of the poet,

‘An undevout astronomer is mad.’

And yet how seldom do we find the magnificent images of astronomy brightened into still nobler lustre by the spirit of piety which gives them so consecrated a character in the work of Dr. C.

From the solar system the inquiring contemplation is carried to those other countless luminaries, all shining from such an inconceivable distance. The preacher passes rapidly, and with a commanding reach of thought, over the most wonderful facts and speculations of the subject. The distance is the first of the facts which so defy human comprehension.

‘If the whole planetary system were lighted up into a globe of fire, it would appear only a small lucid point from the nearest of the fixed stars. If a body were projected from the sun with the velocity of a cannon-ball, it would take hundreds of thousands of years before it described that mighty interval which separates the nearest of them from our sun and our system. If this earth, which moves at more than the inconceivable velocity of a million and a half miles a day, were to be hurried from its orbit, and to take the same rapid flight over this immense tract, it would not have arrived at the termination of its journey after taking all the time which has elapsed since the creation of the world. These are great numbers, and great calculations, and the mind feels its own impotency in attempting to grasp them. We can state them in words; we can exhibit them in figures; we can demonstrate them by the powers of a most rigid and inflexible geometry. But no human fancy can summon up a lively or an adequate conception.’

The immense magnitude, so demonstrated, of those stars; their shining with their own light; the ‘periodical variations of light’ observed in some of them, as a probable indication of a revolution, as in the case of our own solar star, on their own axes; authorize a most undoubting assumption, (opposed by no argument, and confirmed by the consideration that so much the mightier is the display of the Creator’s glory,) that they are all the central lights of so many systems.

As to their number, ‘the unassisted eye can take in a thousand, and the best telescope which the genius of man has constructed, can take in *eighty millions*.’ And nothing, as our Author suggests, could be more irrational than to fancy that the utmost number of such luminaries comprised in the Universe, must be just that number which the people of one of the planets of one of the suns, have, at a particular period of time, contrived optical instruments competent for descrying. Quite as reasonable would the assumption have been upon the discoveries by

means of the first telescope that was made, as upon those of Herschel. When we reflect what kind of creature it is to whose view thus much of the Universe has been disclosed,—that the physical organ of this very perception, is of such a nature that it might, in consequence of the extinction of life, be reduced to dust within a few short days after it had admitted rays from the stars; while, as to his mental part, he is, besides his moral debasement, at the very bottom of the gradation of probably innumerable millions of intellectual races (certainly at the bottom, since a being inferior to man in intellect, could not be rational)—when we think of this, it will appear utterly improbable that the portion of the Universe which such a creature can take knowledge of, should be more than a very diminutive tract in the vast expansion of existence. And if the subject be considered in reference to the Supreme Originating Power, the probability becomes indefinitely stronger, that beyond the sphere of our perceptions, enlarged as it is by artificial aids, there is all but infinitely more of material existence than there is within its compass. It being demonstrated by that vastness of material glory which is ascertained to exist; that magnitude and multitude were of the essence of the Creator's plan, we are well authorized in the assurance that the magnitude and the multitude must be on the most transcendent scale, a scale approaching as near toward a correspondence to the infinite supremacy of his own nature, as finiteness of one nature can (if we may be pardoned such expedients of expression) towards infiniteness of another. It is therefore but little to say, that the material creation is probably of such an extent that the greatest of created beings not only have never yet been able to survey it all, but never will to all eternity. For must it not be one great object in the Creator's design, that this magnitude should make a sublime and awful impression on his intelligent creatures? But if the magnitude is to make this impression, what would be the impression made on created spirits by their coming to the end, the boundary, of this magnitude? It is palpable that this latter impression must counteract the former. So that if the stupendous extension of the works of God was intended and adapted to promote, in the contemplations of the highest intelligences, an indefinitely glorious though still incompetent conception of the Divine infinity, the ascertaining of the limit, the distinct perception of the finiteness, of that manifestation of power, would tend with a dreadful force to repress and annihilate that conception; and it may well be imagined that if an exalted adoring spirit could ever in eternity find himself at that limit, the perception would inflict inconceivable horror.—In short, this is the subject on which it is purely impossible to be extravagant, in the way of simple amplification and aggravation

of thought. And there is not the slightest transgression of sobriety in the language of our Author, when he speaks of 'those mighty tracts, which shoot far beyond what eye hath seen or the heart of man conceived—which sweep endlessly along, and merge into an awful and mysterious infinity;'—or when he adopts the conjecture, in explanation of the *nebulae*, that the fixed stars,

'— instead of lying uniformly, and in a state of equi-distance from each other, are arranged into distinct clusters; that in the same manner as the distance of the nearest fixed stars, so inconceivably superior to our planets, from each other, marks the separation of the solar, so the distance of two contiguous clusters may be so inconceivably superior to the reciprocal distance of those fixed stars which belong to the same cluster, as to mark an equally distinct separation of the clusters, and to constitute each of them an individual member of some higher and more extended arrangement.'

— or when, admonishing the philosopher against pride in the great discoveries of astronomy, he reminds him that there is

'an unscaled barrier, beyond which no power either of eye or of telescope shall ever carry him; that on the other side there is a height, and a depth, and a length, and a breadth, to which the whole of this concave and visible firmament, dwindles into the insignificance of an atom; and though all which the eye of man can take in, or his fancy grasp at, were swept away, there might still remain as ample a field over which the Divinity may expatiate, and which he may have peopled with innumerable worlds. If the whole visible creation were to disappear, it would leave a solitude behind it—but to the Infinite Mind, that can take in the whole system of nature, this solitude might be nothing, a small unoccupied point in that immensity which surrounds it, and which he may have filled with the wonders of his omnipotence. Though this earth were to be burned up, though the trumpet of its dissolution were sounded, though yon sky were to pass away as a scroll, and every visible glory which the finger of the Divinity has inscribed on it, were to be put out for ever—an event, so awful to us and to every world in our vicinity, by which so many suns would be extinguished, and so many varied scenes of life and of population would rush into forgetfulness—what is it in the high scale of the Almighty's workmanship? a mere shred, which, though scattered into nothing, would leave the universe of God one entire scene of greatness and of majesty.'

We may be sure, as we have already suggested, that each of the elements of the manifestation of an Infinite Being, will do him justice thus far, that it will have a practical infiniteness relatively to the capacities of his intelligent creatures; that the utmost that will be permitted to the comprehension of these intelligences, will be the mere abstract truth that some of these elements cannot, from their very nature, be literally infinite; that their amazement will be eternally augmented by the very

circumstance of this sublime enigma, of an element which must thus by its nature be limited, and yet leaves them all, through the eternity of their experiments and excursions, as far from any sensible approach to the verification of the limit, as at the first step they made into the mysterious expansion. But if we take our conjecture of the intellectual magnitude, and the probable excursive powers, of the highest of the created beings, from the consideration of the infinite power and beneficence of the Creator, and of what it is rationally probable that such a Being would create in the nature of mental existences, to admire, adore, and serve him, we shall be warranted to imagine beings to whom it may be possible exultingly to leave sun-beams far behind them in the rapidity of their career, from systems to systems still beyond. And if we add to the account the equal probability of a perpetual augmentation of their powers in a ratio correspondent to a magnitude already so stupendous, and crown it with the idea of an indefatigable exertion of those powers in discovery and contemplation of the Creator's manifestations through everlasting ages—there will then be required a Universe to which all that the telescope has descried is but as an atom; a Universe of which it shall not be within the *possibilities* of any intelligence less than the Infinite to know,

‘ Where rears the Terminating Pillar high
 ‘ Its extramundane head.’

We need not dwell on the considerations, on the ground of which Dr. C. insists it would be most absurd to disbelieve, absurd even to doubt, that this boundless multitude of worlds, this scene of Almighty power and glory, is populous through all its systems with contemplators and worshippers of the Divinity.

If such a representation give, after all, but an infinitely feeble glimmer of the truth, respecting the magnitude of the Creation, we may, in the name of both sense and piety, assume, with the utmost confidence, to repeat our reprehension of that mode of religious faith and sentiment, which would pretend to have so much the more of celestial light for excluding the beams of all the stars. *What* is it, we would ask, that comes upon us in those beams,—in the beams of those luminaries which are beheld by the naked eye, next of those countless myriads beheld by the assisted eye, and then of those infinite legions which can never be revealed to the earth, but are seen by an elevated imagination, and will perhaps burst with sudden and awful effulgence on the departed spirit? *What* is it, but the pure unmingled reflection of Him who cannot be beheld in himself,

who, present to all things, is yet in the darkness of infinite and eternal mystery, subsisting in an essence unparticipated, unapproached by gradation of other beings, impalpable to all speculation, refined beyond angelic perception, foreign from all analogy—but who condescends to become visible in the *effects* of his nature, in the lustre of his works? And is it not, we ask again, one of the grand difficulties in religion, and one of the things most ardently to be desired, to obtain a glorious idea of the Divinity, passing afar from that littleness and anthropomorphism which so confine and degrade our contemplations and devotions? It cannot but be one of the plainest duties of religion, to aspire to the attainment of such an idea. And therefore a strong remonstrance may justly be directed to the conscience of a professed worshipper who cares not how little of the element of sublimity there may be in his conception of the adorable Object,—who feels no religious mortification to think that the grandest idea of the Almighty which he does effectually realize in his mind, is in all probability prodigiously below what would be the true and full representative idea of one of the highest angels.

We have expatiated thus out of all proportion on the first part of this interesting volume, from a consideration of the unquestionable fact, that there is among serious persons a quite *irreligious* neglect of one of the two grand forms of Divine Revelation, the Word and the Works of the Almighty; and that even among Christian teachers there is often a very unthinking and ill-discriminating mode of depreciating the latter, in the comparison; a practice against which they might have been warned by observing the endless references in the Word of that Being to his Works; and by observing how very often the Word rests the fulness of the meaning of its dictates and illustrations upon an adequate view of the Works. They might have been made aware to what a littleness of significance a thousand expressions in the Bible, relating to the Deity himself, are reduced by a want of extended and admiring ideas of the labours, if we may so express it, and the magnificent empire, of the Sovereign Spirit. They might have been taught to suspect that it must be a very doubtful Christian excellence to be but little in sympathy with those devout minds which, in the very condition and act of being the channels of Divine communication to mankind, were so often elated at the view of suns and starry heavens, even at a period when the vision of those wonders was littleness itself in comparison of that magnificence to which science has now expanded it.—Not, assuredly, that Christian teachers should become deep students in science, or lecturers on astronomy; but the great elementary views of the universe are of

impossible events. The earliest distinct notice of its existence is found in the account of the navigation of Alexander's fleet. In the reign of Claudius, ambassadors from the monarch of the island visited Rome. The accounts which Pliny collected respecting the government, morals, character, and number of the inhabitants, seem very questionable. He speaks of an elective king, and of final appeals to the great body of the people; but the free, happy, and virtuous condition of society, which his descriptions point to, was never yet realized even in countries more privileged in these respects than eastern regions have been usually found to be. Diodorus Siculus, in his account of this island, mingles fable with fact; and it is a very remarkable circumstance that none of the early writers, Strabo and Arrian included, mention cinnamon among its products. This spice was called by the Persians *Chinese wood*; and the Greeks, who procured it from the Arabs, imagined it to be of Arabian growth. In the sixth century, Ceylon, as we learn from Cosma's *Indicopleustes*, was the principal mart of the Eastern ocean. In the thirteenth century it was visited by Marco Polo; and in the following, by Sir John Maundevile. In the year 1505, Lorenzo d'Almeida, son of the viceroy of Goa, was driven by stress of weather into the bay of Galle, and concluded a treaty of alliance with the chieftain of that part of the island, which thus became tributary to the king of Portugal. At the period referred to, Ceylon appears to have been divided into a considerable number of petty independent sovereignties, and it was by taking advantage of this circumstance, that the Portuguese obtained a permanent establishment in the island.

During this period, of which the utmost of our real knowledge may be comprised in a very limited space, the Cingalese annalists display a long and formidable race of monarchs.

‘ The earliest traditionary accounts of the Singalese represent the people on both sides of the Ganges as living without laws or government, order or decency, in woods and caves, and, like inferior animals, feeding on grass and roots, without any trace of agriculture or civilization.

‘ On a certain morning, in a length of ages past, when the natives of Tanasserim, or Tanassery, were contemplating the rising sun, they beheld a figure of majestic form and beautiful appearance suddenly issue from the body of that splendid luminary. All who saw this attractive form ran towards it in an extacy of admiration. In a posture of homage and a tone of reverence they enquired who he was, whence he came, and what was the intention of his coming? The phantom replied, in the language of the country, that he was the progeny of the glorious sun; and that God had sent him to rule over the nations. The people of Tanassery, prostrating themselves upon the earth in humble adoration, said that they were ready to receive him as their chief, and to obey his laws.

‘ The first thing which this celestial visitant did, after he was received as the sovereign of Tanassery, was to induce the people to leave their savage and desultory life in the woods, and to build houses and villages, in order to live together in a state of civil subordination and social harmony. This king, having closed a long reign, left many sons, amongst whom he divided his dominions. His descendants, who are said to have continued in a long line of descent for two thousand years, were called Suriavus, or descendants of the race of the sun; amongst whom was Vigea Raja, who is celebrated as the first of the Singalese emperors.

‘ This Vigea Raja, one of the progeny of the sun, is said to have made the first discovery of the Island of Ceylon, in the year of the world 1996. Accounts differ as to the part of the coast where he effected his first landing; but it is said that he disembarked with seven hundred men; and, having proceeded to form a settlement at some distance from the shore, became the first sovereign of the island.’—*History of Ceylon*, pp. 14—16.

‘ This absurd legend is a tolerably fair specimen of the marvels with which the history of Ceylon is embellished. We have the daughter of one of the kings, married to a lion, and their progeny suitably ornamenting the human form derived from the mother, with the long and tufted tail inherited from the father. Some few hundred years, more or less, after this ‘ well authenticated event,’ occurred the following equally credible circumstances.

‘ He had a son named Gaja Bahu Comara, who was brought up along with Milo, a son of one of the cast of washermen, who was born on the same day as the prince. Both these children grew up to be strong as giants. The emperor, his father, had an iron walking stick or pole made for him, which it required sixty men to carry. It was as thick as twenty-two clinched fists, and was thirty-five spans long. The handle was overlaid with gold, and the top of it blushed with a great and inestimable ruby. This walking pole was quite a plaything in his hand, and his giant foster-brother sometimes carried it after his lord. During the government of Bapa Raja, and whilst his son was only a youth, a great army landed from the coast of Malabar, which attacked the Singalese troops, and made 12,000 prisoners. With the exception of this disaster his reign was a peaceable period of twelve years.

‘ When Gaja Bahu ascended the throne, and heard how the Malabars had carried off 12,000 of his father’s subjects, he became agitated with rage, and vowed that he would revenge the affront. With no other attendant than his foster brother, Milo Jojada, and with no other weapon than his iron walking stick, he proceeded from the province of Roona, and from the town of Guliapura Nawara; and, without having recourse to boat or ship, he swam over to the coast of Malabar. Having dispersed the troops that opposed his landing, he marched towards the capital where the king held his court. That monarch, hearing of his approach, ordered all the gates

to be shot, but the Emperor Gaja Bahu, having soon battered them to pieces with his club, went directly to the palace, set fire to all the doors, and ransacked the apartments, till at last he discovered the king in a small room, where he was reclined on a bed. After sitting by the Malabar sovereign for some time, without saying a word, Gaja Bahu proceeded to lay his staff upon his stomach, which almost pressed his breath out of his body, and did not leave him power to utter a syllable. In the mean time his foster-brother made great havoc in the town. He not only crushed all the men that came in his way, but slaughtered their horses in heaps, and laid their strongest elephants dead with a blow.

In this emergency, the terrified king of Malabar, whom the lifting up of the iron staff enabled to breathe a little, asked the Emperor of Ceylon how large an army he had brought with him, when he replied, that he and his foster-brother had come over by themselves, without any other attendants. He was then asked, what was the object of his expedition, and he replied, "I came here only to liberate 12,000 of my subjects, who have been carried into captivity." The King of Malabar, who was still half dead with fright, proposed to give up all the prisoners who were living, and to substitute others for those who were dead. But this offer did not satisfy the emperor. He required 24,000 captives, or threatened to lay the whole country waste. In order to escape these horrors, the king hastily complied with the emperor's demands, and furnished him with other and provisions, that he might depart as soon as possible. *History of Ceylon*, pp. 30—32.

Without encumbering our pages any further with Ceylonese historical romances, we shall content ourselves with adopting the conclusions of M. Bertolacci.

"We learn from tradition, that Ceylon possessed, in former times, a larger population, and a much higher state of cultivation, than it now enjoys. Although we have no data to fix, with any degree of certainty, the exact period of this prosperity, yet the fact is incontestable. The signs which have been left, and which we observe upon the island, lead us gradually back to the remotest antiquity." *Bertolacci's View*, p. 11.

The monuments to which Mr. B. refers, are evidently assignable to distinct periods. The ruins of a very extensive town in the north western part of the island, can claim an antiquity of only six hundred years; and the celebrated Giants' Tank, or reservoir, sixteen or eighteen miles in circumference, is connected with the same point, both of locality and time.

At the distance of about nine miles from this great Tank, an embankment of stones and lime has been laid across the Magera or Aripo river; in order there to form a vast reservoir, and thus divert part of the water, by means of canals, into the Giants' Tank. The stones of this dam or embankment are from seven to eight feet long, three or four feet broad, and from two feet and a quarter to three feet thick. The whole length of the dam is 600 feet; the breadth in

some parts, sixty, in none less than forty feet; and in height from eight to twelve feet.' *Bertolacci's View*, p. 11, 12.

The state to which these structures belonged, is said to have been founded by the Brahmans, who were once possessors of the northern portion of the isle, but were afterwards expelled by some of the native princes. Independently however of these remains, there are throughout the island, abundant proofs of skill in architectural science, and consequently of great wealth and high civilization. The numerous temples and pagodas, some of them extremely elegant in their construction, distinctly show the former existence of a far more accomplished race of men, than that which now inhabits Ceylon. Of a yet higher antiquity than those hitherto mentioned, are

'The surprizing works constructed round the lake of Candely, distant about sixteen miles from Trincomalé. This lake, which comprehends nearly fifteen miles in circumference, is embanked in several places with a wall of huge stones, each from twelve to fourteen feet long, broad and thick in proportion, lying one over the other in a most masterly manner, so as to form a parapet of immense strength. . . . That part of this majestic work particularly deserves attention, when, by a parapet of nearly 150 feet breadth in the base, and 30 in the summit, two hills are made to join, in order to encompass and keep in, the water of this lake. In this part of the parapet, arches are to be seen; and over these, in the work which is under the level of the water, an opening is made, entirely resembling those used by the Romans in some of the lakes in Italy; which openings for letting out the waters are known by the appellation of '*Condottori*.' " *Bertolacci's View*, p. 13, 14.

This gigantic work must be referred to a most remote period, and it proves, incontestably, the existence, at the time of its construction, of a strong government, a large population, an active and extensive cultivation, and considerable wealth, and it seems, moreover, that the higher we ascend towards the primary antiquities of Ceylon, the stronger and more decided are the proofs which are discovered of its former prosperity and refinement. All this, most probably, arose from the convenient situation of this island, lying in the inevitable track of Indian trade. The timid navigation of the ancients, never venturing out of sight of shore, crept on from age to age through the straits of Manaar, and by making Ceylon the *entrepot* of traffic, raised it to commercial greatness, of all kinds of power the magnificent and the most transitory. The earliest distinct and authentic records of Cingalese history, are however to be found only in connexion with European enterprise; and when, not much more than three hundred years since, the Portuguese landed on the southern coast of Ceylon, the situation in which they

‘ found the island, was not essentially different from its present state, except in those changes which have been introduced into it by its successive European inmates. The inhabitants consisted of two distinct races of people. The savage Bedas then, as now, occupied the large forests, particularly in the northern parts, the rest of the island was in the possession of the Cingalese. The towns of the sea coast were not as yet ravished from the latter people by foreign invaders; and their King held his court at Columbo, which is now the European capital of Ceylon. Cinnamon was even then the principal product and the staple commodity of the island, as we find by the tribute paid by the king to the Portuguese, which consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight of cinnamon.’ *Periplus Account of the Island of Ceylon*, pp. 5, 6.

The anxiety of the Portuguese was chiefly directed to the promotion of their commercial interests, and of those superstitious observances, which, under the name of Christianity, were but little elevated above the ritual of Boodh. They carefully guarded the secular institutions of the natives, and frequently contracted marriages with the native Ceylonese. The Dutch, who expelled the Portuguese, about the year 1656, gave themselves very little concern about the religious tenets of the Cingalese; trade was their only object, and this they confined to themselves, without suffering the participation of any other country. The cultivation and monopoly of cinnamon was their jealous and exclusive care; and this was guarded by severe, and even sanguinary laws. Ceylon continued until recently in the possession of the Dutch; when, after a resistance of the most pusillanimous kind, it surrendered to the British arms.

In the year 1657, ‘ the Anne frigate,’ of London, in the service of the East India Company, sailed for India, and, on the eve of returning, in 1659, sustained so much damage in a storm, that she was ordered to Cottiar bay, in Ceylon, to refit. Here the Captain, his son Robert Knox, the writer of the narrative, and fourteen others, were seized by order of Raja Singa Adassyn, the then reigning monarch of the island. February 9, 1660, the Captain died, and ‘ thus,’ piously exclaims his son, ‘ thus was I left desolate, sick, and in captivity, having no earthly comforter, none but only He (Him) who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the prisoners, and to shew himself a father of the fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.’

After a considerable lapse of time, Knox very providentially found a Bible, and the account of this event, though somewhat long, is given in a style of simplicity so genuine and touching, as to render it quite needless to make an apology for inserting it entire.

‘ It chanced, as I was fishing, an old man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my boy, “ If I could read a book ? ” He answered “ Yes.

"The reason I ask," said the old man, "is, because I have one I got when the Portuguese lost Columbo; and, if your master please to buy it, I will sell it him:" which, when I heard of, I bid my boy go to his house with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portuguese book.

The boy having formerly served the English, knew the book; and as soon as he had got it in his hand, came running with it, calling out to me, "It is a Bible!" It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible, for I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one; upon which I flung down my angle, and went to meet him. The first place the book opened in, after I took it into my hand, was the sixteenth chapter of the Acts; and the first place my eye pitched on was the thirtieth and one and thirtieth verses—where the jailor asked St. Paul, "What must I do to be saved?" And he answered, saying—"Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house."

The sight of this book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together, that I cannot say which passion was greater; the joy, for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the fear that I had not enough to buy it: having then but one pagoda in the world, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alledging my necessity for money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old man. This counsel after I considered, I approved of: my urgent necessities earnestly craving, and my ability being but very small to relieve the same; and however, I thought I could give my piece of gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

I hope the readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage; for it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if an angel had spoken to me from heaven; to see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary blessing for me, which I did, and ever shall look upon as maraculous; to bring unto me a Bible in my own native language, and that in such a remote part of the world—where his Name was not so much as known, and where any Englishman was never known to have been before. I looked upon it as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given the Israelites out of heaven; it being the thing, for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay, and shed tears too; and, than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

Upon the sight of it I left off fishing; God having brought a fish to me that my soul had longed for—and now how to get it, and enjoy the same, all the powers of my soul were employed. I gave God hearty thanks that he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on me. Now, it being well towards evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home, telling the old man, that in the morning I would send my boy to buy it of him.

‘ All that night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the morning, as soon as it was day, I sent the boy with a knit cap he had made for me, to buy the book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant; for that cap purchased it, and the boy brought it to me, to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my afflictions.’ pp. 258—260.

Knox seems to have conducted himself, during his captivity, with the utmost prudence; he accommodated himself to the manners of the natives, entered into trade, purchased an estate, but uniformly declined taking a wife. He once had an interview with the Raja, who proposed to take him into his service; but this he steadily refused, well aware that he had nothing better to expect from the capricious despot, than present favour purchased at the expense of future sufferings, and of death. He never lost sight of the possibility of escape, and made several judicious but ineffectual attempts to accomplish it. At length, on the 22d September, 1679, he set out, in company with Stephen Rutland, on a last and successful expedition. They directed their march northward, descended into the low and level country of Nourcalava, cajoled the governor of Coliwilla, and got successfully through a much severer examination at Anarodg-burro. Between these two places they had crossed a stream which they rightly supposed would lead them to the sea; and finding it impossible to get beyond the last mentioned town, they determined on retracing their steps as far as this river; and on following its channel to the coast. After encountering some dangers and more difficulties, they reached the Dutch port of Aripo,

‘ It being about four of the clock on Saturday afternoon, October the 18th, 1679; which day God grant us grace that we may never forget—when he was pleased to give us so great a deliverance from such a long captivity of nineteen years and six months, and odd days, being taken prisoner when I was nineteen years old, and continued upon the mountains among the heathen till I attained to eight and thirty.’ p. 341.

The cruelty of Raja Singa was excessive and capricious. Not only there was no security in his apparent and avowed goodwill, but it was the inevitable prelude to the most excruciating tortures, and to death itself. And yet the situations at court, and the honours of the realm, seem to have been as eagerly sought after, as the privileges and immunities of rank are coveted under milder governments.

‘ The king,’ says Knox, ‘ they call by a name, that signifies somewhat higher than a man, and next to God. But, before the war, they styled him Dionanxi, which is a title higher than God, by the

addition of Nanxi; this title the king took before the rebellion, but since he forbid it. When they speak to the king concerning themselves, they do not speak in the first person and say—"I did so or so; but baulagot, the limb of a dog did it, or will do it." And, when they speak of their children unto the king, they call them "puppies;" as if he ask them "how many children they have?" they say "so many puppy-dogs, and so many puppy-bitches;" by which, by the way, we may conjecture, at the height of the king, and the slavery of the people under him.' p. 213.

Brutalized as the people were by slavery, the barbarities of their tyrant became at length so excessive, as to exasperate them into rebellion. They assaulted the palace, and might easily have either secured or destroyed the Raja; but they permitted him to escape, and the insurrection was speedily quelled. He had now an opportunity of exercising his favourite atrocities, and he indulged it to the uttermost. He poisoned his son, cut off the most loyal of his subjects, and

'One of the most noted rebels, called Ambom Wellaraul, he sent to Columba, to the Dutch, to execute, supposing they would invent new tortures for him, beyond what he knew of; but they, instead of executing him, cut off his chains, and kindly entertained him, and there he still is in the city of Columba, reserving him for some designs they may hereafter have against the country.' p. 119.

'He seems to be naturally disposed to cruelty, for he sheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reason for it. His cruelty appears both in the tortures and painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his punishments, viz upon whole families for the miscarriage of one in them: for when the king is displeased with any, he does not always command to kill them outright, but first to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their flesh by pincers, burning them with hot irons clapped to them, to make them confess of their confederates; and this they do to rid themselves of their torments, confessing far more than ever they saw or knew. After their confession, sometimes he commands to hang their two hands about their necks, and to make them eat their own flesh, and their own mothers to eat of their own children; and so to lead them through the city in public view, to terrify all unto the place of execution, the dogs following to eat them; for they are so accustomed to it, that they, seeing a prisoner led away, follow after. At the place of execution there are always some sticking upon poles, others hanging up in quarters upon trees, besides what lie killed by elephants on the ground, or by other ways. This place is always in the greatest highway, that all may see and stand in awe; for which end this is his constant practice.' pp. 77, 78.

The following passage has been frequently referred to, as a proof of Knox's credulity. We are certainly not disposed to acquit him upon this point; but on the other hand, we are not at all inclined to question his general accuracy respecting what he saw and what he heard, because his want of whole-

some scepticism led him to ascribe facts to an erroneous cause.

‘ This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the devil doth cry with audible voice in the night ; ’tis very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog: this I have often heard myself, but never heard that it did any body any harm. Only this observation the inhabitants of the land have made of this voice, and I have made it also, that either just before, or very suddenly after this voice, always the king cuts off people. To believe that this is the voice of the devil, these reasons urge—because there is no creature known to the inhabitants that cry like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place, and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly; and because the very dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it; and ’tis so accounted by all the people.

‘ This voice is heard only in Candy Uda, and never in the low lands. When the voice is near to a Chingulay’s house, he will curse the devil, calling him geremoi goulammah, “beef-eating slave be gone, be damned, cut his nose off, beat him in pieces;” and such like words of raillery, and this they will speak aloud, with noise, and passion, and threatening: this language I have heard them bestow upon the voice; and the voice, upon this, always ceaseth for a while, and seems to depart, being heard at a greater distance.’ pp. 155—156.

In 1782, during the temporary possession of Trincomalé by the English, an embassy was sent to Candy, and Mr. Boyd was charged with its management. The mission was productive of no other effect, than that of mutual compliment; but it afforded Mr. B. an opportunity of admiring the magnificence of Ceylonese scenery, and of witnessing the ceremonies of the Candian court. Describing the prostration of the courtiers, he says,

‘ “ Those who performed them almost literally licked the dust; prostrating themselves with their faces close to the stone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms as in the attitude of swimming; then rising to their knees by a sudden spring from the breast, like what is called the salmon leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words, of the most extravagant meaning that can be conceived—‘ That the head of the king of kings might reach beyond the sun! that he might live a hundred thousand years, &c.’ ” p. 138.

The prime minister, ‘ a venerable grey headed old man,’ having occasion to come from the upper to the lower end of the hall, Mr. Boyd was beyond measure surprised at seeing him come ‘ trotting down one of the aisles, like a dog, on all fours. He returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne.’

In 1798, the king of Candy died, and Pelemé Talavé, the chief Adigar, raised a young Malabar to the throne, with the avowed intention of removing him at a proper opportunity, for the purpose of establishing his own power. The minister en-

fate of Pelemé is not known, but it is probable that he was put to death in his proper rotation*, as in 1814, we find another chief Adigar, Eheilapola, after an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion, taking refuge in Columbo.

‘The tyrant no sooner received intelligence of the revolt of Eheilapola, than he determined upon an act of the most inhuman revenge. The wife and children of the chief had been left at Candy, according to the practice of the court, as hostages for his fidelity and allegiance. The children were five in number. The eldest was eighteen years of age, the youngest an infant at the breast. These innocent victims to the brutal rage of the royal monster were conducted to the market-place, where the head of the infant being first cut off, the distracted mother was actually compelled to pound it in a mortar. The other children were afterwards butchered in succession; and the mother herself was finally slaughtered, to consummate the tragedy.’ *History*, p. 172.

The war which followed, is within general memory. The wretched tyrant was deserted by all his subjects, and after having been treated with the utmost scorn and ignominy, given up to the English.

‘The dethroned King of Candy made one remark on the difference between his own arbitrary sway, and a more restrained exercise of power, which does credit to his sagacity, and deserves attentive consideration. In a conversation with Major Hook, he said, “The English governors have one advantage over us kings of Candy;—they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided.”’ p. 180.

‘The following instance is well fitted to illustrate the nature of a character, where the will of the individual has never known restraint, nor experienced opposition. The captive king had requested that four of the usual female attendants might be permitted to wait upon his queens. This was willingly conceded: and the same night one of these was brought to bed in the house. The king no sooner heard of this, than he demanded that the woman should be instantly removed, Colonel Kerr very humanely refused to comply, and remonstrated on the cruelty of the proceeding, with a poor creature in her unfortunate situation. His majesty, however, who had not been used to have any of his desires contravened, however extravagant or barbarous they might be, flew about his apartment in the most frantic rage, vowing that “he would neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he was satisfied.” Colonel Kerr, becoming apprehensive lest the poor woman should be murdered by the tyrant, gave orders for her removal, though at the hazard of her life.’ pp. 180, 181.

The arrangement which followed, is a very striking illustration

* This was actually the case, as we learn from Mr. Bertolacci. He perished in 1811.

tion of the unfashionable doctrine of the right of cashiering kings. It was resolved by General Brownrigg, in conference with the 'adigars, dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Candian provinces,' and it has been since, we suppose, ratified by the British government, 'that the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title.' A sort of feudal government has, we believe, been established, of which the king of England is the acknowledged head.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers a general notion of the character and history of the Cingalese, as well as of the different publications relating to their country; we shall now lay before them a few brief notices, taken chiefly from Messrs. Bertolacci and Cordiner, respecting the geography, produce, and inhabitants, of Ceylon.

The southern part of the island is chiefly mountainous, intersected by valleys of great beauty and fertility; the northern portion is flat and peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of rice. A broad belt of forest and jungle, formed a strong and effectual frontier fortification, separating and defending the interior from the encroachments of the possessors of the coasts, and was carefully preserved by the Candian sovereigns as their safest barrier. It was indeed often crossed, but never with impunity; almost insuperable difficulties exhausted and dispirited the troops, and the fatal *jungle fever* thinned the invading ranks more surely than the sword. The coast of Ceylon is admirably adapted to the purposes of commerce; broken into harbours of various extent, and frequently crossed by rivers, it affords advantages of all kinds to navigation.

'The districts of Matura, Point de Galle, Colombo, and Chilau, derive considerable advantages from the many rivers that pass through them, and the various canals that form a communication between those rivers. From Mahadampe in the vicinity of Chilau, to Mahakoone, near Caltura, the inland navigation is almost uninterrupted. This is an extent of about seventy miles of the most fertile soil, and best populated country in all the island.'—*Bertolacci*, p. 38.

But the principal object which makes the island of Ceylon of political importance to Great Britain, is the noble harbour of Trincomalé, secure and capacious, accessible at all seasons, and most advantageously situated with regard to our Indian Empire.

'From its central position, and the easy ingress and egress which it affords at all seasons, it is better adapted for being made a marine depot, and a rendezvous for his Majesty's squadrons, than any other station in India. At Bombay the navy are removed entirely out of the way of affording any protection to trade, and for six months in the year a great lapse of time is required before they can come round to

the opposite coast of the Peninsula: At Calcutta, or in the river Hoogly, they are placed exactly under similar circumstances. The total want of shelter on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar renders a free access to the port of Trincomalé a most momentous object. At seasons when ships cannot look into the road of Madras, nor sweep a sail off the mouths of the Ganges, they are here presented with a sure refuge. The naval power that commands this harbour may keep all Asia in awe, and easily intercept the trade of other nations to and from every corner of Hindustan.—*Cordiner*, Vol. I pp 266—267.

Ceylon is rich in mineral and vegetable productions. Precious stones have long been enumerated in the commercial catalogue of its various wealth. Its pearl fisheries are unrivalled; they are government property, and subject to strict and peculiar regulations: a very complete and interesting account of the mode of conducting them will be found in Mr. Cordiner's second volume. The privilege of fishing the banks, is usually farmed out, and in 1798 produced one hundred and forty thousand pounds revenue to the government; but in 1811 the rent was only sixty-four thousand pounds. The vegetable reign in Ceylon has all the glow and richness of Eastern variety and growth; the palms, the bread fruit, and cocoa nut, the banyan, and other trees, useful and ornamental, adorn in the greatest profusion, this fertile and luxuriant isle. But the most important plant in European estimation, is the cinnamon, of which Government holds the monopoly, and subjects the various processes connected with its cultivation, and the preparation of its bark, to strict regulations. The talipot, a species of palm, is used by the natives for a variety of purposes. Its strong, light, flexible, and gigantic leaf is impenetrable to rain, and forms the material of tents and umbrellas: it is also used in lieu of paper. For an account of the inhabitants of Ceylon, we shall refer our readers to a concluding extract from Mr. Bertolacci.

'In the territories of the King of Candy, the mass of the population is Ceylonese proper. These occupy also the south and south-west coasts of the island The Malabars or Hindoos are in possession of the north and east coasts, and the peninsula of Jaffnapatam. The Moors who may be looked upon as the most industrious and laborious of all, are dispersed over every part of the island The Vedas or Bedas, who, by all appearances, are the only indigenous nation in the island, live in a savage state, in all that large forest which extends from the south to the east and north, upon the borders of our frontiers, as well as far into the Candian territory, and upon the Wanny provinces. The Ceylonese Proper derive their origin from Siam: this is the opinion which generally prevails among them, and the fact is related in their histories. Their language and religion (namely the Buddhist) are the same as the Siamese.'

The tenure of the land, as may easily be anticipated, depended on the principle that the monarch was sole lord, and could give

and resume at pleasure. Mr. B. furnishes very interesting details of the various modifications of that principle in its application to actual occupancy. We must also refer to him for the plan of civil management, and for the various offices connected with it. The distinctions of caste prevail, but the system is too complicated to admit of abridgement. The Appendix A. contains an interesting series of 'answers given by some of the best informed Candian priests, to questions put to them by Governor Falk, in the year 1769, respecting the ancient laws and customs of their country.'

Mr. Bertolacci's book has the advantage of a very handsome map. This map is, however, capable of improvement, even from an imperfect knowledge of the interior. The lettering too, is so badly managed, as to be scarcely legible. The map to the 'History,' which is said to be for 'Knox's History of the Island,' is useless for that purpose. It is absolutely impossible to trace Knox's adventures upon it. It is now some time since we read Knox in his own publication, but we do not recollect any difficulty in following him upon his own map, imperfect as it was, and we are persuaded that a very little attention might have made the present map equally available for the illustration of modern travels, and of Knox's old but not antiquated narrative.

We have purposely abstained from involving ourselves in the labyrinths of Ceylonese mythology. As we have before stated in the quotation from Mr. Bertolacci, the established church of Candy professes the religion of Boodh, and this inscrutable faith is deeply interwoven with the mysteries and perplexities of Hindoo superstition.

Art. III. *An Attempt to support the Diversity of Future Rewards.*
8vo. pp. 62. Price 2s. Gardiner and Son. London.

WE feel no inclination to dispute the assertion of the Author, founded, as he says, upon 'long observation and some knowledge of the religious world,' that the notion he opposes, is very prevalent. If this be the case, believing, as we do, that it is an opinion that can find shelter from the evidence of Scripture and reason, only under some considerable misapprehensions, and that of course, as an error, it exerts an injurious influence, we must allow the good sense and pious feeling of the writer to be well employed in the attempt to confute it. But were it not so, were they who hold the opposite opinion, no more than that resolute minority which is to be found in every question, no matter how broad the day-light about them, even then we should not regret the attempt, directed by the above named qualities of good sense and pious feeling, to lead the attention of Christians

towards any branch of a subject, which, although it possesses every claim, and every attraction, seems strangely to *subside* from the recollections of many professors of religion, and like a ponderous residuum, appears among the 'multitude of their thoughts,' only as the result of some accidental agitation. It is a subject too, which, compared with other topics in Divinity, has this peculiar recommendation, it affords a field, the verdure of which has scarcely at all been broken up by the trampling hoofs of angry disputants. It is a mountain-top, where that bitter herb, the *odium theologicum*, has not flourished; a region where quiet spirits may range, with little fear of encountering the sons of discord and contention.

The Author seems to be sensible that he has chiefly to do with those whose convictions of the freeness and sovereignty of Divine Grace, are the most full and profound, and whose anxiety for the honour of this first of truths, may lead them to reject unexamined, any position they may apprehend to infringe upon it.

We believe indeed that there are persons, who, if they would narrowly examine the workings of their own minds, would detect a jealousy even of the oracles of God, lest these also should disparage a doctrine upon which they *feel* that all their hopes are built. Such persons, the Author remarks, 'should be apprised, that those who are alarmed for the safety of their sentiments, or the peace and composure of their minds, by the language of inspiration, have reason to suspect, to examine, and to reform their creed.'

With the view of meeting a prejudice of this kind, the Author premises, that 'the happiness of the saints in heaven is, in the sacred writings, represented under the idea of a *reward*;' and he cites in proof three passages, which he considers as plainly referring to the heavenly state, and in which the term is used in its most strict and proper sense; that is, as we imagine, meaning a promised good, in consideration of which a work is performed, or suffering is undergone. The texts referred to are Matt. v. 12. Col. iii. 24. Rev. xxii. 12. And here we would say, that the humble Christian, who, knowing *himself*, is disquieted by the mention of these words, *merit* and *reward*, and who trembles at the thought of receiving from the Divine Hand that which he *deserves*, should learn to distinguish things that differ, and he will easily reconcile the apportioning of future happiness to the labours, sufferings, and attainments of the present time, with the fullest claims of grace. Let him remember, that as a creature, considered abstractedly, he *deserves* from the Creator absolutely *nothing*. As the subject of law, from the righteous Governor, he deserves *punishment*, and that for every act, and the whole sum of his probation. But, as a subject of that system in which

God is pleased to append and proportion, according to a uniform law, future happiness to grace freely given in time, the Christian exactly deserves,* he is truly worthy† of, that recompense for which he is preparing. Such is that crown which they who receive it shall cast at the feet of him who gives it!‡

The position in question is argued from—The analogy of the Divine proceedings—The great diversity of Christian experience,—and The vast variety of natural capacity with which Christians are endowed in the present state. Under the last head, the Author, having shewn the probability that this diversity will survive the accident of death, infers, that it implies a diversity of happiness.

Two persons equally sharing the care and kindness of a friend, will feel themselves happy in proportion as they appreciate and esteem his friendship. A child seven years old, may be happy in the consciousness of being the object of his father's affection, and the heir of his property; but when he arrives at mature age, he will form a higher estimate of his father's love, in connexion with his wisdom, care, and possessions; and he will feel proportionably more happy. The source of his happiness, however, in the last mentioned stage of his life, is precisely the same as it was in the former. When he was a child, equally as when arrived at manhood, all that the father had was his. But having, in consequence of the maturity of his mind, and the expansion of his powers, formed more correct and comprehensive sentiments of the character, affection, and possessions of his father, and a more vigorous appropriation of an interest in them, he feels himself richer and more happy in his relation to him. So believers, who are "the sons of God," will find themselves rich and happy in their relation to "the Father of spirits," in proportion to the accuracy and extent of their views of his character and perfections, and the vigour of those powers by which they appropriate to themselves an interest in whatever is endearing and transporting in the full assurance of being "heirs of God, joint heirs with Christ." pp. 32, 3.

The Author goes on to argue from—The different degrees of moral excellence which will exist in the heavenly state, and from—The superior tendency (of such a diversity of reward) to advance the happiness of the whole society of the redeemed. Here he remarks:

If every person's talents, and attainments, and feelings, were alike; no one could communicate to another an idea which the individual who was addressed did not previously possess, nor exhibit an excellence which he had not already attained, nor excite a pleasing emotion which he had not before experienced. Nothing new, not at least through the medium of social intercourse, could be produced; no new discovery could be conveyed; no new feeling imparted; no new desire excited; no new anticipation formed. All would be perfect sameness. There would be an immense multitude, without

* 2 Tim. iv. 8.

† Rev. iii. 4.

‡ Rev. ix. 10.

variety; an innumerable company, without society. All would be equal in knowledge, in honour, in attainments, in enjoyment; and of consequence, there would be no teaching, no learning; no emulation, no condescension; no admiration, no congratulation, no sympathy. All would be equality, uniformity, identity. It would be bodily, or corporeal, rather than mental, society. Each individual would, in every other, see his own attainments, and sentiments, his own feelings, and recollections, and anticipations; would in fact, see *himself*, only *himself*. Every individual would lose the character of a companion, and would become a kind of living mirror, in which all would see, and see only, the reflection of their own intellectual and moral features.'

The argument of this "Attempt," is summed up by the induction of Scripture testimony. This evidence appears, indeed, abundant and conclusive; quite as much so, at least, as that which supports many positions very generally received among Christians. That an opposite opinion is entertained, may be accounted for, no doubt, in part from the fact, that there are always to be found those who will take care to provide an *opposite opinion* upon every question not directly within the reach of demonstration: and what notion is there, without this realm of frost and iron, towards the support of which *something* may not be advanced? But the belief of a perfect equality of reward in the future world, may arise from two very opposite sources. That profound humbleness of mind, that entire absorption of the principle of self-love, which attends the highest attainments, may occasion, (from a want of more comprehensive views,) a feeling almost of distress at the thought of any pre-eminence or distinction; and may induce it, as it were, to take refuge in the *crowd* which it is the property of equality to produce. On the other hand may we suppose, that a sort of antinomian acquiescence in conscious inferiority, may engender the persuasion, that all shall come to the same in the end; and that thus, after having enjoyed the comforts, privileges, and immunities, of a lazy hope in this world, the operation of a sort of Agrarian law in the heavenly inheritance, shall put them on a footing with those who have indeed "given all diligence to make their calling and "election sure," that so an entrance may be ministered to them *abundantly*, into the everlasting kingdom of their Lord and Saviour.

But *all* truth is food, *all* error is poison, and we hear with impatience of mistakes that can do no harm, of truths of no importance. Where is the sentiment that is thus prefaced in the *Bible*? The humble and ardent soul may fearlessly expose itself to the operation of all those motives which He who knoweth our frame has seen fit to address to it. And the indolent, who are reclined upon the "hay and stubble" which they have nested for themselves on the one foundation, may be assured that though "they may be saved," it shall be "as by fire, and they shall "suffer loss."

On all subjects to which the Divine testimony extends, we would rest simply upon such testimony, to the exclusion of professed demonstrations *a priori*, as making any part of the foundation of faith and opinion. Nevertheless, we admit that where a prejudice, which is in itself probably some *a priori* hypothesis, prevents the perception of this evidence, such statements may be well employed in removing the accidental obstruction.

Now were we required to treat the question in hand independently of Scripture testimony, the following argument would appear to us satisfactory.

The universe may be considered under two different aspects, each of which affords a ground of expectation that the law of diversity in all qualities will be found to pervade the creation. In the first place, then, the universe is the result and the exercise of all the natural and moral attributes of God,—an effect corresponding to its cause; or what is the same thing for the present purpose, it is the display, so far as it is capable of being exhibited to finite minds, of the character of the Creator. In all he does God is wise, and good, and free; and he is so in a way perceptible to at least all holy intelligences. And, further, it is presumed that, in this exhibition of the Divine character to intelligent creatures, there appears to be, from all that we see, as well as from the testimony of Scripture, a *special end* in the structure and conduct of the universe, a first lesson, written again and again, on every page of the great Book, the lesson which we may conceive to be the most needful for creatures to learn; that is, that God is *sovereign*; that, as he is the direct cause of all good, he is so *freely*; he does good *as he will*. Now, as even in the present state, in which all things are veiled, every atom of the visible creation reflects something of this dazzling truth, may we not confidently expect, that in the state of consummation, it shall be much more glorious, and become the beginning and the ending of all adoration? But although power, and goodness, and other attributes, (to say wisdom would be to cede the question,) might be displayed in a system of which *sameness* should be the pervading law, sovereignty, whose property it is to make a difference in the bestowment of good, irrespective of any extrinsic claim, would, in such a system, be latent. But merely physical diversities, although indeed they imply the exercise of sovereignty, most directly tend to illustrate a natural perfection, the wisdom of contrivance. It is in the bestowment of different portions of the ultimate good, of likeness to God, and the favour consequent upon it, that is, of happiness,—it is here that the Divine Sovereignty reigns, and is magnified; and it is on this ground, we presume to say, that “the servants of God, both *great* and *small*,” shall delight to give him glory. And thus, when the principle of self-love shall have ceased to be

the centre of the soul, and all holy beings shall revolve with unvarying justness about the common source of good,—as the primary subject of felicity shall be the apprehended eternal blessedness of God,—that which is mediate, and secondary, shall spring from the apprehension of the blessedness, in their degrees, of other beings of higher and of lower orders. And when the least of the sons of God shall converse with those who “excel in strength,” these shall say, ‘Brethren, be glad and rejoice with us, for all this glory that the Father has bestowed upon us;’ and those, ‘Brethren, help us to praise him for what he hath done for us, even for us.’ The *harmony* of a diversified system is founded upon the recognition of sovereignty in bestowment.

But we have said that the universe may be contemplated under a second aspect, and we mean as it is a *system of objects* adapted to the active and passive affections of all conscious beings; and especially as affording the medium of exercise for the moral qualities of the intelligent creation.

Now, to confine ourselves to that which bears upon the particular question, we ask, Are there not qualities and dispositions in our nature, we will not say as fallen, but as restored, which most plainly indicate its destination to a state affording every possible diversity of rank, and office, and power, and employment, and excellence, and attainment? Few, we presume, will imagine the narrow pass of Death to be so strait, as to rend from the soul every thing that distinguishes man from man, and to cause him to emerge, stript of all but the naked consciousness of identity. Such a supposition derogates from the wisdom of Him who has made nothing in vain. But we will not insist upon those natural endowments which distinguish the few from the many, and fit them for peculiar employments, or those correspondent deficiencies which relate the many to the few. We pass by every distinction but that which is ultimate. And it is this ultimate difference among those who have been *fellows*, which seems essential to the full exercise or last finishing of those shining graces which Christianity imparts and cherishes. We can but glance at the illustration of this position, which might indeed be pursued at great length. All graces are comprehended in love.—And now we must be indebted to the reflection upon their own minds, of our Christian readers.—Will they not grant to us that, as it relates to creatures, the furthest, the highest and most finished exercise of love, is that which passes on to beings who, while we feel that they are *fellows*, are, some superior, and others inferior, to ourselves? The love that has such a field is, if we may so express ourselves, rich in pungent ingredients, compared with that which relates to an undistinguished crowd. We are ready to say there must be such a field; or the expansive energy of this

principle will be straitened, if not in its lengths and breadths, at least in its heights and depths. Is it not this *hyper-action* of the principle of love called forth by the superior excellence and happiness of a *brother*, which will be the ground of that ecstatic passion whose object is the adorable excellence and infinite blessedness of Him who will "shew us his hands and "his feet," and call us *brethren*? On the other hand, if love may yet be more sublimed, it must be in its direction towards inferiors. When the evil passions which are here so thickly clustered upon *self*, are no more,—in that world where the highest rank of creatures is the most beautiful in *humbleness*,—*there* will love receive its finishing of *tenderness*, in looking downwards. *There* may the prime article of a higher reward consist in the participation, though at an infinite remove, of that ineffable sentiment with which the Father of the universe looks down upon all that he has made.

And let it be imagined how these correlative sentiments will be aggravated, if we may be allowed the expression, by the remembered circumstances of the present world. Who that reflects does not perceive something at least in the dispensations of grace and the arrangements of Providence, of a profound contrivance for urging up to the highest point the noble sentiments of which the renewed nature is susceptible? Will the reader, while he consults his best feelings, indulge himself in an anticipation that may illustrate the idea we so hastily sketch? Let him ask then, Who are the occupants of those lofty thrones? These are they who are come from wretched habitations and tattered garments, from servitude and sordid crafts, from want and loathsomeness, from obscurity and contempt; but they were rich in faith, and according to their faith, it is done unto them.—And who are they sitting at their feet, waiting their instructions, and learning there the first lessons of the celestial liturgy? These are they who shone in the world. They were great, and wise, and learned, and admired. With God all things are possible, and he is able to save to the uttermost.—But who shall *now* imagine the reach and force of the sentiment, on the one side, of admiration, and submission, and gratitude, on the other, of tenderness, forbearance, and beneficence, that may take place, in such a supposed relation, between those who have been great in the world though babes in grace, and those who, though but babes in the world, had attained to the fulness of the stature of men in Christ Jesus?

We presume then, (were the Scriptures silent upon the subject,) that the system of Diversity, so apparently illustrative of the Divine perfections, and so manifestly rich in moral means, possesses a large balance of probability over that of perfect equality.—But the Scriptures are not silent upon the subject. Indeed, upon the general doctrine of the future state, there is

much incidentally communicated that seems often passed over by Christians, with the sentiment, 'When we get to heaven, we shall know all about it.' That is true : but let us take care to know now all that, the knowledge of which may influence our condition when there.

We should be pleased to see some person, qualified by devotional feeling and competent learning, employed in collecting the sacred testimony in a way of careful induction and modest inference. We should be pleased, were the result only to engage the thoughts of Christians where we fear not that they will wander too often, or rest too long, and from whence they can hardly return without some quickened movement on their road.

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- Art. IV. 1. *An Essay on the Commutation of Tithes*, to which was adjudged the Bedfordian Gold Medal, by the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. By John Benett, Esq. of Pyt House, Wilts, 8vo. pp. 15. Ridgway, London, 1814.
2. *Letter to John Benett, Esq. on his Essay relative to the Commutation of Tithes*. By the Rev. William Coxe, Archdeacon of Wilts. 8vo. pp. 32. Salisbury.
3. *Reply to the Letter of the Rev. William Coxe, &c.* By John Benett. 8vo. pp. 71. Salisbury.
4. *The Right to Church Property secured, and Commutation of Tithes vindicated*. In a Letter to the Rev. William Coxe. [Signed Robert Gourlay.] 8vo pp. 41. Highley, London, 1815.
5. *Three Additional Letters to J. Benett, Esq. on the Commutation of Tithe*. In Answer to his Reply. By the Rev. William Coxe. 8vo. pp. 91. Salisbury.
6. *Replies to the Three Additional Letters, &c.* By John Benett. pp. 117. Carpenter, London. 1816.
7. *A Letter to Frankland Lewis, Esq. M. P. on Commutation of Tithes*. By the Rev. John Fisher, of Wavendon. 8vo. pp. 31. Rivingtons, London. 1817.
8. *The Sacred and Indefeasible Rights of the Clergy examined, recognised, and vindicated; the Origin, Moral Obligation, and Policy of the Law of Tithes enquired into, with a safe, simple, and effectual Plan for relieving the People from the Obnoxious Burthens imposed upon them by the Church, &c.* Addressed to Lord Viscount Milton, M.P. for Yorkshire. 8vo. pp. 104. Gale and Fenner, London. 1817.
9. *An Appeal to Equity*, showing the Unreasonableness and Injustice of obliging Dissenters to contribute towards the Support of the Church of England. With some Remarks on Tythes. By Philaleutherus. 8vo, pp. 57. Longman, London. 1817.

AT various periods of the history of the Reformed Church of England, has the subject of decimal endowment undergone controversial discussion ; but it is under a complexion altogether

of a novel nature, that that discussion has been renewed of late years. It was natural enough that an institution, owing its existence in the Christian Church to the usurpations of Papacy, should come into question, when the authority of the Papal chair had been disowned, and when no countenance could be found for the continuance of the ordinance in the precepts of the Apostles, or in the practice of the primitive church. In most of the Reformed Churches on the Continent, the exhortations of Erasmus, Sagarellus, and others, had prevailed, the right to tithes being disclaimed, with the other incidents of the Popish hierarchy; and in England, the arguments of many of our own reformers, and particularly of Wickliffe, Brute, and Thorpe, were directed, though without success, to the same object. On the abolition of prelacy, at the subsequent period of the Commonwealth, the attack upon Tithes was renewed with increased asperity, and with great powers of argument; particularly by Milton, in his "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church," and by Anthony Pearson, a justice of Westmoreland, in his "Great Case of Tithes truly stated." Since the re-establishment of an Episcopal hierarchy, the question of 'the divine right of tithes,' has, at various times, been a fruitful source of polemical discussion; but as the Church became secured in her legal title, by long acquiescence and uninterrupted settlement, the *jus divinum* was insisted on with less earnestness, and was ultimately abandoned by tacit consent, as an untenable position. Even Blackstone, the champion of all constituted ordinances, thought it prudent to drop this claim to veneration, and to rest the sanctity of Tithes on their remote antiquity; and his example has, we believe, in modern times, been followed by all who have been at the pains of informing themselves with any degree of precision on the subject.

The concession on the part of the clergy had the effect that concessions generally have. Being content to claim their tithes as a legal right, they were no longer reminded of the incompatibleness of the exaction with the practice of the primitive church, and with the scriptural character of a Christian ministry.

It was in the very nature of tithes, as a property, that long and uninterrupted enjoyment should constitute the most secure of all possible titles. It was no poll-tax which might have been abolished after any possible period of exaction, without derangement of the balances and modifications of different classes of property; it was no charge upon fluctuating income, which might have subsided into the source from which it was derived, like any other personal tax, without the smallest political inconvenience; but it was an exclusive charge upon one distinct species of possession, which, while fixed and immutable in its own nature, was a frequent subject of transfer from one individual to

another. This being the case, it very naturally happened, that in all pecuniary transactions which had property in land for their subject, the calculations of value would be defalcated precisely to that amount which constituted the estimated value of the tithe; and as in process of time, all property in land had necessarily become the subject of vendition, the security of the tithe-owner's title would be augmented exactly in that degree that the land-owner had lost his apparent equity to a property for which he had never given a consideration. But a still more formidable fortification to the title of the tithe-owner was contained in another circumstance, which owed its existence to that which had been branded with the name of sacrilege. It might have been foreseen, that so long as that peculiar property which constituted the Church's endowment, was exclusively enjoyed by ecclesiastical persons, in virtue of their fulfilling that particular character, and not by force of any civil acquisition, a door was open to the unembarrassed discussion of the expediency of modifying or abolishing that property, in the same manner as the payment of any other class of public servants is discussed, and upon the unentangled principles of moral and political fitness. It had been a master-piece of policy, had it been brought about with that design, to have provided that the partial impoverishment of the Church should have wrought its permanent security, by implicating a portion, and that no inconsiderable one, of the peculiar property appropriated to its support, in the complicated rights and interests created by unrestricted alienation, as a temporal inheritance. Without the machinations of the Church, however, and in defiance of its appeals, that event was effected, and tithes, in the form of lay-impropriations, having, after occasional struggles, been established as a valid civil property, and recognised as such by the Legislature for nearly three centuries, the faith of the nation has been pledged to their support equally with that of any other lay inheritance; and the Church is now content to look to the *spoliæ opimæ*, as the basis of her security.

In the midst of the lulling repose of undisputed enjoyment, an occasion of renewed discussion has gradually sprung up, wholly unforeseen by any previous agitators of the subject, of a character altogether distinct from polemical disquisition, and most momentous to the interests of the country in a political point of view. Those who have been unaccustomed to the consideration of questions of political economy, and who will be unprepared to anticipate consequences, will feel surprise at being told that the occasion of this renewed and anxious discussion was simply this, that the value of tithes had been found to increase in an inordinate disproportion to that of land. This single fact, placed perhaps in different points of view, will be found to contain the principle of nearly all the great evils alleged to arise

from the tithe laws, and on which Parliament has been so recently besought for relief. But in order to acquaint the uninitiated reader with the consequences of this fact, it is necessary to call before his attention the circumstances under which it has arisen. To those who are aware of the revolution which has taken place in modern times, in the principles of agriculture, it might be enough to remind them that the tithe, in its legal sense, is a tenth part of the gross produce of the land. In that single statement is contained the whole history of the grievance ; but to save our readers the trouble of seeking for the inference, we will proceed to further elucidation.

When tithes were first introduced into this country, *capital*, as applied to agriculture, was almost, if not entirely, unknown. The land was either in a state of spontaneous pasture, or it was in tillage ; and that tillage was the employment, not of hired labourers, requiring a stated capital for the payment of their wages, but of the inferior tenantry, as a part of their bounden duty. It is clear, then, that the *gross* produce and the *net* produce, would, with the slight exception of the expense of seed and farming utensils, be synonymous. A tithe of the gross produce, therefore, after deducting the expense of collecting and removing it, was about equivalent to a tithe of the net profit ; or, in other words, to a tenth part of the income of the landowner ; so far as that income was derived from the land. As the expense of cultivation gradually increased, the value of the tithe would of course surmount the value of a tenth of the net profit ; because the same quantity of produce was taken, without making any proportional allowance for that part which was defalcated from the gross produce, to repay the money sunk in cultivation. Supposing, therefore, a sum, equal to one fourth of the value of the whole crop, to be expended in cultivation, the proportion of the tithe to the tenth of the net profit would necessarily be as one tenth of the whole to one tenth of three-fourths. The positive value of the tithe was not only increased because it was a tenth of the increased produce, but its *relative* value was increased because it was a property compounded of a tenth of the produce of the land, and a tenth of the profits of the capital sunk in cultivation. Again, taking the value of three-fourths of the produce as the net profit of the cultivator, it is equally obvious, that in this state of culture the tithe owner takes a larger portion than a tenth of the income of the land owner, exactly in the degree that a tenth of the whole is larger than a tenth of three-fourths ; that is to say, he takes two fifteenths, or something between a seventh and an eighth. If the reader will pursue this arithmetical process, he will find, that in proportion as the money expended in cultivation approaches nearer and nearer to the value of the produce, the discrepancy between the relative value of the gross tenth and the net profit, becomes

greater and greater, till at a certain point the whole profit is extinguished in the tithe.

Had England never become a great commercial country, the amount of this discrepancy would, in all probability, never have been of sufficient magnitude to have excited public solicitude or justified complaint. But the principle of the grievance, which had lain dormant and unnoticed for centuries, was at length called into action by a change of system originating almost wholly in commercial prosperity. The great principles of commerce, estimating a large and actively-employed capital as the foundation of wealth, found their way into agriculture; while the overflowings of commercial affluence afforded the means for putting those principles into practice. In the mean time, aided by the demand for human labour, occasioned by unlimited trade and manufactures, the population, and with it the consumption of agricultural produce, increased in a ratio which, while it operated as the most powerful stimulus to the agriculturist, seemed to mock his most vigorous efforts to provide for. It was then that the limits of the power of production possessed by the soil became a question of the first importance in political economy, and that agriculture was generally taken up as an organized science, by men standing foremost in the ranks of opulence and intelligence. The result is probably one of the grandest and most successful efforts of human power on a large scale, that the history of science records. To the united operations of SKILL and CAPITAL, it seemed as if nature herself had no powers of opposition: it was not bleakness, nor barrenness, nor exhaustion, nor poverty, that could oppose a barrier. The names of common, and waste, and moor, became almost forgotten. Small farms, with their small capitals and racking management, were consolidated into such tracts as afforded the capability for an improved system of husbandry, and a union of labour, skill, and capital; and by the invention and introduction of machinery, a momentum was given to the operations of labour, amounting almost to the imaginary processes of gnostic fiction, while by diminishing the expense of those operations, it enabled the grower to bring his produce to the market at a cheaper price*.

* The celebrated feat of Robin Goodfellow,

‘ When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
 ‘ His shadowy flail had thresh’d the corn,
 ‘ That ten day-labourers could not end,’

is marvellous enough; but it seems to have been reserved for human ingenuity to rival even the goblin himself. The threshing machine alone is computed to have increased the value of our consumable corn, to the amount of four millions of money. See *Preston on the Corn Laws*, p. 31.

In the midst of all this success, and of the activity and energy inspired by it, it was a mortifying discovery to the agriculturist, that while even nature herself became subservient to his mandate, there existed, in a political institution, an obstacle of the most insurmountable nature to advancing cultivation. But the extent of this obstacle was not all at once revealed. The wisdom of a previous age, legislating as it were by anticipation, had provided that on the reclaiming of *barren* lands, those which had never paid any tithe at all, should continue tithe-free for seven years, and those that had only paid some inferior kind of tithe, as of wool, &c. should remain for seven years chargeable only with such tithes as they had previously paid. As the enclosure and improvement of waste lands were among the most important and arduous measures of modern agriculture, and as the immense expense incurred in reclaiming them, would, in most cases, have rendered an uncompromised right of tithe ruinous to the cultivator, the relief held out by this enactment was embraced with no small complacency by the farmer and the land-owner. Doubts however arose, (and on what will not doubts arise?) as to the precise extent of the intended application of the law. The parties implicated, resorted for a solution of those doubts to the courts; and when the operation of the statute came to be discussed before the judges, it was found to be crumbling to pieces in their hands. Upon distinctions, we believe logically correct in themselves, between lands *barren inapte naturæ*, and lands *barren quoad agriculturam*, with other technical reasonings of a similar nature, the great mass of proprietors had the satisfaction of seeing the statute of Edward VI. converted into a dead letter for all their purposes of improvement. Even this grievance, however, in part included its own remedy. It was obvious that in all cases where improvements of this kind were in contemplation, if the full demand of the tithe would have neutralized the expected profit, or have converted that profit into loss, the measure itself would not proceed. Wherever, therefore, any great increase of produce was to be expected, it was the obvious interest of the tithe owner to come to some arrangement with the proprietors, which should leave a sufficient surplus of profit in their hands, to form an inducement to carrying the measure into execution. When the tithes were in the hands of a clerical owner, particularly of a resident one, it would rarely happen that he would incur the odium of standing out against the whole mass of proprietors, in a measure affecting their common interests; and when they were in those of an impropiator, he would commonly have an equivalent, if not a superior interest, in the improvement of the land. But still cases would occur, and did occur, where the stubbornness or tenacity of an individual would paralyze, if not

defeat, the most beneficial operations. Even supposing the full demand of tithes to be persisted in, there might, in some cases, be a balance in favour of the cultivators, upon the computation of profit, which an avaricious tithe owner might rely upon as sufficient to prevent the abandonment of the design, although by no means a compensation for the expenditure of capital, of labour, and of skill, necessary to bring the land into a state of fertility. In other cases the incumbent might be non-resident, and therefore indifferent to the good-will of his parishioners, or he might be at previous enmity with them, and so no chance of adjustment on either side. In some instances too there must be a misapprehension of the intended object of the arrangement, and in others the incumbent might resist from a principle of zeal for the interests of the church, or of 'duty to his successors;' a com-
modious form of expression adopted by many who would never lose a night's rest, if the whole series of their successors were strung head and stern, as a mariner would term it, at the bottom of the sea.

Hitherto we have been considering the operation of tithes on improvements extending over large tracts of land comprehending a variety of interests, and which have been carried on under the general name of inclosures, and sanctioned by specific Acts of Parliament. With respect to individual improvements, the obstacle was far more appalling; for besides being open to all the inconveniences of parochial inclosures, they were subject to this intolerable grievance, that as no incumbent was competent, without the aid of parliament, to bind his successor, however moderate or rationally inclined the existing tithe-owner might be in coming to an arrangement which should enable the proprietor to pursue his proposed undertaking, the improvement should no sooner be effected, and grateful Nature about to repay the bounty which had been bestowed on her, than the death or resignation of the incumbent might immediately turn the tables upon the cultivator, and an unqualified demand of the full tithe terminate his prospect of well-earned profit, if not effect his ruin. In various other ways the system was inimical to the advancement of agricultural science. There were some articles of cultivation which were so bulky, or the raising of which involved so great an expense in the first instance, that however sanguine the prospects of success, the liability to tithe amounted to a peremptory prohibition. In two particular instances, where the subjects of cultivation were of great national importance, and the supply of the foreign article took a vast sum of money annually out of the kingdom, the legislature had interfered, having in the reign of William and Mary, restricted the tithe of hemp and flax to five shillings per acre for a limited period, which restriction was made perpetual in the reign of George I., and hav-

ing pursued the same measure in the reign of George II. with respect to madder, for fourteen years, which restriction was, at the expiration of that term, renewed for the same period. But here the relief ended, and the various articles of cultivation, and systems of husbandry which the progress of science from time to time suggested, had to struggle against the tithing-man as they could, and were often found impracticable. Thus it is remarked by Mr. Gourlay, an intelligent Scotchman, farming in Wiltshire :
' Tithe trenches deepest against great permanent improvements,
' such as may be effected by the capital of the proprietor ; but in
' the more temporary economy of a tenant's practice, it is also
' quite insurmountable in many cases. Thus in Scotland, the
' practice of soiling with green food, or stall feeding with turnips,
' which gives such additional employment to labourers and
' generates so much manure, cannot be effected under the tithe
' system. The withdrawing of a tenth of such bulky articles
' as cut grass, vetches, and turnips from the farm, would not
' only totally counteract a principal object of this admirable
' practice, viz. the increase of manure, but might turn the scale
' from profit entirely to loss. Nor could the agreement of *pre-*
' *sent* parties give sufficient security for the introduction of
' such improvement. The practice of it requires not only ac-
' commodation in the way of building, &c. but steady system in
' the field, and a conformity in the general management.'

Other instances of a similar nature occurred in different parts of the country, in the course of experimental practice, and have been detailed from time to time by the writers on agriculture. In the mean time, as the knowledge of the principles of political economy became more extended, and the cultivation of them more successful, these circumstances assumed a very serious character. It had at length come to be admitted among the principles of that science, not only that it was the first business of a state to provide food for its population, but ' that agricul-
' ture was the immediate source of human provision ; that
' trade conduced to the production of provision only as it pro-
' moted agriculture ; and that the whole system of commerce,
' vast and various as it was, had no other public importance
' than its subserviency to this end.* It was proved too, be-
yond the risk of controversy, that the best interests of the com-
munity were involved in the encouragement of tillage, while the predominance of pasturage diminished at once the quantity of labour and of provision. But what was the operation of the tithe ? It was in the most direct way that of a bounty upon pas-
ture, while upon tillage its oppression increased precisely in the degree that the industry and capital of the farmer were

* *Fahey's Moral and Political Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 415.

bestowed upon it. That this was practically true, and not merely so in theory, is capable of abundant proof. We take the first illustration of it that comes in our way, in the following extract from an Account of the Vale of Skipton, in a letter from a gentleman in that neighbourhood, to Messrs. Rennie and Co. printed by the Board of Agriculture.* 'Tithes are generally collected in kind, and are very reluctantly and ill paid. Since the introduction of grazing into the country, they are reduced in an astonishing degree, the lands which are most profitable to the occupier, are least, or indeed not at all so, to the clergyman;—he must either submit to this, or involve himself in a tedious and expensive law suit for agistment tithe, perhaps against an obstinate and powerful combination of the farmers and land owners. It is the opinion of the most intelligent people here, that the present mode of collecting tithes is one principal cause of the high price of corn. Large quantities are continued in grass, which would be ploughed to advantage, if a certain and general commutation for tithes could be established.'

But all these political evils were as nothing, when compared with the immediate and extensive moral evil arising from the system in the continual contention and enmity between the tithe owner and the tithe payer, and the excitement of the malignant and unchristian passions. Of the amount of this evil the domestic history of almost every village in the kingdom, and particularly of those where tithe was taken in kind, furnishes the illustration. In numberless instances the degree of exasperation produced by it, not only effected an entire alienation between the pastor and his parishioners, but excited the latter to the commission of the most indefensible extremities. Thus, in the parish of Turrington, in the Isle of Ely, which was insulated, and surrounded by deep dykes, the rector being dissatisfied with an inadequate composition, declared his determination to take the tithes in kind. The farmers accordingly set them out, and having conveyed their harvest over the temporary bridges constructed across the dykes for that purpose, immediately destroyed the bridges, leaving the tithe to rot upon the ground.† Of the extent of the malignancy thus engendered, the clergy complained, as might be expected, very feelingly; and to those unlettered in the springs of human conduct, with great appearance of justice. 'It was often of very little consequence, (said a late bishop of Peterborough,‡) that a clergyman was a good

* In the Appendix to Messrs. Rennie's *Agricultural Survey of Yorkshire*.

† This fact was stated by the Earl of Sandwich in the House of Lords, in the Debate on the *Uxington Inclosure Bill*, 1761.

‡ Dr. Hinchcliff.

‘ man, that he was benevolent, kind, meek, and generous,
‘ that he possessed every Christian and moral virtue, that he
‘ laboured incessantly, as well by præcept as example, in the care
‘ and instruction of his flock. If he preached like an angel, he
‘ would often, indeed almost always, preach in vain, while
‘ those to whom he addressed himself had conceived prejudices
‘ and resentments against him ; and for what ? because only he
‘ was a partaker of their property and labours. He (the
‘ Bishop) presumed he need not press this point upon his
‘ learned brethren ; they knew it. It was notorious, and fami-
‘ liar by common observation and experience. The interest of
‘ the incumbent was deemed incompatible with the interest of
‘ his parishioners, and the merit of the ecclesiastic was viewed
‘ through a wrong and partial medium, when his fair legal es-
‘ tablished claims came to be balanced against the interest of
‘ his parishioners. The pastor was in short totally sunk in the
‘ tithe-collector, and not what he recommended, but what he
‘ sought or demanded, was the object which generally was kept
‘ up to the eye of those called upon to discharge it.’*

Such was the statement publicly made by a dignitary of the Established Church ; and if such then were the consequences of the tithe-system in a case where the incumbent had every quality which could tend to the production of a contrary feeling, what must they have been in the numberless instances which must necessarily occur in an Endowed Church, where the garb of the ecclesiastic had been assumed for lucre’s sake, and where (to use the language of the Reverend Prelate, in a stronger sense than we presume him to have intended) ‘ the pastor was
‘ (indeed) totally sunk in the tithe collector,’ and sought, not the flock, but the fleece. But even admitting, what was probably the fact, that in a majority of instances the payers of tithes were actuated by feelings of prejudice, dislike, and perverseness, how does that affect the question—the simple question whether it was politic or rational for the nation to support its clergy by a system of taxation which, in the nature of things, and as human beings are constituted, inevitably must and would produce those effects,—whether, in short, the laws were to be made for mankind as they are, or, as they are not ? It is perhaps impossible to name a tax which contains in its own nature a tendency to misunderstanding and dislike between the payer and the receiver, equal to that of tithe taken in kind. ‘ Its imme-
‘ diate action, even where parties are well disposed, is positively
‘ troublesome and wasteful. In the most busy seasons of the
‘ year, notices must be given ; and much time and attention
‘ taken up by the process of decimal division. The operations

* Debate on the *Ilmington Inclosure Bill*.

' of the cultivator are in the way of the tithe-drawer, and the
 ' tithe-drawer's operations interfere with those of the culti-
 ' vator.* Besides, there is in every man a natural repug-
 nancy to be deprived of that which has all the distinctive and
 external circumstances of being specifically his own, as op-
 posed to a mere medium of currency. Of that which has been
 raised by his own labour, nurtured by his own care, and which his
 own capital, skill, and anxiety, have been exclusively concerned
 in producing, there are few who can with much complacency
 admit another as a specific sharer. Those who know the differ-
 ence between paying rent through the medium of bank notes,
 and through the medium of a distress, will understand this very
 readily. Considered as a political evil, this circumstance may
 appear to be of small account; but we believe it in reality to be
 far otherwise. The ingenious Paley has given it its full weight.
 ' With respect to the encouragement of husbandry; (he re-
 ' marks,) in this, as in every other employment, the true reward
 ' of industry is in the price and sale of the produce. The ex-
 ' clusive right to the produce is the only incitement which acts
 ' constantly and universally; the only spring which keeps
 ' human labour in motion. All therefore that the laws can do
 ' is to secure this right to the occupier of the ground, that is, to
 ' constitute such a system of tenure that the full and entire ad-
 ' vantage of every improvement go to the benefit of the im-
 ' prover; that every man work for himself, and not for ano-
 ' ther; and that no one share in the profit, who does not assist
 ' in the production.† Somewhat further he resumes. ' But
 ' secondly, agriculture is discouraged by every constitution of
 ' landed property which lets in those who have no concern in the
 ' improvement to a participation of the profit. This objection
 ' is applicable to all such customs of manors as subject the pro-
 ' prietor, upon the death of the lord or tenant, or the alienation
 ' of the estate, to a fine apportioned to the improved value of
 ' the land. But of all institutions which are in this way adverse
 ' to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of
 ' tithes. A claimant here enters into the produce, who contri-
 ' buted no assistance whatever to the production. When years
 ' perhaps of care and toil have matured an improvement; when
 ' the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and in-
 ' dustry; the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain,
 ' he finds himself compelled to divide his harvest with a
 ' stranger.‡

* *Right to Church Property secured.* p. 98.

† *Principles*, Vol. II. p. 401.

‡ *Principles*, Vol. II. p. 448.

* Having every desire that our observations on this subject should

Our readers are now in possession of a rapid outline of those circumstances under which, as they are already informed, the tithe laws have in modern times become the subject of renewed discussion. On the 6th of April, 1781, a motion was made in the House of Lords, by the late Earl Bathurst, that their lordships should on a succeeding day resolve themselves into a committee to take into consideration the expediency of giving to the clergy, in certain cases, an adequate portion of land or other compensation in lieu of tithes.* Without entering upon any examination of the domestic details of the country at that period, it is sufficiently obvious from the mere fact of such a motion being made, that a strong and impatient sensation prevailed out of doors, of the increasing oppression of the system. Six and thirty years have now elapsed since that motion was made, and negatived; and during by far the greater part of that period, the burden has continued to be borne in silent suffering, with only an occasional solitary complaint from some particular class of the agricultural community, praying relief from some peculiarly intolerable operation of that system; at least without any vigorous or united attempt to call for the sense of the nation and the legislature upon the necessity of making some modifica-

be wholly governed by candour, we would not overlook the fact, that instances have been brought forward sufficiently authenticated, of parishes where the tithe is taken in kind, having rivalled if not excelled, in their state of cultivation, contiguous districts where the tithe was compounded, and even some which were discharged of tithe. That such instances have existed, we do not entertain the smallest doubt, nor is there any thing surprising in it to those who are aware of the multitude of fortuitous circumstances on which the state of cultivation in any district, at any given period of time, is dependent. But every candid reasoner is aware, that in inductions of the nature of those on which our knowledge of the operation of the tithe system is founded, the question must be, what is the general result, and not what are the partial exceptions. Of that result, we believe no unprejudiced person who has had opportunities of extensive observation, can entertain any doubt. Let us see what is the impression derived from a general inquiry in one of our greatest corn counties. ‘In every case where tithes in kind are payable and insisted upon, improvements slacken. This general rule will be found without exception, and a great majority of the Hertfordshire rectors are so sensible of this important truth, that they are satisfied with moderate compositions, the measure thereof following the improvement with a slow and steady pace, while a living profit to the improver is constantly kept in view. Were it not for this prudent moderation, there would be an end to boneing; chalking, top-dressing, and the other very expensive improvements of the county.’—*Walker’s Agric. Survey of Herts.* 74.

* See Journals, Lords, Vol. xxvi. p. 264.

tion in a plan of taxation containing in it a principle of advancing rapacity, unforeseen indeed, and unpremeditated in its origin, but which has left all the machinations of revenue financiers at an immeasurable distance behind it, in the rapidity and success of its progress. During the greater part of that period, the country has been involved in continental war; and though labouring under the united weight of tithes and war taxes, the large returns which the farmer could obtain for his produce, while he had the command of the market at war prices, induced him to submit without resistance to the unrestrained demands of the tithe owner, knowing, as he did, that redress was hopeless. For the greater part of those six and thirty years, then, the owners of tithes continued to observe, with no other sensation than that of complacency, the rapid increase of their incomes, and the farmer continued to pay his tithe with no other consequence than that of gradual alienation from those whom, in many instances perhaps unjustly, he identified with the oppression of a system which had become odious even to a proverb. But the scene shifted, and, like most other unexpected and violent transitions, it put the sufferers upon a critical examination of the causes of the predicament in which they found themselves placed. They looked upon each other and said, 'How has this evil come upon us?' And one of the results of that inquiry naturally was, to point their attention to those burdens, which, under the imposing shelter of war profits and war prices, had been gradually advancing upon them, till they had arrived at an amount which it was next to impossible to sustain with an open market and reduced consumption.

Under this state of things, the House of Commons at last rung with the supplications of the agricultural community, for relief against the oppression of the tithe laws, and the subject of commutation was again revived with an increased interest of discussion, and certainly with no inconsiderable degree of energy on both sides. Parliament has, indeed, in its wisdom, decided that the Commutation of tithes is not a measure which it is expedient to venture upon, and to some extent the discussion has in consequence dropped that earnestness and vehemence of tone and manner which it retained while the question was open to the immediate practical consequences of that discussion; but that the subject itself is thereby set at rest, can no more be predicated of it, than it can be of the question of Catholic Emancipation, that it was finally decided by the resolution of the Commons in May last, or of Reform in Representation, that it was conclusively negatived by the ministerial majority on Sir F. Burdett's motion of the 20th of the same month.

After all this discussion, however, the real question at issue is still egregiously misunderstood by great numbers. It

treated and represented as a question of mere party animosity between the clergy and the maintainers of their rights on the one hand, and those who dislike and revile the clergy on the other. We believe that nothing can be more unjust than this description. On very efficient means of information, we are convinced, that the revival of the subject of Commutation, during the last two sessions of parliament, has been almost exclusively the work of persons attached to the Establishment, and that it never was contemplated by any of them upon any other principle than that of *equivalent*. The question intended to be raised by them, was not whether the clergy were well entitled to be sharers of our property, but whether political wisdom, and regard to our national resources, did not require that a mode of contribution should be discovered which should maintain the Church in its accustomed affluence, without paralyzing the energies of the country, and demoralizing the feelings of the people. That the discussion has had any leaning towards the old controversy on the *right* to church property, we really believe the maintainers of that right have to thank themselves. The title to tithes, as a legal possession, was far too deeply rooted in public faith, and the character of the age was far too much opposed to revolutionary measures, for any man of common sense to think of calling upon the legislature to go into the historical question of the origin of the tithe owner's title; when an enjoyment of centuries, woven into the whole system of real property, in all its complicate connexions and dependencies, had rendered that origin perfectly immaterial. Had we been employed in forming or re-organizing a state, this question would have had its full importance; but nothing could be further from the circumstances of the times, than the disposition to any such employment. The champions of church property, however, overlooking their real and substantial security, met the question of Commutation, not as we humbly apprehend it would have been prudent to meet it, on the unencumbered ground of fair statistical discussion, and in the tone of rational moderation and vigilance; but with an inconsiderate zeal, for which we believe the clergy at large have too much good sense to thank them, they called forth in their defence the long slumbering phraseology of papal canons and black letter law, and with all the solemnity of unsuspecting confidence, exhorted the intermeddlers to desist from the unholy and impracticable interference with that which was 'of divine origin,' and of 'inherent and indefeasible right.' These were their trusted resources, and with what success they have resorted to them, we shall take the opportunity of a future number to make some brief inquiry. However unnecessary the introduction of the subject might be for the purposes of the discussion, the impatience of

falsehood is a sensation which we can neither expect nor desire to find absent from the human character; and if there were some who thought it their duty to surround the Church with such fortifications as these, there were others who thought it *their* duty to tell them, that at this time of day mankind are not to be tricked out of common sense with a juggle. The political question is however our present concern, and as space will not allow us to do more, we shall confine ourselves strictly to that.

Nothing can be more disingenuous than the logical trickery resorted to by the defenders of tithes, to meet the complaints which have been made of their effects upon cultivation. The main drift of their argument is, that tithes are complained of merely because they are a burthen upon the land; and that we have just as much right to complain that we have to pay rent or taxes, or any other burthen.—that the tithe-owner has as good, and even a better, because a more ancient title* to his tithe, than the landlord to his rent: that it is, in fact, nothing more than an *additional rent*, which the farmer calculates upon when he agrees for his farm, and regulates his terms accordingly. This is worse than trifling, because it is dishonest. Of tithes, simply as a burthen upon the land, the cultivator has no more right to complain, than he has of any other legal or conventional burthen; and to whom he pays them signifies but little. But they are *not* complained of *because* they are a burthen upon the land, but because they are a burthen which increases, not by reference to the *profits* of the cultivator, but by reference to his *produce*,—because the latter is no measure of the former; and because the more highly he cultivates his farm, the more violent is the discrepancy between them, and necessarily, in the same ratio, the more oppressive the tithe. The cultivator prays, not to be *exempted* from burthens, but that those burthens may be measured by his capacity;—that they may be measured, not by his loss, but by his gain;—that they may be imposed, not upon his expenditure, but upon the profits of his expenditure. We cannot agree with Mr. Coxe on the intemperance of this demand; we see nothing revolutionary, nothing of mere clamour, nothing dishonest in it. Had agriculture never emerged from its state of infancy, had it never been conducted upon the principles of trade, we do not believe the evil would have been commensurate with the outcry, and therefore we should have deprecated it on the same principle that we deprecate all un-

* We are repeatedly exhorted to consider that tithes are a tenure more ancient in this country than any other: that is to say, we suppose, that before the people were entitled to any part of the produce, the priests were entitled to take a tenth part from it. This is above our comprehension.

change; but however right it may be that the genealogy of a situation should sanctify its petty vices, there is a degree of immutability to which the cloak of antiquity will not extend, and as a power in public intelligence, when imperiously called upon, which can dismantle the most venerable system of bread of ages, and expose it in abstract and essential mass. Looking therefore at the amazing change of system recently taken place in modern times in rural economy, we see in the clamour against tithes, but what was to be expected, what is unavoidable, and what must continue so long as commutation shall remain unaccomplished.

A shock opposed to the spirit of enterprise, is a matter of such importance to be trifled with, and the supporters of the law have found it necessary to endeavour to get rid of this objection. But how have they succeeded? 'A proper calculation (says Mr. Coxe) would prove that the charge of tithes prevents the cultivation of such land only as, in its very nature, is too poor and too unfavourably situated, to repay the expence of cultivation.' *Coxe's First Letter*, p. 15. This is begging the question with a vengeance! Will Mr. Coxe have the kindness to show us by what species of logic it appears, that because land is too poor, or too unfavourably situated to repay the expence of cultivation under the operation of a tax which is oppressive exactly in proportion as the cultivation is less, that therefore the land would not repay the expence if the taxes were removed? 'Many assumed calculations (Mr. Coxe says in another place) have been exhibited to show the injury of tithes, and to prove that in instances of conversion of waste land to tillage, the charge of tithe has increased the expences beyond the returns, and absolutely amounted to prohibition. In fact, the plans of many distinguished agriculturists are so grand, and the execution so expensive, that they are utterly impracticable by the farmer, who makes agriculture his livelihood, and who, in seeking his own profit, does a real advantage to the country. It is therefore not reasonable nor just to adduce calculations founded on such chargeable experiments; and to represent, as a proposition to improvement, so petty a deduction as the value of tithes, which in no case can exceed a few shillings per acre. The conclusion ought rather to have been that such experiments were injudicious, or ignorantly conducted; or, as often happens, that an arable course was adopted, not for the sake of profit, but for the sake of reclaiming rough land

In exactly seven pages of this passage, Mr. Coxe designates the property amounting to the value of nearly one fourth of the whole kingdom.—*Three additional Letters*,

‘to a state of pasture.’ It really is to us perfectly incomprehensible how a gentleman of Mr. Coxe’s understanding and intelligence, can persuade himself to commit to writing, much less to print, any thing so illiberal and so contemptible as the above. Is he really ignorant of the importance of a spirit of enterprise and experiment? Has he yet to learn that nearly every thing deserving the name of advancement in science, owes its very existence to it? And would he seriously have us believe that improvements upon a bold scale ought not to be projected, and that it is no grievance if such improvements only are defeated? And is this—can this be the gentleman who complains that his opponents ‘do not sufficiently attend to the fundamental maxims of political economy?’ What says Adam Smith, a writer who has never, to our knowledge, been charged with want of information on that head? ‘The tithe (says he), as it is frequently a very unequal tax upon the land, so it is always a great discouragement both to the improvements of the landlord, and to the cultivation of the farmer. *The one cannot venture to make the most important, which are generally the most expensive improvements, nor the other to raise the most valuable which are generally the most expensive crops, when the Church, which lays out no expense, is to share so very largely in the profit.*’* After all, let us hear the ingenuous statement of a plain practical man. ‘Where the land is tithe free, and occupied by the owner, his interest (if he knows it,) and that of the public, exactly tally; the land will be brought to and continued in a proper state of manurage. *It is possible, in such cases, the public will have the best of the bargain, and land, thus circumstanced, though of the very worst quality, be mended for ever, and at an expense for which that amendment will never compensate the improver, who, actuated by a hope of future gain, which may never be realized, or the honest pride of decorating his rocks and sands with the cheerful face of smiling plenty, will build his tower before he calculates the expense.* But if the rector is to share crops, he will balance: a few plain figures will settle the profit to the rector, and the loss to himself; the lands will remain uncultivated, and the public never be benefited by the crops they would otherwise yield.’† We leave the reader to contrast this statement with Mr. Coxe’s, at his leisure: it would be an insult to his understanding to remark further upon it.

We have been at some pains to satisfy ourselves of the real cause that a Commutation of tithes is resisted on the part of the Church, because we are convinced that tithes are, in their own

* Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 3. p. 75.

† Walker’s *Agricultural Survey of Hertfordshire*, p. 74.

nature a property so vexatious and so troublesome, that there must be something more than the mere dislike of interference, to prevent the clergy's embracing with willingness the opportunity of exchanging so objectionable a property for one so eligible as a money payment regulated by the price of provisions. It is however a notorious fact, that the majority of the clergy, particularly the rectorial and dignified classes, are decidedly adverse to Commutation. The cause we believe to be this. The great objection to tithes being that they increase in value in an inordinate disproportion to the value of land, in consequence of their being measured by the produce and not by the profit, any method of commutation which should fail to remove this evil, would be futile for all the purposes of agricultural improvement or political economy.* The modes, therefore, proposed for commuting tithes, have been to convert the present incomes of the clergy arising from the tithes into an equivalent, either in land or in money, regulated in amount at stated intervals, by reference to the rise or fall in the price of corn on the average of those intervals, so as to preserve the *relative value* of the present income, without compounding it of that, and the increased or decreased quantity of titheable produce at the times of making the alterations. Nothing short of this, in the shape of commutation, would be worth the trouble of accomplishing; for although the power of drawing the tithe in kind might be abolished, it would be tithe still, and nothing but tithe, for all the destructive purposes we have adverted to in the commencement of this article. Here then is the obstacle which the clergy cannot get over; for as the probability is that the quantity of produce will continue to increase, rather than to decrease, and that improvements will still be effected, a commutation at the present value of the tithes, whether for land or corn-rent, would destroy the contingency of future increase of income. The real question then between the clergy and the agricultural interest, or to speak more correctly, the national interest, is, as has been candidly stated by one of the advocates of tithes, 'whether the clergy ought to require, or the substantial interests of the Church do require, that their incomes should increase faster than that of landed estates in general.'† This is a question on which it will unavoidably happen that different individuals will entertain different opinions. It is certain that some very acute writers have considered wealth as having a tendency to diminish rather than to increase the influence of the clergy.

* Of this nature is the plan suggested by Mr. Davis, of Longleat, in the Bath Society Papers on Agriculture. Vol. VIII. p. 239.

† See *An Enquiry concerning the influence of Tithes on Agriculture*. By the Rev. John Howlett. 1801. p. 52.

Hume, disliking that influence, vindicates the policy of an opulent establishment, as a bribe which purchases the useful inactivity of the priesthood. They have no longer, he supposes, any temptation to court a dangerous dominion over the minds of the people, because they are independent of it. And Mr. Gourlay has told us, in very uncereimonious language, that 'the Reformed Church of Scotland, being sweated down to most Christian poverty, began to fight, in reality, the good fight; and in the course of a very short time, its poor but enthusiastic ministers accomplished a revolution in the morals of the people, not perhaps to be paralleled in the pages of history. The clergy, for a season, left entirely destitute, acquired, at last, by the exercise of their genuine duties, an influence in the country, which all the wealth and power of Papal prelacy could not retain. They were heard in Parliament; and after a review of the captured property of the Church, a rational establishment was provided for them, out of the commuted tithes, as well as for the admirable institution of parochial schools.* We believe we may safely say, that the clergy of Scotland where tithes were commuted long before they had arrived at that relative value which they now possess in England, would not suffer in point of respectability or esteem by comparison with those of any other establishment.

With respect to the specific method of accomplishing a commutation, we are fully aware that it is a matter of great and stubborn difficulty, and that the detail is sufficiently complicated and laborious almost to intimidate the most skillful; but we know also that measures of still greater and more stubborn difficulty have been accomplished by resolute and energetic perseverance. What is more, we have the testimony of one of the greatest property lawyers that this or any generation has produced, and who is moreover attached to the Establishment, that the measure is practicable, and requires only the concurrence of Government to be effected with success.† Of the numerous propositions

* *Right to Church Property secured*, &c. p. 21

† 'Anxious as the agricultural interests are for a modification of the tithe laws—for a commutation which shall place them on a just footing—which shall on the one hand, secure to the clergy the fair value of their tithes, without the necessity of litigation, and without the liability to which they are exposed of frauds, &c. and on the other hand, shall protect the farmer from oppression, and from the liability to be taxed for his superior capital, skill, and industry, (a plan which is feasible and may easily be accomplished, when Government shall lend its aid to this measure of justice and policy,) no good or rational man would wish to overthrow our present institution, and commence the mad career of revolution, anarchy, and confusion.' *Preston's Address to the Fundholder*, &c. p. 23.

ably before the public, we cannot now attempt to enter into a particular examination; but we would remark that with regard to the nature of the substitute, it seems hardly to admit

doubt that a corn-rent is substantially the least open to objection of any that has been suggested. Indeed, the difficulties attendant upon a commutation for land, are so insurmountable, that we are astonished the idea should have been advocated by so many men of intelligence and talent. Independently of the great difficulty of procuring land eligibly situated to the extent which it would be required for a general commutation, and of the evil of locking up such a quantity of property in the fetters of mortmain, (an evil, the amount of which may be estimated from the fact, that commissioners under inclosure acts, usually give the clergyman entitled to one-fifth or one-sixth of the tillage land, and one-eighth or one-ninth of the pasture,) how can land-owners be compelled to provide the funds for the purchase of the Church estates; and if they did, how are the clergy to stock them; how can they in all cases be secure of tenants* ;

how can their successors be guaranteed against destructive incroachments? The methods which we have seen proposed to overcome these difficulties, are all more objectionable than the difficulties themselves. Besides, supposing even that the commuting fund was optional on the part of the proprietors, which would, we apprehend, cause endless confusion and embarrassment, we do not believe that in that case the commutation would even be effected to any great extent. The improbability is strongly illustrated in a printed letter which we have seen, purporting to be addressed to John Benett, of Pythouse, Esq., by Mr. James Dean, an eminent Surveyor of Exeter. 'Suppose,' says he, 'for the present, that all the land-owners are ready to purchase, provided there is a probability of their receiving a reasonable return for their money; and that the tithe owners are ready to sell, in case their incomes are not to be diminished by the transfer; let us examine, by a short calculation, how these parties are likely to agree. A. has an estate of 300 acres, whereof 100 are meadow and pasture, and 200 arable. The meadow and pasture being averaged at 3*l.* per acre, and the arable at 30*s.*, the amount of rent will be 600*l.* Now taking the value of the tithe of the meadow and pasture equal to one-fifth part, or 12½ average acres, and the annual value of 3*l.* per acre, the amount will be 37*l.* 10*s.*; and taking the arable at

In the debate on the Ilmington Inclosure Bill, the Bishop of David's (Dr. Warren) mentioned an instance which had come to his own knowledge, in the diocese of Lincoln, in which, after the payment in lieu of tithes was made and fenced, nobody would offer himself as a tenant. As the benefice produced nothing, the services of the Church were consequently discontinued.

‘one-fifth part, or 40 average acres, and the annual value at
 ‘30s. per acre, the amount will be 60*l.*, and together 97*l.* 10s.
 ‘This sum multiplied by 30 years purchase, the usual price of
 ‘land in your neighbourhood, would make the cost of the tithe
 ‘little short of 3000*l.* Now let me ask, do you believe that
 ‘one-fourth of all the land owners within the circle of your im-
 ‘mediate acquaintance, would purchase their tithes upon such
 ‘terms?’

It is undoubtedly true, that in many instances of inclosures, allotments of land in lieu of tithes have been adopted with success; but it is only, we believe, by arrangements like those which take place on inclosures, that the difficulties of the transaction can be surmounted. A corn-rent, on the contrary, is applicable to every circumstance of property, and the objections to it are such as it is within the power of the legislature to obviate. The majority in the number of cases in which this plan has been adopted in modern inclosures, seems to testify its experimental superiority over an equivalent in land. In the diocese of Lincoln, we understand, the plan has been adopted to a great extent, on the recommendation of the Bishop himself, by whom indeed it appears to have been first suggested in that district.

Of the bill lately depending in Parliament for enabling the clergy to grant leases of their tithes, so as to bind their successors, we wish to say a few words, because we are much mistaken if that bill will not be again brought forward in the ensuing session, and its consequences, if passed into a law, are, in our view, more important than is generally understood. The success of the measure does appear to us a matter of great concern to the agricultural community, for unless there shall turn out to be some radical defect in the machinery of the bill, it must succeed in obtaining one of the leading objects of commutation in a large proportion of cases. One of those objects we have seen, is to substitute some certain payment for a known period, in lieu of all the fluctuating and capricious demands to which the farmer is now liable at the will of the tithe-owner. He has then some certain data to act upon, and he may proceed to calculate upon the probable results of improvements, with little other risk than the unavoidable contingencies of the seasons. It is very true that there is nothing now to prevent the clergyman from making a lease of his tithes during his own incumbency, and it may perhaps be said, that neither the avidity of the farmer to obtain such lease, or the willingness of the tithe-owners to grant it, is so conspicuous as to hold out a prospect of any material benefit from the proposed enactment. But in point of fact, a lease subject to all the determinations of incumbency, in addition to the natural uncertainty of human life, is, for the purpose of improvements, very little better than no lease at all; and in many cases

which worse, since its only effect may be to entrap the farmer into calculations which, on the sudden avoidance of his lease, and the determination of the successor to take his tithe in kind, may prove his ruin. That the plan too of granting leases of the tithes to the farmer, has been not more generally adopted hitherto, is, we think, in a considerable degree to be referred to the difficulty experienced on the part of the tithe-owner of getting a rent by any means adequate to the real value of the tithe; and if we can shew that such difficulty arises almost entirely from the nature of the leases under the existing law, we shall to that extent have done away the objection to the utility of the proposed Act, arising from the fact that there is no general desire to make arrangements for leases of tithes. We have seen that it is principally with regard to improvements and to expensive cultivation, that tithes are injurious to agriculture. Whenever, therefore, it is proposed to the farmer to convert his tithes into a fixed rent, and bind himself to certain money payments, whatever may be the success of the season, the question in his mind as to the expediency of that measure will naturally be, what advantages will it hold out to him with a view to increasing the produce of his land by a more expensive system of cultivation. Now, as the law stands at present with regard to clerical leases, we have only to repeat what we have just remarked, that for all the purposes of improvement, such a lease is about equivalent to no lease at all. What remaining inducement then is there to the farmer to bind himself to a certain unyielding rent, be the season favourable or unfavourable? None, if you call upon him to render a payment equal or nearly equal to the real value of the tithe. He therefore reasons very naturally and very fairly thus: 'If I am to undertake to render a certain sum to you in all events, I must have some equivalent on my part:—I must have some deduction from the real value of the tithe, in the amount of that sum which shall make it worth my while to enter into the undertaking. If I am to pay you the full value of the tithe, or something very near it, you shall take the chance of the seasons with me.' If we are correct in stating this to be the leading cause of the difficulty experienced by the clerical tithe-owner in getting a rent any thing like the value of the tithe, it does not require any chain of reasoning to shew that this difficulty will not apply to cases affording to the farmer a substantial foundation for his calculations upon improved cultivation, by the certainty of their duration for the given period. He will then see it is worth his while to bind himself to a rent very nearly approaching to the present value of the tithe, since by so doing, he will ensure to himself the benefit of an investment of capital in that mode which the nature of his farm, and the progress of agricultural knowledge,

shall point out as the best means of obtaining an increased produce; and that the operation of the proposed Act would, in consequence, be to advance the rents of tithe leases to the clergy, we can scarcely entertain a doubt. Indeed we are much misinformed, if instances have not already occurred of farmers offering to take leases of their tithes at advanced rents, in case the bill referred to should pass into a law. The great complaint now is, whenever improvements are contemplated, that however considerate and indulgent the present incumbent may be, and however reasonable an arrangement he may be inclined to make to enable the cultivator to carry those improvements into effect, there is no security against an opposite conduct on the part of his successor, who may choose to take his tithe in kind, or insist upon a composition to the full value, and thereby blast the prospects of the farmer after he shall have sunk his capital in the land. It is the great merit of Mr. Newman's bill, that it would enable the tithe owner and the farmer to come to such an arrangement as would enable the latter to prosecute his improvements secure from this danger; a danger which is admitted even by the advocates of tithes, to amount almost to a prohibition. But it is absurd to go the length of some of the promoters of the measure, and say, that this power of leasing is all that is wanted to remove the grievances of the tithe system. As enabling the clergy to shew that they are willing to enter into any fair arrangement which may remove a leading objection to that system, we should hail the measure of authorizing them to grant such leases; but it is yet to be shewn that there is not only a power, but a will,—it is yet to be shewn that an optional, discretionary authority,—discretionary in three several stages of its progress; discretionary, 1st, in the clergyman to grant the lease; 2dly, in the bishop to consent to it; and 3dly, in the patron to ratify such consent; is to have the desired effect of introducing a system of voluntary, virtual commutation for successive periods of years, unobstructed by hostility or prejudice against the cultivator, by misinformation or partial views on the part of the diocesan, or by local interests and motives on that of the patron. For one radical evil of the tithe system too, the measure is wholly remediless; namely, the inordinately disproportioned advance in the value of tithes, compared with that of land. For even supposing that such leases are generally adopted, yet, on each successive renewal, the rent must be estimated not merely by reference to the average price of corn, as in the case of corn rents, but upon a calculation compounded of that and the *then* amount of the tenth of the produce, under a more expensive system of culture; so that the tithe rents will still continue to advance

in the same disproportion to the rent of land, as the tithe itself does now, though at more distant periods of time.

We shall here conclude the observations which we have been already drawn into at greater length than we contemplated, on that part of our subject which regards tithes as influencing the operations of agriculture. If these observations have any merit, it is that they have been dictated in the absence of party feeling, and that they are the result of conviction, and not of prejudication. What the sentiments understood to be professed by this Journal may be with regard to the abstract question of the expediency of ecclesiastical establishments, or the propriety of supporting such establishments by compulsory laws, does not, for the purpose of this discussion, signify one iota. Professing ourselves deeply attached to the constitution of this country, and devoted to its constitutional authorities, so long as those authorities shall continue to think the support of the establishment in the existing mode a measure of national policy, we on our parts can do no otherwise than regard the property in tithes as a property equally valid with any other sanctioned by legislative protection; and as such, we should contribute to it upon the same principle that we contribute to any other parliamentary imposition, as a consequence of that social compact, of which, as we claim the benefit, we must take our share of the burden.* The civil obedience, however, which

* The writer of this article (who, whether the information may be pleasing or displeasing to the reader, is certainly not a Dissenter, whatever his sentiments may be with regard to religious establishments as a question of political philosophy,) finds himself under the necessity of differing from an opinion which he believes is entertained by some Dissenters, namely, that a State is not justified in taxing its subjects to the support of religious offices which they do not approve of and cannot conscientiously attend, and consequently, that Dissenters ought not to be called upon to pay tithes to the Establishment.

It appears to him that so long as the support of the Establishment by legal provisions shall be deemed necessary or proper by the constitutional authorities, they have an undoubted right to tax the community of every description for that purpose; and that a difference of opinion entertained by individuals as to the fitness of the *object*, is no more a ground for exemption from contribution, than a difference of opinion on any other question of political economy, is a ground of exemption from payment of the taxes applicable to the measure disapproved. The State enjoins me to pay,—by force of the social compact the State has a right to my obedience; and my paying is the evidence, not of my submission of opinion, but of my civil obedience to the State. Under every possible form of government, individual will must, for all practical purposes, be sacrificed to the public will, as proclaimed by the constituted organs. If the State applies, or

we owe to those 'placed in authority over us,' does not in any way preclude us from meeting the question in any shape in which the advocates of tithes think fit to put it, and we shall accordingly at an early opportunity resume our observations upon claims of another nature, which, if it had rested with us, should still have remained in that obscurity which best befits them.

(To be continued.)

orders me to apply the money paid to an object which I do not apprehend to be aid-worthy, that is no ground for my refusal to obey—or there is an end of civil obedience at once, and the private opinion of every individual becomes the measure of his civil submission. All this has nothing to do with the question of the right of the State to dictate in matters of religion, which the writer is the last person in the world who would attempt to advocate, because the payment of tithe is not required by the State as evidence of assent to the doctrines or discipline of the Church, nor is any such meaning attached to it. I am in no other dilemma with regard to tithes, than I am with regard to levies of any other description, the purpose of which I may think morally or politically unjustifiable. The State, provided I pay my taxes, leaves me in the undoubted possession of any private opinion I may think fit to entertain. It never attempts to tell me that I have pledged my individual assent to the cause, by contributing my quota towards its requisitions. The writer is happy to find that his view of the subject is countenanced by a man of considerable erudition, whose name is, he understands, still held by Protestant Dissenters in much veneration. 'Tithes (says he), when first established among Christian states, were thought a very great hardship, as is evident from the manner in which they were introduced,—from the severe laws which anciently enjoined their payment,—and from the pious frauds made use of both here, and on the continent, in order to prevail with the people to consider them as a Christian duty, as well as an injunction of the State. But they cannot well be looked on now as an oppression, length of time has taken away the causes of reasonable complaint, some circumstances excepted which affect the landholders only, and which are not at all of a religious nature. There is not a family in the kingdom which has any legal and just right to more than nine parts of those estates that pay tithes. Not more than nine parts are ever purchased and no dissenter, I suppose, will attempt to prove that the lands which he now possesses have been in his family ever since the days of Alfred or his son Edward. To refuse tithes would be to usurp a property which is not our own, and to which we can have no just claim, and would be equally inconsistent with our common notions of right and wrong, and with the acknowledged principles of every civil government.' *The Rev John Fell's Fourth Letter to the Rev. Mr. Pickard on Genuine Protestantism, 1775, p. 13.*

rt. V. *Poems*. By John Keats. f. cap 8vo. pp. 121. Ollier. London. 1817.

THERE is perhaps no description of publication that comes before us, in which there is for the most part discovered as of what is emphatically denominated *thought*, than in a volume of miscellaneous poems. We do not speak of works which obviously bear the traits of incapacity in the Author. Productions of this kind abound in more than one department of literature; yet in some of those which rank at the very lowest degree of mediocrity, there is occasionally displayed a struggling effort of mind to do its best, which gives an interest and a character to what possesses no claims to originality of genius, or to intrinsic value. But poetry is that one class of written compositions, in which the business of expression seems often so completely to engross the Author's attention, as to suspend altogether that exercise of the rational faculties which we term thinking; as if in the same limited sense as that in which we speak of the arts of music and painting, poetry also might be termed an art; and in that case indeed the easiest of arts, as requiring less previous training of faculty, and no happy peculiarity either in the conformation of the organs, or in the acquired delicacy of the perceptions. So accustomed however are we to find poetry thus characterized, as consisting in the mysteries of verification and expression, so learnedly treated of in all the "*Arts of Poetry*" extant, from Horace down to Mr. Bysshe, that it is not surprising that the generality of those who sit down to write verses, should aim at no higher intellectual exertion, than the melodious arrangement of 'the cross readings of memory.' Poetry is an art, and it is an elegant art: and so is the writing of prose, properly speaking, an art likewise; and they are no otherwise distinguishable from each other, than as being different styles of composition suited to different modes of thought. Poetry is the more ornate, but not, perhaps, in its simpler forms, the more artificial style of the two: the purpose, however, to which it is directed, requires a more minute elaboration of expression, than prose. But what should we think of a person's professedly sitting down to write prose, or to read prose composition, without reference to any subject, or to the quality of the thoughts, without any definite object but the amusement afforded by the euphonous collocation of sentences? As a school exercise, the employment, no doubt, would be beneficial; but were the writer to proceed still further, and publish his prose, not for any important or interesting sentiment conveyed in his work, but as presenting polished specimens of the beautiful art of prose-writing, it would certainly be placed to the account of mental aberration.

On what ground, then, does the notion rest, that poetry is a

something so sublime, or that so inherent a charm resides in words and syllables arranged in the form of verse, that the value of the composition is in any degree independent of the meaning which links together the sentences? We admit that rhythm and cadence, and rhymed couplets, have a pleasurable effect upon the ear, and more than this, that words have in themselves a power of awakening trains of association, when the ideas which they convey are very indistinct, and do not constitute or account for the whole impression. It may be added, that the perception of skill or successful art, is also attended with pleasurable emotions; and this circumstance forms, in addition to what we have already mentioned, a powerful ingredient in the whole combination of effect produced by genuine poetry: but that the mere art of setting words to the music of measure, should come to be regarded as the chief business of poetry, and the ultimate object of the writer, is so whimsical a prejudice, that after a brief exposition of the fact, it may be worth while to inquire a little into its cause.

As to the fact, it would be travelling too far out of the record, to make this notice of a small volume of poems, a pretence for instituting an examination of all the popular poets of the day. Suffice it to refer to the distinct schools into which they and their imitators, as incurable mannerists, are divided, as some evidence that mode of expression has come to form too much the distinguishing characteristic of modern poetry. Upon an impartial estimate of the intellectual quality of some of those poems which rank the highest in the public favour, it will be found to be really of a very humble description. As works of genius, they may deservedly rank high, because there is as much scope for genius in the achievements of art as in the energies of thought; but as productions of mind, in which respect their real value must after all be estimated, they lay the reader under small obligations. Wordsworth is by far the deepest thinker of our modern poets, yet he has been sometimes misled by a false theory, to adopt a puerile style of composition; and it is remarkable, that the palpable failure should be charged on his diction, which is attributable rather to the character of the thoughts themselves; they were not adapted to any form of poetical expression, inasmuch as they are not worth being expressed at all. Scott, of all our leading poets, though the most exquisite artist, occupies the lowest rank in respect to the intellectual quality of his productions. Scarcely an observation or a sentiment escapes him, in the whole compass of his poetry, that even the beauty of expression can render striking or worth being treasured up by the reader for after reference. The only passages recurred to with interest, or cited with effect, are those admirable specimens of scenic painting in which he succeeds

beyond almost every poet, in making one see and hear whatever he describes. But when we descend from such writers as confessedly occupy the first rank, to the $\alpha\ \pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ of their imitators, respectable as many of them are, and far above mediocrity, considered as artists, the characters of sterling thought, of intellect in action, become very faint and rare. It is evident that, in their estimation, to write poetry is an achievement which costs no laborious exercise of faculty; is an innocent recreation rather, to which the consideration of any moral purpose would be altogether foreign.

Now, on turning from the polished versification of the elegant artists of the present day, to the rugged numbers of our early poets, the most obvious feature in the refreshing contrast is, the life and the vividness of thought diffused over their poetry. We term this originality, and ascribe the effect either to their pre-eminent genius, or to the early age in which they flourished, which forced upon them the toil of invention. But originality forms by no means a test of intellectual pre-eminence; and we have proof sufficient, that originality does not necessarily depend on priority of time. Provided the person be capable of the requisite effort of abstraction, nothing more is necessary in order to his attaining a certain degree of originality, than that his thoughts should bear the stamp of individuality, which is impressed by self-reflective study. In the earlier stages of the arts, we behold mind acting from itself, through the medium of outward forms, consulting its own purpose as the rule of its working, and referring to nature as its only model. But when the same arts have reached the period of more refined cultivation, they cease to be considered as means through which to convey to other minds the energies of thought and feeling: the productions of art become themselves the ultimate objects of imitation, and the mind is acted upon by them instead of acting through them from itself. Mind cannot be imitated; art can be: and when imitative skill has brought an art the nearest to perfection, it is then that its cultivation is the least allied to mind: its original purpose, as a mode of expression, becomes wholly lost in the artificial object,—the display of skill.

We consider poetry as being in the present day in this very predicament; as being reduced by the increased facilities of imitation, to an elegant art, and as having suffered a forcible divorce from thought. Some of our young poets have been making violent efforts to attain originality, and in order to accomplish this, they have been seeking with some success for new models of imitation in the earlier poets, presenting to us as the result, something of the quaintness, as well as the freedom and boldness of expression characteristic of those writers, in the form and with the

effect of novelties. But after all, this specious sort of originality lies wholly in the turn of expression; it is only the last effort of the cleverness of skill to turn eccentric, when the perfection of correctness is no longer new. We know of no path to legitimate originality, but one, and that is, by restoring poetry to its true dignity as a vehicle for noble thoughts and generous feelings, instead of rendering meaning the mere accident of verse. Let the comparative insignificance of art be duly appreciated, and let the purpose and the meaning be considered as giving the expression all its value; and then, so long as men think and feel for themselves, we shall have poets truly and simply original.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing the Author of these Poems, to be capable of writing good poetry, for he has the requisite fancy and skill which constitute the talent. We cannot, however, accept this volume as any thing more than an immature promise of possible excellence. There is, indeed, little in it that is positively good, as to the quality of either the thoughts or the expressions. Unless Mr. Keats has designedly kept back the best part of his mind, we must take the narrow range of ideas and feelings in these Poems, as an indication of his not having yet entered in earnest on the business of intellectual acquirement, or attained the full development of his moral faculties. To this account we are disposed to place the deficiencies in point of sentiment sometimes bordering upon childishness, and the nebulous character of the meaning in many passages which occur in the present volume. Mr. Keats dedicates his volume to Mr. Leigh Hunt, in a sonnet which, as possibly originating in the warmth of gratitude, may be pardoned its extravagance; and he has obviously been seduced by the same partiality, to take him as his model in the subsequent poem, to which is affixed a motto from the "Story of Rimini." To Mr. Hunt's poetical genius we have repeatedly borne testimony, but the affectation which vitiates his style must needs be aggravated to a ridiculous excess in the copyist. Mr. Hunt is sometimes a successful imitator of the manner of our elder poets, but this imitation will not do at second hand, for ceasing then to remind us of those originals, it becomes simply displeasing.

Our first specimen of Mr. Keats's powers, shall be taken from the opening of the poem alluded to.

* I stood tip-toe upon a little hill,
The air was cooling and so very still,
That the sweet buds which with a modest pride
Pall droopingly, in slanting curve aside,
Their scanty leaved, and finely tapering stems,
Had not yet lost those starry diadems
Caught from the early sobbing of the morn.
The clouds were pure and white as flocks new shorn,

And fresh from the clear brook ; sweetly they slept
 On the blue fields of heaven, and then there crept
 A little noiseless noise among the leaves,
 Born of the very sigh that silence heaves :
 For not the faintest motion could be seen
 Of all the shades that slanted o'er the green.
 There was wide wand'ring for the greediest eye,
 To peer about upon variety ;
 Far round the horizon's crystal air to skim,
 And trace the dwindled edgings of its brim ;
 To picture out the quaint, and curious bending
 Of a fresh woodland alley, never ending ;
 Or by the bowery clefts, and leafy shelves,
 Guess where the jaunty streams refresh themselves,
 I gazed awhile, and felt as light, and free
 As though the fanning wings of Mercury
 Had played upon my heels : I was light-hearted,
 And many pleasures to my vision started ;
 So I straight-way began to pluck a posey,
 Of luxuries bright, milky, soft, and rosy.'

' A bush of May flowers with the bees about them ;
 Ah, sure no tasteful nook would be without them ;
 And let a lush laburnum oversweep them,
 And let long grass grow round the roots to keep them
 Moist, cool, and green ; and shade the violets
 That they may bind the moss in leafy nets.
 A filbert hedge with wild briar overtwined
 And clumps of wood-bine taking the soft wind
 Upon their summer thrones ; there too should be
 The frequent chequer of a youngling tree,
 That with a score of light green brethren shoots
 From the quaint mossiness of aged roots :
 Round which is heard a spring-head of clear waters
 Babbling so wildly of its lovely daughters
 The spreading bluebells : it may haply mourn
 That such fair clusters should be rudely torn
 From their fresh beds, and scattered thoughtlessly
 By infant hands, left on the path to die.

' Open afresh your round of starry folds,
 Ye ardent marigolds !
 Dry up the moisture from your golden lids,
 For great Apollo bids
 That in these days your praises should be sung
 On many harps, which he has lately strung ;
 And when again your dewiness he kisses,
 Tell him, I have you in my world of blisses ;
 So haply when I rove in some far vale.
 His mighty voice may come upon the gale.

' Here are sweet-peas, on tiptoe for a flight
 With wings of gentle flush o'er delicate whites,

And taper fingers catching at all things,
To bind them all about with tiny rings.'

There is certainly considerable taste and sprightliness in some parts of this description, and the whole poem has a sort of summer's day glow diffused over it, but it shuts up in mist and obscurity.

After a 'specimen of an induction to a poem,' we have next a fragment, entitled Calidore, which, in the same indistinct and dreamy style, describes the romantic adventure of a Sir Somebody, who is introduced 'paddling o'er a lake,' edged with easy slopes and 'swelling leafiness,' and who comes to a castle gloomy and grand, with halls and corridor, where he finds 'sweet-lipped ladies,' and so forth; and all this is told with an air of mystery that holds out continually to the reader the promise of something interesting just about to be told, when, on turning the leaf, the Will o' the Wisp vanishes, and leaves him in darkness. However ingenious such a trick of skill may be, when the writer is too indolent, or feels incompetent to pursue his story, the production cannot claim to be read a second time; and it may therefore be questioned, without captiousness, whether it was worth printing for the sake of a few good lines which ambitiously aspired to overleap the portfolio.

The 'epistles' are much in the same style, all about poetry, and seem to be the first efflorescence of the unpruned fancy, which must pass away before any thing like genuine excellence can be produced. The sonnets are perhaps the best things in the volume. We subjoin one addressed 'To my brother George.'

'Many the wonders I this day have seen :
The sun, when first he kist away the tears
That fill'd the eyes of morn;—the laurel'd poem,
Who from the feathery gold of evening lean;—
The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,
Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears,
Its voice mysterious, which whoso hears
Must think on what will be, and what has been.
E'en now, dear George, while this for you I write,
Cynthia is from her silken curtains peeping
So scanty, that it seems her bridal night,
And she her half-discover'd revels keeping.
But what without the social thought of thee,
Would be the wonders of the sky and sea?'

The 'strange assay' entitled Sleep and Poetry, if its forming the closing poem indicates that it is to be taken as the result of the Author's latest efforts, would seem to shew that he is indeed far gone, beyond the reach of the efficacy either of praise or censure, in affectation and absurdity. We must indulge the reader with a specimen.

' Will not some say that I presumptuously
 Have spoken ? that from hastening disgrace
 'Twere better far to hide my foolish face ?
 That whining boyhood should with reverence bow
 Ere the dread thunderbolt could reach ? *How !*
 If I do hide myself, it sure shall be
 In the very fane, the light of Poesy :
 If I do fall, at least I will be laid
 Beneath the silence of some poplar shade ;
 And over me the grass shall be smooth shaven ;
 And there shall be a kind memorial graven.
 But off Despondence ! miserable bane !
 They should not know thee, who athirst to gain
 A noble end, are thirsty every hour.
 What though I am not wealthy in the dower
 Of spanning wisdom ; though I do not know
 The shiftings of the mighty winds that blow
 Hither and thither all the changing thoughts
 Of man : though no great minist'ring reason sorts
 Out the dark mysteries of human souls
 To clear conceiving ; yet there ever rolls
 A vast idea before me, and I glean
 Therefrom my liberty ; thence too I've seen
 The end and aim of Poetry.'

We must be allowed, however, to express a doubt whether its nature has been as clearly perceived by the Author, or he surely would never have been able to impose even upon himself as poetry the precious nonsense which he has here decked out in rhyme. Mr. Keats speaks of

' The silence when some rhymes are coming out,
 And when they're come, *the very pleasant rout ;*'

and to the dangerous fascination of this employment we must attribute this half-awake rhapsody. Our Author is a very facetious rhymers. We have *Wallace* and *solace*, *tenderness* and *slenderness*, *burrs* and *sepulchres*, *favours* and *behaviours*, *livers* and *rivers* ;—and again,

' *Where we may soft humanity put on,*
 And sit and rhyme, and think on *Chatterton*.'

Mr. Keats has satirized certain *pseudo* poets, who,

' With a puling infant's force,
 Sway'd about upon a rocking horse,
 And thought it *Pegasus*.'

Satire is a two-edged weapon : the lines brought irresistibly to our imagination the Author of these poems in the very attitude he describes. Seriously, however, we regret that a young man of vivid imagination and fine talents, should have

fallen into so bad hands, as to have been flattered into the resolution to publish verses, of which a few years hence he will be glad to escape from the remembrance. The lash of a critic is the thing the least to be dreaded, as the penalty of premature publication. To have committed one's self in the character of a versifier, is often a formidable obstacle to be surmounted in after-life, when other aims require that we should obtain credit for different, and what a vulgar prejudice deems opposite qualifications. No species of authorship is attended by equal inconvenience in this respect. When a man has established his character in any useful sphere of exertion, the fame of the poet may be safely sought as a finish to his reputation. When he has shewn that he can do something else besides writing poetry, then, and not till then, may he safely trust the public with his secret. But the sound of a violin from a barrister's chamber, is not a more fatal augury than the poet's lyre strummed by a youth whose odes are as yet all addressed to Hope and Fortune.

But perhaps the chief danger respects the individual character, a danger which equally attends the alternative of success or failure. Should a young man of fine genius, but of half-furnished mind, succeed in conciliating applause by his first productions, it is a fearful chance that his energies are not dwarfed by the intoxication of vanity, or that he does not give himself up to the indolent day-dream of some splendid achievement never to be realized. Poetical fame, when conceded to early productions, is, if deserved, seldom the fruit of that patient self-cultivation and pains-taking, which in every department of worthy exertion are the only means of excellence; and it is but the natural consequence of this easy acquisition of gratification, that it induces a distaste for severer mental labour. Should, however, this fatal success be denied, the tetchy aspirant after fame is sometimes driven to seek compensation to his mortified vanity, in the plaudits of some worthless coterie, whose friendship consists in mutual flattery, or in community in crime, or, it may be, to vent his rancour in the satire of envy, or in the malignity of patriotism.

Exceptions, brilliant exceptions, are to be found in the annals of literature, and these make the critic's task one of peculiar delicacy. The case has occurred, when a phlegmatic Reviewer, in a fit of morning spleen, or of after-dinner dulness, has had it in his power to dash to the ground, by his pen, the innocent hopes of a youth struggling for honourable distinction amid all the disadvantages of poverty, or to break the bruised reed of a tender and melancholy spirit; but such an opportunity of doing

schief must of necessity be happily rare. Instances have also been, in which the performances of maturer life have fully redeemed the splendid pledge afforded by the young Author, in his first crude and unequal efforts, with which he has had to contend the stern critic that he did not rest self-satisfied. Upon the latter kind of exceptions, we would wish to fix Mr. Keats's attention, feeling perfectly confident, as we do, that the patronage of the friend he is content to please, places him wholly without the danger of adding to the number of those who are lost to the public for want of the smile of praise.

Mr. Keats has, however, a claim to leave upon our readers the impression of his poetry ; and we shall therefore give insertion to another of his sonnets, which we have selected as simple and pleasing.

‘ Happy is England ! I could be content
To see no other verdure than its own ;
To feel no other breezes than are blown
Through its tall woods with high romances blent :
Yet I do sometimes feel a languishment
For skies Italian, and an inward groan
To sit upon an Alp as on a throne,
And half forget what world or worldling meant.
Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters ;
Enough their simple loveliness for me,
Enough their whitest arms in silence clinging :
Yet do I often warmly burn to see
Beauties of deeper glance, and hear their singing,
And float with them about the summer waters.’

. VI. *The Bible Class Book ; or Scripture Readings for every Day in the Year : being Three Hundred and Sixty Five Lessons, selected from the most instructive and improving parts of the Sacred scriptures.* 12mo. pp. 544. Price 6s. bound. Lackington and Co. 1817.

THE Compiler of this selection states in his Preface, that the ‘ regular reading of the Bible in our schools and seminaries is declining,’ which was once in universal practice, has grown into disuse ; and the principal reason is, as he imagines, ‘ the want of a *practical* selection keeping pace with the improved plans on which modern school books have been compiled, and being, like the present, adapted universally to Christian youth, of all classes and denominations.’ He has affixed to the title-page a quotation, purporting to be from Dr. Watts, and expressing a wish that ‘ select portions of Scripture were chosen out, and printed by themselves, for children, that their time might not be spent in such parts of the Bible as are of very little use to them.’

Notwithstanding this high authority, and the apparent good intention of the Compiler, the objections to the adoption of such a substitute for the sacred Scriptures in schools, appear to counterbalance, and more than counterbalance the advantages.

In the first place, this professed adaptation of the Bible, upon the principle of selection, to Christian youth of all classes and denominations, seems to imply that there are some denominations of Christians to whom certain parts of the Holy Scriptures are not adapted, or at least not acceptable; and that in order to obtain for a selection the character of universal adaptation, those parts must of course be sacrificed. What those objectionable parts of Divine truth are, we can gather only from its being termed a *practical* selection, which is to obtain that favour in our schools and seminaries of learning which is denied to the entire Scriptures. It is then on account of the doctrines of the Bible that, as it should seem, the reading of it has sunk into disuse. Really, if this be the fact, we cannot consider the attempt to introduce an expurgated Bible into general use, in any other light than as a compromise unjustifiable in its principle, and fraught with infinite mischief.

But, in the second place, the plan is extremely dangerous as a precedent. Allowing that in the present selection there is no designed omission of any of those passages which are strongly marked by the peculiarities of the Christian system,—what security have we against an inundation of Bible Class Books from other anonymous compilers, in which the plan of universal adaptation shall be carried to the utmost perfection that could be desired by that foe to all creeds, Mr. Robert Owen himself.

In the next place, with all due deference to Dr. Watts, the printing of select portions of Scripture by themselves, any further than as the separate distribution of the New Testament may be so considered, strikes us as perfectly unnecessary even for the object he mentions. It is ridiculous to talk of children losing their time in reading the parts of Scripture which are of little use to them; since we apprehend there is no school or seminary of learning, in which children are left to make their election as to what parts they shall read. In most cases, the New Testament alone is put into their hands in the first instance; and when the whole Bible is given them, it remains to be determined by the discretion of the master, or teacher, what parts they shall read in class. If the master be really incompetent to direct their reading, he is obviously unworthy, to the last degree, of the confidence that is reposed in him; and the choice of class books, committed, as it must be, to such a person, would be a circumstance exceedingly to be deprecated.

And further, the principle of selection seems to us to be founded on a very defective view of the character of the sacred volume, which rests its claims to universal acceptance, not simply, or perhaps it might be said, not at all, upon the moral excellence or supposed usefulness of its contents; for of this the beings to whom these contents are addressed, cannot assume to be *a priori* competent judges, but upon the Divine authority from which it proceeds; an authority extending to every precept, and every declaration, and every statement which it contains. Now, reduce this Bible to a mere class book, and though the portions selected be literally the same as they stand in the sacred records, still it is no longer the Bible; that Bible, which, *as a whole*, claims to be distinguished from every other book, is not only entitled to peculiar reverence, but as demanding an indiscriminating acceptance; which ought not, therefore, to be familiarized, even to a school boy, in any form that tends to obscure its authoritative character, or to weaken its hold upon his mind.

Lastly: we must deprecate the plan of selection, because we deny that any objection lies to reading the Bible regularly 'through and through;' and because we deny, that even with regard to children, any individual has a right, by other means than directing their perusal, to exclude a part of the word of God from universal inspection and perusal. On this account,—to adopt the language of an eloquent writer, in reference to the similar restrictions which, on a more extended scale, the enemies of the free circulation of the Scriptures have advocated, on the same plea of adaptation to popular use,—we feel insuperable objections to the jealous policy of the system; 'nor are we disposed to ascribe to any description of men whatever, that control over Divine communications, which such a measure implies. We are persuaded that no man possesses a right to curtail the gifts of God, or to deal out, with a sparing hand, what was intended for universal patrimony. If the manner in which Revelation was imparted is such as makes it manifest that it was originally designed for the benefit of all, we are at a loss to conceive how any man can have a right, by his interference, to render it inaccessible. From the word of God there can be no appeal; it must decide its own character, and determine its own pretensions. Thus much we must be allowed to assume, that if it was originally given to mankind indiscriminately, no power upon earth is entitled to restrict it; because, on the supposition which we are now making, since every man's original right in it was equal, that right can be cancelled by no authority but that which bestowed it. Every attempt to alter it, is an act of extreme presumption and

'impiety: it is to assume a superiority over Revelation itself*.'

But the introduction of a Bible Class Book, is not, it may be said, intended to preclude or to interfere with the private reading of the sacred Scriptures even in schools. We reply, that it would at any rate *tend* to supersede the Bible itself, inasmuch as it would take away one constantly recurring occasion for the using of it. We cannot persuade ourselves that the disuse of the Scriptures is so lamentably general as the Compiler of the present selection insinuates. There are certainly days on which the reading of the Bible is still kept up in those seminaries in which the practice of constant reading may have lost ground. We should apprehend that a Bible Class Book would have just the effect of banishing the Bible itself altogether. This the Prayer Book in former times succeeded in accomplishing to a great extent, when it enjoyed an undisturbed preference of the sacred volume; and the advocates of the Prayer Book seem, from their dread of the consequences of circulating the Bible among the poorer classes, to attribute to the latter a sort of power of *retaliation*. Whatever makes the Bible, for any practical purposes, less necessary to be had, and kept at hand, and recurred to, most assuredly tends to interfere with its circulation. It has always been deemed a circumstance of the most important and beneficial nature, that children were at least at school accustomed to read, and therefore necessarily put in possession of the Bible. But give them a Bible Class Book at school, and the Book of Common Prayer at church, and the Bible itself will soon be considered by the economical parent, as a needless expense, and by the boy himself perhaps as a useless incumbrance. It should be mentioned that the price of this Class Book is the same as the Nonpareil Bible.

We wish it to be understood, that our objections do not relate to the execution of the present work: that does not appear to us, on a superficial inspection, to be in itself reprehensible. We only regret that the pains bestowed on the compilation, have been, at least in our opinion, completely thrown away.

* See "Speech delivered at the Seventh Anniversary of the Auxiliary Bible Society at Leicester, July 15, 1817. By the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M." 8vo. London, 4d.

Art. VII.—*A Catechetical Treatise on the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Sabbath ; with a View to enforce from Scripture Authority, the more careful Observance of the Lord's Day.* By Thomas Wemyss, Author of *Biblical Gleanings, &c.* 24mo. pp. 106. Price 1s. 6d. Edinburgh, Robertson ; Ogle and Co. London, 1816.

WE cordially approve of the design of this little publication. At a time that the religious observance of the Lord's Day is openly violated by the highest authorities in the land, and the infection of evil example has reached every class in society, it is of peculiar importance that the Christian world should be fortified by every legitimate argument in those principles upon which the obligation and importance of a sabbath rest. Even those persons to whom Mr. Wemyss alludes, as entertaining doubts 'whether the observance of the first day of the week be obligatory on them, or can be proved to be so from Scripture,' would we imagine, very gladly be relieved from those doubts by having the point cleared up on sufficient evidence. It is not, as we presume, from any wish to get rid of its observance, which upon moral grounds they may deem highly expedient and beneficial, that they feel this dissatisfaction with the arguments usually adduced in support of its authority, but from a jealousy of any other evidence in matters of religion than clear Scriptural precept, and from a fear of conceding the Romish principle of traditional authority in a point of faith.

Mr. Wemyss has prefixed to his Treatise a 'List of Scripture passages, which have more or less reference to a day of rest,' in which the words Sabbath, Sabbath Day, Seventh Day, First day of the week, and Lord's Day, are severally noticed. This is very judicious. To the catechetical form of the Treatise some objection may be made, as it does not allow of that close argumentative style of reasoning which is the most satisfactory and effective to an inquiring mind ; although for popular use it is not without advantage. As every answer is thus distinctly exposed to separate examination, being, as it were, cut off from the support of the collateral arguments, those which appear less conclusive, will by this means tend to weaken, more than they otherwise would do, the impression of the whole chapter. Convinced, as we are, of the intimate and necessary connexion between the religious observance of a seventh day, and the promotion both of personal piety and public morals, we shall rejoice to see the question placed in the clearest light, and treated more explicitly in all its relations. In the mean time, we do not hesitate to recommend the perusal of Mr. Wemyss's well-timed and useful compilation.

Art. VIII *Sermons on the Leading Doctrines of the Gospel.* By George Moss. 2 vols. 12mo pp 360, 388. Hatchard, London. Oliphant and Co. Edinburgh. 1810 and 1813.

A CONSIDERABLE time has elapsed since the publication of these volumes, which appeared, as we find by the titles, at an interval of five years from each other. They were both accidentally overlooked by us at the time of publication; an omission which we regret, and are happy to take an opportunity now to rectify.

It has been a frequent subject of complaint with fastidious or affected readers, that published sermons are already by far too numerous, that the public is satiated with this species of writing, and that no room is left for more. To these positions we must demur. No doubt the number of sermons given to the world is considerable: so also is the number of books in almost every department of literature. Still the ever varying taste of the public has called for, and will continue to call for something new; new, if not in the ideas communicated, at least in the manner of conveying them. This holds no less true in divinity, than in many other branches of knowledge. It is readily admitted, that the great and essential truths of the Christian Revelation, have been, and ever must be, the same; but in the mode of presenting them to notice, investigating their foundation, elucidating their connexion, adapting them to the circumstances and situation of the hearers, and deducing the important and deeply interesting conclusions to which they lead, there is room, and much room for exertion, and an ample field for new efforts of thought and new exercises of judgement.

In *evangelical* discourses particularly, whether relating to doctrine, practice, or Christian experience, frequent and varied exhibitions of Divine truth are of much utility. Different minds are differently constituted; and what more feebly affects one, may make a deep impression on another: by giving line upon line, and precept upon precept, there is reason to hope, that by the Divine blessing, the most beneficial effects may be produced.

Under these impressions, we have never been disposed to echo the common and superficial censure directed against the publication of sermons. Sermons, like other writings, ought to be judged of by their intrinsic merit. If they are found to contain just views of Divine truth, Scriptural representations of the state and circumstances of man, a clear exhibition of the doctrines which alone make wise to salvation, and a full delineation of that holiness in heart, life, and conversation, which the Gospel enjoins, they can never be without their use. Even granting that in substance they may contain only what had

been taught before, still the very variety in the mode of teaching can hardly fail to procure attention. What passed unnoticed in old authors, may, in a new book be prized as it deserves; and we are inclined to believe that there are few publications indeed, emanating from a mind rightly impressed with evangelical principle, and acting from evangelical views, in which the reader may not find much to instruct, to animate, or to console him in his Christian course.

Entertaining such sentiments, we cannot but receive with satisfaction, the present work; a work designed to exhibit in a series of discourses, the leading doctrines of the Gospel, as contained in the sacred volume. The work is not professedly, nor is it completely, systematic; but the doctrines follow one another in a train sufficiently connected to give them the advantage of mutual illustration, and each discourse, while it contains whole in itself, constitutes at the same time a material part of the entire disquisition to which it is meant to refer.

The Sermons are in all twenty-eight in number, in point of length considerably exceeding the common rate of modern discourses, though in the days of our fathers they would have been deemed of moderate extent. Each Sermon generally discusses a separate point of doctrine, so that the unnecessary repetition occasioned by the division of discourses on the same subject are avoided.

The first Discourse treats of the subject of 'Man's Original Uprightness,' the perfection of his understanding, will, and affections,—the federal relation in which he was placed to his Creator,—the full ability conferred on him for the discharge of all his duties, and the consummate happiness which in his primeval estate was put within his reach. The second takes a view of the 'Disobedience of Man,'—the transgressions of Adam, by which "all men were made sinners," corrupted, it is justly remarked, in their nature, guilty before God, and therefore justly liable to condemnation, with all the awful effects of the Divine displeasure;—a state into which man has been brought by the breach of the original covenant on the part of the creature, this disobedience of the first man being brought ruin on the whole human race, in consequence of Adam being at once their natural root, and constituted their federal head or covenant representative.

From the view of the disobedience of man, Mr. More passes in the third discourse, to the important subject of the 'Recovery of Man by the Obedience of Christ; an obedience by which, as the Scripture assures us, "many were made righteous." To accomplish the great end of the salvation of man, it was necessary that a suitable method of salvation should be devised. With this view, 'a covenant transaction was entered into betwixt

'Jehovah the Father on the one part, and our Lord Jesus Christ on the other, the former as sustaining the dignity of the God-head, the latter as representing his spiritual seed.' The existence of such a covenant transaction, Mr. More establishes from Scripture, and then remarks, that in it Jesus Christ engaged to perform certain stipulations, for vindicating the honour of the Divine law, and securing the rights of Divine holiness, justice, and faithfulness; that these engagements were fulfilled by the obedience of Christ, an obedience implying holiness of nature, righteousness of life, and satisfaction for sin; an obedience voluntary on the part of our Lord, yet necessary in the economy of redemption, perfect and Divine, bringing glory to God, and the highest good to man; an obedience by which many are made righteous,—partakers both of imputed and inherent righteousness, and accepted as righteous before God. This obedience of Christ, it is remarked, 'was performed, not on his own account, but on account of others, as a federal head, and closely connected with the making of many righteous.'

In the fourth Sermon, 'Death, and the source of Death in Adam's Disobedience, are considered.' The fifth is particularly directed to 'the Delivery of Believers in their being made alive through Christ,'—brought to the comfortable enjoyment of natural life, made partakers of spiritual life, and possessed of an indefeasible title to life eternal.

In the subsequent discourses contained in the first volume, Mr. More enters into more particular views of some of the principal points of Scripture doctrine connected with the recovery and redemption of man. The subjects are: Imputed Sin and Imputed Righteousness—Christ's Mediatorial Office and Work—The Pre-eminence and Glory of Christ, as manifested in his nature and perfections, the offices which he executes in the scheme of redemption, his relations to his people, and the works which he performs—Election to eternal Life—The Call of the Gospel—Regeneration—Effectual Calling—Redemption—and Forgiveness of Sins.

In the Second Volume, published, as already remarked, at a considerable interval from the first, the subject is resumed, further illustrations of some important doctrines are given, and delineations both of practical truths in the Christian life and the privileges and hopes of believers as held forth in the Gospel, are exhibited. The volume commences with a discourse on—'Preaching the unsearchable Riches of Christ;' after which separate Sermons are appropriated to the following topics: Justification—Adoption—Indwelling Sin as the Christian's burthen—Purity in heart—the Beatific Vision—the Christian's triumphant state—Precious faith—the Character of genuine

Believers—the Grace of Hope—Love to Jesus—Evangelical Repentance—New Obedience—the Final Perseverance of the Saints—Practice as the best criterion of Principle.

Such are the important and interesting subjects discussed in these volumes. In all of them the Reader will find much solid and useful truth, evangelical doctrine perspicuously stated and illustrated in its various bearings, while practical exhortation is never lost sight of, and Christian experience is placed in a just and scriptural point of view. The style is perhaps not polished up to the pitch of modern refinement, nor does the Author attempt any of the splendid flashes of oratory which we now frequently meet with in the pulpit, and which may perhaps tend more to bewilder than instruct; but the language is throughout perspicuous; the reasoning just, the illustrations scriptural, and the whole well calculated for practical usefulness.

Upon each of the subjects discussed we find much that we could quote with pleasure. The following, taken without any particular aim at selection, may serve to convey to our readers some idea of the style and manner of the work.

Speaking of the disobedience of the first man, Mr. More remarks,

‘ The expression *made sinners* points out that the whole of mankind are universally corrupted in their nature. The fact is undoubted.—It is only necessary to recollect the import of the character, sinners. This always conveys two leading ideas, the corruption of the nature and conduct, with that guilt and condemnation which in consequence is incurred. The conduct of mankind could not be so universally depraved, unless it had proceeded from a corrupted nature; a good tree must bear good fruit, a pure fountain must send forth pure streams; it is only an evil tree that produces bad fruit, and an impure fountain that sends forth polluted streams. Man in his great original was a noble vine, wholly of a right seed; the fruit proceeding thence would have been corresponding, had he continued in this condition. But alas! a truly humbling reverse has taken place; that which was originally a noble tree, in the language of scripture, became a strange vine; we have become degenerate plants, or, as it is expressed by the Apostle, sinners, that is, persons depraved in their natures, and being depraved in their natures, they must be so also in their conduct.’ Vol. I. pp. 24, 25.

In the Sermon, on the ‘ Pre-eminence of Christ,’ it is remarked :

‘ If we consider Jesus in his glorious person, his pre-eminence will unquestionably appear, Jesus is not only truly God, and truly man, but also he is the *God man* in one divine person; and certainly his being such, forms a distinction of the highest eminence and importance, a distinction in which he stands altogether unparalleled.

That he is thus distinguished is incontrovertible. Hence, immediately before his incarnation it was declared, "Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel," which being interpreted is God with us. God in our nature, God and man in one divine person.

' This, indeed, as the Apostle intimates, is a great mystery, *God made manifest in the flesh*. That the divine nature should stoop so low as to have a personal subsistence with the human, while by thus stooping it does not sustain the smallest diminution in its essential glory; that the human nature should be dignified so high, as to be taken into a personal subsistence with the divine, and yet at the same time preserved in that sphere, and in that capacity which is natural and essential to it; that both these natures should by an hypostatical union constitute the wonderful person of our Redeemer; and that these natures should notwithstanding remain so distinct as that they are not by this union in the smallest degree blended together, is indeed most amazing; but however astonishing it may appear, it is not more amazing than it is necessary, necessary to render Jesus a suitable, a sufficient mediator betwixt God and man.' Vol. I pp. 211, 212.

Upon the subject of Indwelling Sin as the Christian's burthen, from Rom. vii. 24, Mr. More remarks,

' The Apostle was deeply distressed on account of prevailing iniquity. This he explicitly expresses in terms truly affecting, "Wretched man that I am." He does not simply point out his condition as to what he was, but he also at the same time in effect intimates his feeling in terms the most striking. His conduct, as reviewed by him, in place of yielding pleasure, produced a distress of mind so enlarged and so exquisite, that under his pressure he groaned out a bitter complaint against himself. So far from its being agreeable to, or approved of by him, he, as highly dissatisfied, with abhorrence recoiled from and mournfully regretted it. Thus in like manner will it be with every Christian when, in similar circumstances, and when suitably exercised in reference to them. He will neither have pleasure in this his condition, nor in what has produced it; but will be highly dissatisfied with, and will feelingly lament over both. This, you will observe, is no small attainment. It is peculiarly characteristic of the genuine Christian. For as it is only persons of this description who can be feelingly alive to such a condition, so it is peculiar to them to be dissatisfied with themselves, and distressed on account of it. You will here recollect, that the whole is owing to the agency of the Holy Spirit in them. It is specially through his gracious influences and powerful operations that the understanding of the Christian is spiritually enlightened, that his feelings and sensibility, in reference to his conduct, are awakened, and his exercise to this extent produced. Though misery as such, when arising from sin, is what no one can take pleasure in, yet those only are correctly acquainted with its bitter nature, or are suitably affected on account of it, whose hearts the Lord hath touched. Thus though the condition of the whole of Peter's audience was precisely the same, yet all

were not correctly acquainted with it, or suitably affected on account of it. It was peculiar only to some that they were pricked in their hearts, through the instrumentality of Peter's sermon: accompanied with the demonstration of the Holy Ghost and with power.' Vol. II. pp. 128. 129.

In the Sermon on Purity of Heart, the principles of genuine holiness operating in the heart, life, and conversation, are clearly illustrated. Among many other just remarks, we find the following:

'Purity of heart operates in an unfeigned hatred of sin, and in a genuine love to holiness. As the heart, when it is impure, has a fond, a violent attachment to sin, and is a decided enemy to holiness, so, when purified, it is distinguished by dispositions quite the reverse: Gospel purity exhibits itself by an unfeigned hatred of sin,—a hatred of sin as sin, being in its nature an evil in direct contrariety to the holiness and to the law of God; being that evil, that bitter, that abominable thing which God hates. In like manner, that love to holiness by which this purity operates, is not only decisively genuine, but it is also a love to holiness for itself, and specially to that perfection of its beauty, which is so illustriously displayed in God himself, in his law, in all his words, and in all his works. It is, further, in some measure, an unreserved, uniform, and perfect love. It in one word is such a love for holiness, as has infallibly connected with it great peace and the most refined pleasure. It is thus that Gospel purity operates.' Vol. II. pp. 151, 152.

The Sermon, in the second volume, on 'Precious Faith,' is distinguished by a number of acute remarks on the nature of faith in general, the peculiar character of saving faith, and the excellence of that faith, as at once an appointed means and a capital article of salvation. The following thoughts are important.

'The peculiarity of precious faith especially consists in a spiritual application and appropriation to the person's self, of general and particular precious promises and gracious declarations, contained in the sacred Volume. But this improvement is incompetent to the natural or moral powers of any individual, and must in every instance be the gift and the work of the Holy Spirit in all who in truth attain to it.' Vol. II. p. 219.

The extracts we have already given, will enable our readers to appreciate the doctrines and sentiments, as well as the mode of exhibiting them, adopted by the Author of the present Work. The Sermons we have no hesitation in recommending as containing a valuable exposition of evangelical doctrine, and a just delineation of Christian practice.

Art. VIII. *Sketches of Human Nature; or Hints chiefly relating to the Duties and Difficulties that occur in the Intercourse of Christians with one another, and with the World.* By William Innes, Minister of the Gospel. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. Edinburgh; Oliphant, Waugh and Innes. London; Seeley; Hatchard; and Hamilton. 12mo. pp. 275. Price 4s 6d.

AMONG the various reasons assigned as objections against adopting the principles of Dissent, one of the most common, and which, in the estimation of many, has great weight, is stated to be the trials and vexations which at times occur in Dissenting churches. It is asserted, that the constitution of these societies naturally genders strife and debate; that they are subject to incessant interference and annoyance; that it is not possible for an individual to enjoy peace in them; that they are constantly exposed to bickerings and divisions; that having no fixed standard of belief, they are perpetually vacillating between truth and error; that these things corrupt the life of Godliness, retard the progress of the Christian, lead many to wander in the deserts of unprofitable speculation, and drive others to the wilds of infidelity.

It is to little purpose to allege in answer to all this, that the picture is vastly overcharged; that these evils, admitting them to exist, are not the genuine effects of the radical principles of these churches, but of human depravity abusing the liberty of the Gospel; that their constitution may be Divine, while the human management of it may occasionally lead to evil; that trials of a similar description occurred in the primitive churches under the eye of the Apostles themselves; that no rational man would forego the advantages of a free government with all its attending burdens and ebullitions, for the imagined unity, and decision, and quiet of a despotic monarchy. These and various other replies are deemed quite unsatisfactory when opposed to the secular independence and influence conferred by an establishment.

Without meaning to intimate that nothing but evil attaches to the system of ecclesiastical incorporations, or that the motley aggregates of its adherents are to be indiscriminately confounded in one class of nominal Christians, we contend that the peace and tranquillity enjoyed, or supposed to be enjoyed, in connexion with it, are not strictly Christian in their nature, but the result of something very different from the operation of Gospel principles. In by far the greater number of its professed members, (is it possible to be ignorant of the melancholy fact, or to deny it?) this peace is the combined effect of ignorance, indifference, and superstition. In regard to their characters as sinners they are awfully unconcerned. To all the enjoy-

ment, and all the glory, and all the danger of Christian privileges, they are deplorably indifferent. The hand of death is spread over them. Their consciences are lulled asleep by the language of a corrupted Gospel, or by the prostituted enjoyment of ordinances which belong exclusively to the children of God. By another class of this extended and multifarious community, peace is *kept*, not enjoyed, in consequence of the strong arm of the law being suspended over them *in terrorem*. Many are their antipathies, and grudgings, and envyings in private, at its enactments, and severities, and distributions; but as it is the 'king's chapel and the king's court,' nothing must be uttered publicly, but what kings and courtiers delight to hear. On the part of a small respectable class, peace is externally maintained, because complaint has long been unavailing, and reformation hopeless. Many, doubtless, are their sighs in private, many their secret lamentations, many the wounds of conscience for their submissions, and the evils into which their circumstances unavoidably lead them. But they reconcile themselves to their lot, because evil is to be found every where on earth. Notwithstanding this strange discordance of principle and feeling, all these parties unite in exclaiming—Behold our peace! The Church, the object of their idolatry, is undeniably a heterogeneous mass of gold and silver, of brass, and iron, and clay, which are indeed joined together, but which cannot amalgamate: and yet all the world is invited to fall down and worship it! But as we neither love its materials nor admire its form, as we are not over-awed by its huge bulk, nor charmed with the music that celebrates its praises, we must be excused from joining in its adoration.

We admit that it has its advantages. It is admirably adapted for this world. It reconciles as far as may be, the incompatible services of God and Mammon. It does away the offence of the Cross. It conceals the unsightliness of the kingdom of Christ. It makes the religion of Jesus, or that which is taken for it, acceptable to men of taste, and rank, and fashion; and by the perversion of doctrine which it supports, and the abuse of Divine institutions which it enforces and encourages, renders it the easiest thing possible for all manner of persons to enter into the kingdom of God.

But it has its disadvantages also. Some of these are implied in what we have now stated, and have often brought forward. The work on our table has suggested others. It is the production of an Author who knows from experience both sides of the question. He has tasted the honours and tranquillity of an Establishment, and experienced the trials and vexations of a Dissenting Church. The testimony of such a man is certainly deserving of attention. So far then from repenting

of his abandonment of the respectability, and usefulness, and emoluments of his former situation, and now appearing before the world to sing his palinode,—at the distance of nearly twenty years from his change of sentiment, after all that he now knows of the evils of the Dissenting Ministry, he is more than ever convinced of the propriety of the step he took, and remains fully satisfied with the exchange he has made.

Mr. Innes has been a diligent observer of men and things. His work discovers no small acquaintance with the workings of the heart, and the influence of principles and circumstances on the human character. It contains the fruits of his observation and experience in the work of the ministry, and of his intercourse with Christians and the world during a considerable portion of his life. To every Christian, to every Dissenter, and especially to every Dissenting Teacher, we consider it as a valuable acquisition. And if every student who leaves our Dissenting academies, were to furnish himself with a copy of it, he might find the stock of experience which it contains, of nearly as much importance to him as a body of divinity. An accurate idea of its valuable contents can scarcely be formed from the title, and so miscellaneous are the subjects of which it treats, that we can attempt no abridgement or analysis of them. As a specimen however, we quote the Contents of Section II.

* Of the pernicious effects of Tale-bearing, of judging and speaking rashly, &c.—The effects of a tattling disposition. Professedly lamenting over the imperfections of others, one way of indulging a tattling disposition. The extent of the Christian precepts respecting evil speaking. Be slow to speak. Imprudent characters in a church tend much to perplex it, and disturb its comforts. Of speaking unguardedly of other sects. On the unqualified abuse of writers whose sentiments are partially incorrect. Evil-speaking compatible in a certain degree, with speaking the truth. Some cases in which men are apt to judge rashly and inaccurately of others. The necessity of caution in receiving information respecting other sects, especially when it comes from their opponents.

In this Section are many important remarks, highly worthy of the attention especially of our clerical readers. From Number XXXIV. we select the following judicious remarks on a character by much too common in this country.

* But there is a *fourth* way of disseminating error, on the part of public teachers, which is, I believe, more dangerous than even open immorality. I allude to those cases where external decency and propriety of conduct are associated with a general carelessness and a conformity to the maxims and manners of the world. Thus has a most extensively pernicious influence. When a man is grossly immoral, others can scarcely be supposed to be deceived by him. His character is too manifest. Every one must see, that if there is any thing in Christianity at all, such a man is confessedly wrong. Nay,

that he is chargeable with the vilest hypocrisy, in assuming the character of a public teacher, as he can be influenced by no other motive than the worldly emolument of the office with which he is invested. But suppose a man, amiable in his temper, gentle in his habits, decorous in his manners, with a mixture of truth in his discourses, while at the same time he is a stranger to vital godliness, having never seen the absolute necessity of the salvation of the gospel, nor experienced that radical change of principle, which the belief of it produces. it is impossible to say, how much such a character is calculated to mislead and ruin souls. His conduct tends to make men substitute something in the room of Christianity, which is essentially different from it. But it is an imitation of it, and the closer the imitation of it, if it really be a counterfeit, the better it is fitted to mislead and deceive. The influence arising from the private intercourse, as well as public teaching, of such characters, is calculated to give quite false views of the radical difference between the spirit of the gospel, and the spirit even of the decent and sober part of the world. It tends to draw a veil over the peculiar doctrines of the word of God, and not only to obscure their glory, but to exclude from the mind every impression that the knowledge and belief of them is essentially necessary to our acceptance in the sight of God. It tends to diffuse a prejudice against the scriptural standard of Christian obedience; to annihilate that invariable regard to Christian principle, in all that we do, which the Apostles of our Lord so uniformly inculcate; and thus to fritter down those distinctions which they so constantly maintain. It has the awful tendency to make men imagine, that if they have a tolerably correct deportment in passing through life, it is enough, and that in this way all is safe for eternity,—one of the most dangerous errors that can possibly occupy the human mind.

‘ Many examples are to be met with, of the melancholy influence of such public teachers, where the inhabitants of whole districts are laid asleep under the most fatal delusion, and are steeled against every attempt to direct their attention to the Christianity of the word of God. Surely the thought of this, in connection with the awful responsibility of such as contribute to make men rest their future hopes on a false foundation, is calculated to excite, in those who profess to teach others, much watchfulness and prayer, and to lead them carefully to draw their instructions from the pure fountain of divine truth. Let them examine, with minute attention, the light in which things are represented in the scriptures, and let their discourses be a faithful copy of what is there contained. But it may be useful also to remind others, that whatever guilt is contracted by public teachers, it will not remove that of their hearers, if they should be misled by them, while they have the inspired standard in their hands, to which they should ever appeal.’ pp. 149—151.

We have remarked that this work has suggested to us some of the disadvantages of Established, and of the advantages of Dissenting Churches. We shall take the liberty of adverting to one or two of these. A voluntary society of Christians affords superior opportunities of understanding many parts of the Christian revelation. We do not wonder at the *Epistolary* part of the

New Testament being very unintelligible and uninteresting to many members of the Establishment. The Gospels they understand and venerate, but the Epistles are impenetrably obscure. To us the reason seems quite obvious. The letters of the Apostles to primitive believers, have no application to the characters or circumstances of the vast majority composing a worldly church. When a Churchman hears from the desk or the pulpit, an Apostle address "The Church of God, which is at Corinth, "to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," he looks around him and says, 'This is not the description of persons with whom I am associated, and who assemble for religious worship in this place. I cannot recognise the body of them as faithful or holy persons.' When a member of a Christian church hears the same address, he perceives at once its application to the society with which he is connected. The society consists, not of those who occupy the same spot of ground called a parish, and who meet once a week in a particular house, in many instances for no better reason than because it is the place provided by the State; but of persons collected from various quarters by the preaching of the glorious Gospel, who appear to have found that Gospel the power of God to their salvation, and who voluntarily associate together for the purpose of obeying the commandments of Christ, and testifying their love to one another. A member of such a society is furnished with a key to the Epistles, more valuable than all the commentaries that were ever written on them. Whatever an Apostle said to a primitive church, he considers as addressed to himself and his Christian friends. He finds Apostolical letters as intelligible as Apostolical narratives; limited neither to place nor time, but constituting a part of the standing revelation of heaven, and embracing the circumstances of the children of God wherever they are scattered abroad.

A Dissenter has opportunities of obeying, as well as of understanding, the will of Christ, which cannot be found in connexion with an Established Church. We hesitate not to affirm, that not a few important precepts of the New Testament, are absolutely impracticable in the Establishment. Is it possible, for instance, in general, to follow our Lord's rule with regard to offences: Matth. xviii. 15, 17? Would not the very attempt to do so be laughed at? In the majority of instances, the person who should be so foolish as to try it, would either be turned to the door of the offender, or threatened with a civil prosecution, unless he desisted. The precept of Paul, "Purge out the old leaven," the Church of England every year confesses her inability to obey for want of "a Godly discipline."—"Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth in all good things," is set aside by the legal provision which is made

for the clergy. The choice of approved men for office-bearers, the confidential and endearing, because voluntary relation of pastor and flock, are things utterly unknown to the body of people composing a parish cure. They are advantages of which the members of a chartered religious corporation are entirely deprived, but which constitute only a part of the privileges of that fellowship which springs from principle and choice.

The very evils which sometimes occur in such communities, are designed to promote the advantage of those who are connected with them, and tend to confirm their confidence in the general principles by which they are regulated. In the church as planted by the Apostles themselves, there were occasionally "Debates, "envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, revellings, "tumults." These tried the faith and patience of the saints, and discovered the ungodly and the hypocrite. When at any time they occur again, it is only an evidence that our circumstances are similar to theirs. They remind us that we belong to the kingdom of heaven *on earth*. They bring to light the latent corruption of the heart, the suitableness of the laws of Christ to curb and destroy that corruption, and furnish the man of God with those practical views of the depravity of human nature, which enable him to address himself to every man's business and every man's bosom. On all these subjects, and on the importance of attending to them, these Sketches of Human Nature furnish much valuable instruction.

Our readers are not to infer, from the preceding reasonings, that this little work can be useful only to Dissenters. We believe it to be fitted for general usefulness. It is written in the very opposite of a spirit of party. It breathes the spirit of Christian candour and meekness throughout. While it instructs the Christian, when he is bound to argue, and when he is called to differ,—when it is his duty to contend for his rights and privileges, and when he may lawfully make a sacrifice to peace and charity;—it uniformly inculcates, both by its language and its example, mutual forbearance, brotherly kindness, and Christian affection, on all the people of God. We cannot therefore better conclude our discussion, and take leave of Mr. Innes, than by recommending Number LVI. to the consideration both of Churchmen and Dissenters.

Art. IX. *The Lament of Tasso*. By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 19. 1s. 6d. Murray. 1817.

WE really think this eighteen-penny worth might have been given in with Manfred.

Lord Byron, when at Ferrara, visited the cell where Tasso was confined in the hospital of St. Anna, as a lunatic, by order of Duke Alphonso. An inscription over the cell, invites,

'unnecessarily,' says his lordship, 'the wonder and indignation of the spectator;'—unnecessarily, indeed, since there is no reason to believe that his patron had any motive for confining the unhappy poet, but to provide for his safety and cure; a measure which unequivocal symptoms of mental derangement rendered not only justifiable but humane. Lord Byron has been pleased, however, on the authority of the apocryphal memoirs of Tasso, to represent the poet as the victim of inhuman oppression, occasioned by his too ambitious passion for the princess Leonora of Este, a story which appears to rest upon no rational foundation. This "*Lament of Tasso*," has no pretensions therefore to be received as any thing better than an idle fable. Of the condition of the fictitious Tasso under these circumstances, Lord Byron has been able to form a vigorous conception: the truth of character is, of course, altogether sacrificed.

Our readers will expect us to give an extract.

'Above me, hark! the long and maniac cry
Of minds and bodies in captivity.
And hark! the lash and the increasing howl,
And the half-inarticulate blasphemy!
There be some here with worse than frenzy foul,
Some who do still goad on the o'erlaboured mind,
And dim the little light that's left behind
With needless torture as their tyrant will
Is wound up to the lust of doing ill:
With these and with their victims am I classed,
'Mid sounds and sights like these long years have passed;
'Mid sights and sounds like these my life may close:
So let it be—for then I shall repose.

'I have been patient, let me be so yet;
I had forgotten half I would forget,
But it revives—oh! would it were my lot
To be forgetful as I am forgot!—
Feel I not wroth with those who had me dwell
In this vast lazar-house of many woes?
Where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind,
Nor words a language, nor ev'n men mankind;
Where cries reply to curses, shrieks to blows,
And each is tortured in his separate hell—
For we are crowded in our solitudes—
Many, but each divided by the wall,
Which echoes Madness in her babbling moods;—
While all can hear, none heed his neighbour's call—
None! save that One, the veriest wretch of all,
Who was not made to be the mate of these,
Nor bound between Distraction and Disease.' pp. 10—12.

Art. XI. *The History of the Church of Scotland*, from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution : illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain. By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurencekirk. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1457. Longman and Co. 1815.

(*Concluded from p. 159.*)

THE project of introducing an entire uniformity of religious worship into the British dominions, was transmitted by James, as a dangerous and unfortunate legacy, to his son Charles. This prince, though he expressed his intention to enforce the articles of Perth, as well as his approbation of the innovations made by his father, and established some important regulations respecting the temporal condition of the clergy, was, for some time, too much occupied with English and foreign affairs, to interfere with the religious opinions of his Scottish subjects. The tithes having been annexed to the Crown, James gave them as grants to his favourites, which occasioned great hardships to the proprietors of the soil, as well as to the clergy. To remedy these evils, the owners of the tithes were induced to surrender them ; the landholders were authorized to purchase them at a fixed value, and salaries were appointed to the ministers from the parish tithes. The favourable tendency of this equitable adjustment, was counteracted by many causes. Those who had relinquished the tithes, as they had lost their influence, were disposed to recover it by forming a union with the querulous and discontented. It was apprehended that the King would restore the estates that had been originally wrested from the Church. The conduct of the prelates, intemperately zealous for the innovations, haughty toward all ranks, and eager to ingratiate themselves with Laud, aggravated the popular discontent. The Presbyterians, supported by the nobles, and jealous of the power and wealth of the prelates, increased their influence among the people. In this state of the public mind, Charles had determined to prosecute his father's design of regulating public worship among the Scotch, by the forms of the English Church ; but from some causes he suspended his resolution till he visited his native kingdom in 1633. Having been crowned in Edinburgh, he held a parliament.

‘ Soon after his father ascended the throne of England, an act had been passed in Scotland, declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative ; and, in three years after, another act was sanctioned respecting the habits of churchmen, concluding with this extraordinary concession, that whatever in this matter should be ordained by his Majesty, should, without the intervention of the estates, have the force of a law. The concession, as is evident from the statute, was attended as a compliment to the wisdom of James, but was not de-

signed to confer a general power upon his successors. Full of the designs of Laud to introduce into the church the utmost splendour of dress, and to burden divine worship with ceremonies little consonant to the spiritual nature of Christianity, Charles was anxious that the privilege which has been mentioned, and which his father wisely never exercised, should be given to him. To gratify him, the lords of the articles combined, in one act, the two statutes to which I have alluded; but when the new law was read in parliament, it was encountered by a determined spirit of resistance. The Earl of Rothes conducted the opposition. He expressed his perfect acquiescence in the renewal of the act relating to the prerogative, but he insisted that it should not be combined with the other which had been incorporated with it; urging, that the part of the law regulating the habits of churchmen, was inconsistent with the liberties of the church, and ought not, without its concurrence, to be enacted. The king was much offended with this conduct of Rothes, which he probably supposed that his own presence would have prevented; he refused to accede to the reasonable proposal which that nobleman had made, and commanded him to desist from reasoning, and simply to give his vote. Having repeated this injunction to the other lords who supported Rothes, he took into his own hand a list of the members, and marked their votes. The majority was hostile to the court, and Charles could not fail to know, from the paper which he held, that this was the case. The clerk of parliament, however, whose office it was to announce the decision, scandalously affirmed, that the act, as presented, was approved; and when Rothes denied this, the king, instead of acting with the dignity and honour which might have been expected even from the humblest individual, gave his sanction to the falsehood of the clerk: and maintained, that as it was a capital crime to corrupt the records of parliament, they who accused another of doing so, must, if they failed in establishing the charge, be subjected to the punishment of death. It was too hazardous for the lords to support an accusation which the whole royal influence would be exerted to suppress; and the act, which had been really rejected, was held to be confirmed by the estates.' p. 339—341, Vol. II.

While many of the nobles were dissatisfied with the King's unconstitutional measures, the ministers presented a petition respecting the state of the Church. As his Majesty treated it with neglect, and appeared determined to introduce ceremonies which they abhorred, they were quite alienated from the Government; and the iniquitous condemnation of Lord Balmerino, together with the elevation of the clergy to the principal offices of the State, inflamed minds already in a state of irritation.

The extreme discontent which prevailed under the appearance of tranquillity, broke out, when the canons, which it had been resolved to compile while the King was in Scotland, were published by royal authority. This step was considered as a most arbitrary exertion of the prerogative: many of the ceremonies enjoined were thought favourable to Popery, as well as a gross

violation of the principles cherished by the Scots. The canons enforced the observance of the liturgy, which, as the liturgy was not even composed, appeared not less absurd than vexatious. It was pretended that no innovation was introduced by the canons, which, being notoriously false, brought the King into discredit, and prevented confidence being placed in his subsequent concessions. The fermentation excited by the canons, had begun to subside, when the publication of the liturgy produced a tumult. This measure, which occasioned the following convulsions, was owing to Spottiswoode, a memorable example of the slight causes on which important events depend.

‘ In execution of the powers given to the commission for tithes, Spottiswoode was preparing to fix the emoluments of the clergy within his diocese, a step which deeply affected the interest of those to whom the teinds had been given in lease, whilst it materially promoted his own. Traquair, eager to thwart the primate in this plan, procured a suspension of the commission; and the archbishop, irritated at the interference, determined to repair to court, to exert his influence that the commission might be renewed. To render himself acceptable to the king, and to Laud, he saw the importance of gratifying both, by being able to convey information that the liturgy had been renewed, and upon the arrival of the letters for that purpose, he caused an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that, on the succeeding Sunday, the book of prayer should be read.’ p. 374-5, Vol. II.

‘ Upon the day which had been specified, immense numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh went to the church of St. Giles, in which the chancellor, some of the lords of the council, and several of the bishops, had taken their seats. The utmost quietness prevailed, till the dean, having opened the liturgy, began to read, when the multitude, losing all respect for the place in which they were, and the solemn work in which they were engaged, raised such a clamour, that the prayers could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh, hoping to appease it, went into the pulpit, and entreated the people to reflect upon the sacredness of the house of God, and upon the duty which they owed to God and to their sovereign. This address rendered them more outrageous: stones, and whatever they could use for the purpose, were thrown at the dean, and the bishop himself narrowly escaped being wounded or killed by a stool, which was furiously aimed at him. The primate then called upon the magistrates to interfere, who, with much difficulty, by entreaties and by force, succeeded in restoring momentary order. The dean resumed his ungracious office; but the women, or men in the dress of women, though they had been thrust from the church, renewed their activity: they exclaimed, with the utmost vehemence, “ A pope, a pope: Antichrist, pull him down; stone him.” They knocked at the doors, broke the windows, and seemed resolved to proceed to the most dreadful excesses. Amidst this noise and consternation, the service terminated. When the bishops left the church, they were followed by the multitudes, who, in the most opprobrious language, charged

them with bringing into the kingdom Popery and slavery. The bishop of Edinburgh, who was regarded with peculiar antipathy, was almost dragged from a staircase which he had ascended, and was, at length, rescued by the servants of the Earl of Wemyss. A meeting of council was held between sermons, at the house of the chancellor. The provost and magistrates attended; and such precautions were taken, that divine worship was, in the afternoon, much more quietly performed. No sooner, however, was it concluded, than the people recommenced their outrages; and having discovered that the Earl of Roxburgh had taken the bishop of Edinburgh into his carriage, they attacked it, endeavoured to tear it in pieces, and would probably have injured or sacrificed those who were in it, had not the attendants of Roxburgh, with their swords, compelled them to retire.

'Similar scenes were exhibited in different parts of the city. Wherever the liturgy was attempted to be read, commotion immediately ensued; and the clergymen who officiated were forced to desist.' pp 376—378, Vol. II.

Though the populace alone appeared in the tumult, their cause was so generally supported, that all attempts to press the liturgy were suspended, till positive orders should be received from Court. The Presbyterian clergy applauded the opposition, which spread to such a degree, that the prelates trembled for their safety. A petition was presented to the council by some of the ministers, praying that they might not be compelled to renounce their principles. The council were disposed to attend to the petitioners; but the King sent a harsh and peremptory order to enforce the liturgy. Not intimidated, the malecontents presented, in the name of the nobles, barons, ministers, and representatives of boroughs, a common supplication, entreating that the matter might be laid before the King. The minds of men became increasingly hostile to the innovations. Proclamations issued for dispersing the vast concourse of people that had collected at Edinburgh, led the Presbyterians to adopt decided measures. Nobles, gentry, and ministers, framed a declaration, condemning the offensive books, and sent it through the kingdom to be signed by all that were averse to innovation. Meanwhile, insubordination and violence prevailed in the metropolis, and spread into all quarters. So great was the weakness of the Government, that they were obliged to implore the protection of the factious leaders against the insults of the mob. While, from the feebleness of administration, the malecontents had reason to anticipate success, they drew the attention of the council to a strong petition which they had formed against the liturgy and canons. This was accompanied with another, in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants of the capital. Charles however paid little or no attention to the real state of affairs; but confiding in the vigour of his prerogative, he issued proclamations, which, as they granted nothing, only induced the Presby-

terians to persevere in their efforts. They appointed a deputation to attend the council, from which the prelates, as their claims and privileges were disregarded, had withdrawn, and the members of which favoured the petitioners. The Earl of Traquair was summoned to inform the King of the state of affairs; but he represented in vain, that if the hateful books were not laid aside, nothing would regain the affection of the people. On his return, Traquair issued a proclamation, offering pardon for the late acts of violence, vindicating the innovations, prohibiting tumultuous assemblies, and promising that the King would listen to respectful supplications from his subjects. Against this impolitic proclamation, the Presbyterians, resolved to obtain by force what they could not procure by entreaty, published a vigorous protest, and having abjured the King's authority, established a new form of government, under the name of Tables, consisting of persons chosen from the four classes of nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses. A general Table, composed of representatives from the subordinate Tables, decided on what was necessary to be executed. To preserve the enthusiasm of the people, they framed the famous Covenant, in which they avowed their purpose of resistance. This expedient succeeded marvellously.

‘It was at length submitted for the approbation or subscription of the people, and the first trial was made in the metropolis. In the church of the Grey Friars an immense multitude assembled. The confession or covenant having been read, the Earl of Loudon, in an impressive oration, dwelt upon its vast importance as a bond of union, whilst Henderson, with all the fervour of zeal, and all the effect of popular eloquence, prayed to heaven for a blessing. The feelings of the people were excited—they looked on the Covenant as the instrument of their deliverance,—with joyful exclamations they hastened to share in the honour of attaching to it their names.’ pp. 416, 417. Vol. II.

When Spottiswoode heard of this ebullition of enthusiasm, he exclaimed: ‘Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down.’ The example of the capital was generally followed, and those who offered resistance were compelled to yield to the torrent.

As the council were in part favourable to the Covenanters, instead of taking measures to oppose them, they despatched Sir John Hamilton to inform the King of the posture of things, and to recommend concessions. His Majesty, being prevented by the necessity of his affairs from enforcing his own acts, and by the bigotry of his mind from restoring the Presbyterian polity, adopted a middle course, and resolved to concede a little in hopes of dividing his enemies. He appointed the Marquis of Hamilton his commissioner, with instructions of such a nature, as necessarily rendered his mission useless. When the Covenanters heard of his appointment, they took measures to coun-

teract the influence which he might have on their cause. Hamilton, who was extremely mortified on finding that in his progress he was as little noticed as a private individual, that he was neglected by the people, and feebly supported or opposed by the servants of the Crown, perceived that to execute his commission would excite rebellion. Having stated his conviction to Charles, his Majesty, though inclined to war, ordered the Marquis not to denounce the Covenanters as traitors, till he should be supported by sufficient forces. In his conferences with the factious leaders, the limited nature of the Commissioner's concessions, effaced the impressions that were made by his mild and patriotic professions; and when he learned their demand of a general assembly to determine questions of ecclesiastical polity, with a parliament to ratify its proceedings, and their resolution as soon to renounce their baptism as the covenant, he saw that recourse must be had to arms. Having endeavoured to mollify opposition, by restoring the Court of Session to Edinburgh, the Commissioner ordered the King's proclamation to be read, and, although it did not allude to the most objectionable topics, a protest was entered against it by deputies from the Tables.

The Marquis returned to London, and, as the result of his interview with the King, was authorized to make fresh concessions. Meanwhile, the Covenanters were indefatigable in stimulating opposition, and when Hamilton returned from Court, they had risen in their demands. They insisted on a free assembly.

In the discussions, however, to which this subject gave rise, a point was agitated which nearly dissolved the harmony by which the covenanters had hitherto been distinguished. One of the conditions upon which the King insisted was, that the commissioners from presbyteries should be chosen by the ministers of the respective presbyteries only, and that no lay-person whatever should interfere in the choice. The committee appointed by the tables to give an answer, replied, that none should meddle with the election of commissioners from presbyteries but ministers and elders. When this was communicated to the clergy, many of them hesitated about permitting elders to sit, not merely in sessions, but in presbyteries, perceiving that this would transfer to the laity the power of determining who should be elected to the Assembly. They therefore required that the mode of expression should be altered, and that it should be stated, in general, that the right of election was to be vested in those in whom, by law or custom, it had previously resided. This left the privileges of lay-elders open for future consideration; but the tables of nobility, barons, and burgesses, were highly offended by the alteration, and threatened to desert the cause if the original resolution was not sanctioned. The ministers were naturally reluctant to surrender their independence, but the dread of laying themselves open to the intrigues or the power of the bishops, led them to yield, and the vote of elders in presbyteries was thus finally established. pp. 442—443. Vol. II.

With a view of fomenting division, Hamilton again went to Court, and advised to grant all that had been originally demanded; but though the King reluctantly yielded to his advice, he could not satisfy the Covenanters.

The various acts of concession were, after the breaking up of the council, regularly proclaimed; and it was with much reason hoped that moderate men would be contented, and would resist any endeavours to thwart the intentions of the King. A protestation, however, replete with the most disingenuous reasoning, and evincing the determination of the leading covenanters to resist all terms, was read, pp. 450—451. Vol. II.

While many, satisfied with the concessions made by the King, subscribed his covenant, the Covenanters pretended that his Majesty was insincere, and employed various artifices, and some of the basest description, to inflame the multitude.

A woman, warmly attached to the covenant, happened to be afflicted with insanity, or with an aberration of intellect and perversion of imagination nearly approaching to it; and in this state she inveighed, with much vehemence, against signing the King's confession, talking of the covenant as the work of God. Advantage was taken of her melancholy situation; many did not hesitate to affirm that she was inspired; and that the warnings which she uttered should be revered as the dictates of heaven.' pp. 453—454. Vol. II.

The Covenanters procured the election of such members to the General Assembly, as were determined to support their designs, and the Assembly proceeded with the most unjustifiable violence against the prelates. Embarrassed by the opposition of the members of council, the commissioner found that a union of parties was impossible, the bishops having declined the jurisdiction of the Assembly; and perceiving that the Covenanters were determined to carry their measures in defiance of royal authority, he dissolved the meeting. Though further proceedings were prohibited under pain of treason, the faction informed the Marquis, that they would continue to sit as a free and legal Assembly; and, accordingly, by a number of acts they restored the Church to the state in which it was before the Presbyterian polity was subverted. Thus was thrown down in an instant, what James and his son had for so many years been erecting with so much pains and so little wisdom. Hamilton's proclamation denouncing as traitors all who continued to attend the meeting at Glasgow, was entirely disregarded; while with the acts of the Assembly there was a general compliance.

A civil war was now unavoidable, and the advantages soon appeared on the side of the Covenanters, who, at once prudent and vigorous, softened, by professions of moderation, the natural hostility of the English, while they were supported by the irresistible enthusiasm of the nation. Charles, with an empty exchequer, with subjects more disposed to improve the commotions

for the redress of their grievances, than to enable him to recover his authority, and with troops lukewarm and undisciplined, was soon obliged to treat with the malecontents. To the King the issue of the treaty was very unfortunate; and the Covenanters, dreading that he would attempt on the first opportunity, to recover what had been wrested from him, remained full of suspicion, distrust, and caution. As the concessions which Traquair, the King's Commissioner in the Assembly held conformably to the treaty, had made, were far from being satisfactory to Charles, he, in fact, determined to renew the contest, when the demands of the faction should evidently appear unreasonable. This opportunity soon occurred; hostilities were renewed, and the result was, that the Covenanters gained all that they wished, the fate of the war having been determined by the defeat of part of the English army, and the taking of Newcastle. Negotiations begun at Ripon, were carried to London, and protracted to an unusual length, by the artifices of the leaders in the English parliament, who availed themselves of the presence of the Scots, to further their plans of reformation. At last, the Covenanters concluded the treaty on the most advantageous terms. While they were paid for taking arms against their sovereign, they obtained the full establishment of their religious polity. The King, who appeared soon after in his native kingdom, ratified, in parliament, all the acts that sanctioned the Presbyterian discipline; and, from this period to the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell, it remained in its full vigour, and was diffused in many districts of the sister kingdoms.

The affairs of the Covenanters, in themselves extremely curious and instructive, had, from the first, a great influence on all the transactions of that period—the meeting of the long parliament, the innovations in the government of Church and State, the rise, progress, and termination of the civil wars, the execution of the King, and the subversion of the monarchy. This influence Dr. Cook has traced with laudable diligence and acuteness. He has placed some of the incidents of this period in a new light, and exhibited some of the agents with greater fairness; as, for example, the delivery of Charles to the English Parliament, and the character of Henderson. This part of the present work will be interesting to those who wish to be intimately acquainted with the most eventful portion of our history.

After Cromwell had defeated the Scotch army at Dunbar, while the body of the nation determined on fresh measures for preserving the national independence, a faction, hostile to Charles the Second, favoured Cromwell; and though as a body they were quickly dissipated, they encouraged dissensions in the Church. Acts of the Assembly, tending to unite all persons in the national defence, induced them to protest. Cromwell,

in order to preserve his government from embarrassment, prohibited the holding of General Assemblies, but in other respects he gave the Presbyterians entire liberty. This season however was not improved, for the protesters persisted in their complaints and opposition.

The majority of the clergy acted in this delicate emergency with the utmost moderation. Aware of the unhappy effects which would result from division, and eager to unite, they attempted to conciliate their brethren, and made every concession which did not imply the subversion of presbyterian polity. But this calmness, inflamed, if possible, the violence of their adversaries. They paid little attention to the representation of the calamities which their obstinacy would occasion; they evaded the argument derived from their oath to submit to the General Assembly, by declaring, that they considered the Assemblies of which they complained, as shackled and corrupted; and they began to act in a manner, which shews how readily men can render religious principles subservient to the gratification of passions which religion restrains or condemns. They appealed to the people, asserting that they were guided by the purest motives, and with disingenuity and hypocrisy much to be lamented, but which are too frequent in the history of the church; arrogated to themselves the appellation of the godly, insinuating or affirming, that all who opposed them were men of depraved principles, or not influenced by the spirit of the gospel. They collected numbers of ministers, elders, and private Christians in meetings not recognized by the church, and after prayer, by any disposed to offer it, and a confession of sins, they discussed topics upon which the established judicatories alone were competent to decide, and even blamed what these judicatories had sanctioned. This was plainly schismatical, and displayed a turbulence most unbecoming the character of the ministers of peace. That they might, however, not appear in open rebellion to the constitution which they had held forth as prescribed by Scripture, they offered to obey the commission of the last General Assembly, which they acknowledged; and, in name of this body, which had no title to act, published their defiance of all which they were required to obey. But to raise their popularity, they had recourse to methods, which, in a religious point of view, were perhaps still more exceptionable. In celebrating the Lord's supper, they departed from the decent mode which had been prescribed, and which required that the minister of each parish should dispense it; and assembling immense multitudes from contiguous parishes, they employed the most fervent of the clergy to deliver numerous sermons; they affected a gloominess of devotion, which has often been identified with the homage due to a merciful Creator; they inflamed the prejudices and the enthusiastical zeal of those who listened to them; and they thus rendered an ordinance, graciously intended to be the bond of charity, instrumental in cherishing the worst dispositions, and in withdrawing their flocks from those pastors who adhered to the church. The manner in which they conducted divine worship, was adapted to convey the idea, that they were favoured with peculiar communications of the spirit; they even

altered the natural tone of the human voice, that they might inspire religious horror; and when they had thus made themselves to be regarded as the chosen servants of God, they declaimed against the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church. When they had gained a decided ascendancy over the minds of the people, they began to withdraw from their more moderate brethren, and, associating in presbyteries, conducted their proceedings as if they had been exclusively vested with ecclesiastical power.

‘Such systematic opposition to the discipline which they affected to revere, could not have been continued, had not the authority of government been relaxed. and had they not been supported by those commissioners from the English parliament, who really administered the affairs of Scotland. Violent as had been their abhorrence of sectaries, and strongly as they had, even since the flight of the King, expressed that abhorrence, their enmity to Charles formed a tie, which united the protesters with the commonwealth. The friends of Cromwell considered them as more worthy of confidence, than the ministers who still professed a regard for the exiled monarch; and they readily listened to their requests and representations. Thus aided by the commissioners, who were invested with power to remove or to confirm ministers according to their political sentiments, the protesters interfered with the nomination of pastors; objected, without respect to the wishes of the people or the piety of the person, to all who were not of their own party; and with the most arbitrary and oppressive officiousness, often ejected incumbents, who had long been settled, and whose exemplary lives they did not venture to dispute. They succeeded in procuring from the English judges and sequestrators, an order that no minister should be entitled to the emoluments of his benefice, till he produced a certificate, subscribed by four clergymen, authorized to grant it: and they thus got into their own hands the patronage of the greater number of livings.’ pp. 212—215. Vol. III.

The divisions that prevailed in the Church during the Protectorate, were succeeded, on the Restoration, by a series of most disgraceful persecutions. When it had been resolved to restore episcopacy in Scotland, in order to avoid opposition, violence was directed against the protesters, while the moderate ministers were lulled into security. These were not displeased to see the protesters humbled; but a letter which Sharp; whom they had entrusted with the management of their affairs, but who had betrayed them, brought from the king, assuring them of his resolution to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as by law established, gave them entire satisfaction. After this assurance, all men were filled with astonishment, when an act was passed in parliament, declaring null and void all the acts of that Assembly, since 1640. The Presbyterian polity was thus at once overthrown. Of the conduct of government at this period, as impolitic as it was unprincipled, Dr. Cook expresses a becoming abhorrence. Apprehensive of commotion, the King was inclined to acquiesce in the present ecclesiastical polity of Scotland; but, at the instigation of his ministers, he authorized the proper steps

to be taken for the establishment of episcopacy. This order was immediately executed; bishops were appointed, the Presbyterian discipline was suspended, and prelacy received once more the sanction of the legislature. In recording these events, our Author evidently feels regret that the free and generous sentiments of the reformers and covenanters should have degenerated into such tame and servile compliance with the measures of an arbitrary and tyrannical administration. Episcopacy, as now established, was different from that which had existed in the times of James and his successor.

‘ During the period through which bishops were formerly recognized, they were regarded only as the constant moderators of the different ecclesiastical judicatories; these judicatories regularly assembled, and conducted much of the business of the church. The idea, that they entirely depended upon the bishops, was never introduced, or was steadily resisted; and great efforts were requisite to procure their sanction to the privileges which were claimed for the prelates. But Charles, by the exertion of his prerogative, without the slightest regard to the wishes of the church, and indeed without preserving even the appearance of consulting it, introduced episcopacy in a form from which his ancestors would have shrunk; and gave to bishops the power of deciding whether presbyteries should be held at all, or of limiting the extent of their jurisdiction.’ pp. 249, 250. Vol. III.

The sequel of this history, which details the severe and tyrannical measures adopted in support of the hierarchy, and the cruelties, oppression, and barbarities employed to subdue the constancy of the Presbyterians, possesses a truly tragic interest. Although our Author draws his information from the purest sources, and preserves his mind remarkably free from those biasses which scenes of tyranny and unmerited suffering give to the steadiest intellect, a deep abhorrence of the government, and commiseration for its unhappy victims, will be the predominant sentiments in the minds of his readers.

In ages of profligacy and corruption, it is refreshing to meet with an individual of uncommon virtue. Accordingly, Dr. Cook dwells with feelings of extreme pleasure on the virtues of the venerable prelate Leighton, who availed himself of all his influence, to mitigate the severity of oppression.

When the bigotry and tyranny of James the Second made way for the accession of the Prince of Orange to the British throne, the latter was inclined to continue the episcopal polity in Scotland. His views, however, were soon changed by the influence of his chaplain Carstairs, who represented, that while the Episcopalians were hostile to the Revolution, it was universally approved by the Presbyterians; that in Scotland episcopacy was so interwoven with the doctrines of Divine right, royal supremacy, and passive obedience, as to render its ex-

intence incompatible with the object of his coming; and that while he countenanced his friends, by agreeing to establish Presbytery among the Scots, he would shew the English Dissenters, that his conduct to them arose from necessity rather than choice. William accordingly acquiesced in the clause of the claim of rights that abolished episcopacy, and an act was passed in the Assembly of the States, June, 1689, which accomplished that object. But when the Presbyterians were found not to observe in their treatment of the episcopal party, the moderate and conciliating principles which this Prince had recommended, he was highly irritated, and an incident occurred that threatened to overturn the Presbyterian constitution. The enemies of the Presbyterians having procured an act requiring all persons to take what was called the oath of allegiance and assurance, the ministers resisted the innovation, and the King, ignorant of the ferment, and following the advice of the Scottish council, ordered the oath to be taken by all the members of the ensuing Assembly.

‘ Lord Carmichael having found the ministers resolute, had thought it his duty to convey this intelligence to London; but the King was inflexible, confirmed in his determination by the Earl of Stair and Lord Tarbet, who now represented the obstinacy of the clergy as rebellion.

‘ Happily Carstairs, who had been absent from court, arrived at Kensington at the critical moment when the messenger, conveying his Majesty's mandate, was dispatched. He formed the bold resolution, as the only method for preventing the most disastrous events, of stopping the courier. Having done so, and got possession of the papers, he hastened to the King's bed-room, and, having awakened him, told what he had done. William was at first violently enraged; but Carstairs represented so powerfully the wisdom of conciliating the Presbyterians, who, however misled, were not acting from disaffection, that his Majesty was convinced. He commanded Carstairs to burn the dispatches, and to draw up such instructions to the commissioners, as would secure the affections of the people of Scotland. These instructions he subscribed, and they reached Edinburgh on the day of the sitting of the Assembly. The joy diffused by the intelligence that the King was to dispense with the assurance, may be more easily conceived than it can be described.’ pp. 456, 457. Vol. III.

Dr. Cook's style would gain both in grace and energy, if it were more condensed. In the early parts of this history, more particularly, it must be deemed a blemish that so large a space is allotted to civil affairs. Though we acquiesce in general in the justness, and sometimes admire the acuteness, of Dr. Cook's reflections, yet it would seem that they are more frequent and extended than is consistent with the rules of historical composition, as deduced from the best models of ancient and modern times.

ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.

Miss Lucy Atkin is preparing for the press, "Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth," comprising a minute view of her domestic life, and notices of the manners, amusements, arts, and literature of her reign. The present work is composed upon the plan of uniting with the personal history of a celebrated female sovereign, and a connected narration of the domestic events of her reign, a large portion of biographical anecdote, private memoir, and traits illustrative of an interesting period of English history. Original letters, speeches, and occasional poems are largely interspersed.

Mr. Accum has in the press, Chemical Amusements; comprising a series of curious and instructive experiments, easily performed, and unattended by danger.

An octavo edition of Mawe's Travels in the Brazils, will be published shortly.

Preparing for publication, the poetical Remains and Memoirs of the late Dr. John Leyden.

The third volume of the Personal Narrative of M. De Humboldt's Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent; during the years 1799-1804, translated by Helen Maria Williams, is nearly ready.

The Knight of St. John, a Romance. By Miss Anna Maria Porter, Author of the Recluse of Norway, &c. 3 vols. 12mo.

Preparing for publication, in one volume, Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Philip Henry, with interesting extracts from her diary and papers. By J. B. Williams.

Mr. J. N. Brewer is preparing Collections towards a Biographical Account of the late Hugh, Duke of Northumberland.

The fourth edition of Mr. Moore's Poem of Lalla Rookh, is now on sale.

Mr. R. Southey is preparing for the

press, a third volume of the History of Brazil.

Shortly will be published, handsomely printed in quarto, with a portrait of his Lordship, from an original by Romney, the Life of Richard Watson, Lord Bishop of Landaff, written by himself at different intervals, and revised in 1814. Published by his Son, Richard Watson, LL.B. Prebendary of Landaff and Wells.

An Essay on the Chemical History and Medical Treatment of Calculous Disorders, with Plates, by Alexander Marcet, M.D. F.R.S. is in the press, and may be expected shortly.

Miss Benger is preparing for the press, Memoirs, with a Selection from the Correspondence and other unpublished Writings of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton, Author of Letters on Education, Agrippina, &c. In two volumes, crown octavo.

In October will appear, a Universal History, translated from the German of John Müller, in 3 vols. 8vo. This work is not a mere compendium of Universal History, but contains a philosophical inquiry into the moral, and more especially the political, causes, which have given rise to the most important revolutions in the history of the human race.

A new edition, much enlarged, of a Treatise on the Nature and Cure of the Gout and Rheumatism, by Dr. Scudamore, is just ready.

Dr. John Mayo proposes to publish some Remarks on Insanity, in addition to those already published by Dr. Thomas Mayo.

Dr. Uwins, Physician to the City and Caledonian Dispensaries, will commence a Course of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, at his house, No. 1, Thavies Inn, Holborn, on Friday, the 3d of October, at seven o'clock in the evening precisely. And in the Spring, Dr. Uwins will commence

a Course of Lectures on Materia Medica and Pharmacy.

In the course of the present month will be published, Part I. of an Edition of the Hebrew Bible, without Points, to be completed in Four Parts; it is uniform with the Hebrew Bible with Points, that was published in May last: either of these Bibles may be had interpagated with English, Greek, or Latin; and thus conjoined, will not, when bound, exceed one inch in thickness, or, as a Hebrew Bible alone, half an inch.

Shortly will appear, a new edition of the Abridgement of Amisworth's Latin Dictionary, revised by J. Carey, LL.D.

Mr. Mor, an indefatigable compiler of several useful publications, announces another selection, under the title of Curious and Interesting Subjects of History, Antiquity, and Science, containing the earliest information of the most remarkable Cities of Antient and Modern Times, their Customs, Architecture, &c. &c.

A new and enlarged edition of Mr. Bruce's *Juvenile Anecdotes*, will be ready for publication in a few days.

Also, a cheap edition, somewhat abridged, for the use of Sunday Schools.

The Rev. T. Johnstone is printing in a duodecimo volume, a History of Berwick-upon-Tweed and its vicinity, including a compendium of border history.

The Works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, with an account of his life, are preparing for the press, and will form four octavo volumes.

The late Mr. R. L. Edgeworth has left some Memoirs of his Life, which will soon be given to the public.

The Theological Works of Dr. Isaac Barrow are printing at Oxford, in six octavo volumes.

Mr. Hogg will soon publish the fifth edition of his *Queen's Wake*, illustrated by the artists of Edinburgh.

The Essay on Public Credit, by David Hume, is reprinting, with observations

on the sound and prophetic nature of its principles.

Mr. Pope will soon publish a corrected edition of his Abridgement of the Laws of Customs and Excise, including all the alterations made in the last Session of Parliament.

The first volume of the Oxford Encyclopedia, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature, is just published, price 2l. in boards. The work will be comprised in five volumes, 4to. or 25 parts, price 8s. each.

Speedily will be published, in one vol. 8vo. a Practical Enquiry into the Causes of the frequent Failure of the Operations of extracting and depressing the Cataract, and the description of a new and improved series of Operations, by the practice of which most of these causes of failure may be avoided. Illustrated by Tables of the comparative success of the old and new operations, by Sir William Adams.

Professor Orfila, author of the Treatise on Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable Poisons, has in the press, an elementary work on Chemistry: an English Translation will appear soon after the publication of the original. From the situation which Dr. Orfila holds, as teacher of the science of Chemistry in Paris, together with his correspondence with Professors in this and other countries, the work may be expected to contain all the modern discoveries in chemistry, and it will therefore form a useful book for students.

In the press, and speedily will be published, a Reply to the Rev. Mr. Mathias's (of Dublin) Enquiry into the Doctrines of the Reformation, or a right convincing and conclusive Confutation of Calvinism. To which is subjoined, Ieropaidea, or the true Method of instructing the Clergy of the Established Church, being a wholesome Theological Cathartic to purge the Church of the Predestinarian Pestilence, by a Clergyman of the Church of England.

Art. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ANTIQUITIES.

British Monachism; or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England. To which are added, I. Peregrinatorium Religiosum. or Manners and Customs of antient Pilgrims. —II. Consuetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits. —III. Account of the Conti-

nentes, or women who had made vows of chastity —IV. Four select Poems, in various styles. By Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, M.A. F.S.A. Author of the History of Gloucestershire, &c. 1 vol. 4to. price 3 guineas. Illustrated with numerous plates of Ecclesiastical Costumes, including 40 subjects drawn by J. Carter, F.S.A. A very few copies

are printed on Large Paper, and hot-pressed, price 5l. 5s.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Sexagenarian; or, the Recollections of a Literary Life. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Dr. Watkins's Memoirs of the Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; the Second and concluding Part, embellished with a finely engraved Portrait of the present Mrs. Sheridan, after Sir Joshua Reynolds. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Memoirs of the late Miss Emma Humphries, of Frome, with a Series of Letters to Young Ladies, on the influence of Religion in the formation of character, &c. By T. East. 8s.

BOTANY.

A Botanical description of British Plants, in the Midland counties, particularly of those in the Neighbourhood of Alcester; with occasional Notes and Observations: to which is prefixed, a short Introduction to the Study of Botany, and to the Knowledge of the principal Natural Orders. By T. Purton, Surgeon, Alcester. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. boards. With eight coloured engravings, by James Sowerby, F. L. S.

EDUCATION.

Systematic Education; or, Elementary Instruction in the various Departments of Literature and Science, with Practical Rules for studying each Branch of Useful Knowledge. By the Rev. W. Shepherd, the Rev. J. Joyce, and the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL.D. The second edition improved, 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

FINE ARTS.

Vol. III. of The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; with Biographical Anecdotes. By John Nichols, F.S.A. and the late George Stevens, F.R.S. and F.S.A. Containing Clavis Hogarthiana, and other Illustrative Essays; with Fifty additional Plates. 4to. 4l. 4s. Large Paper, 6l. 6s.

*** The First and Second Volumes of this Work, may be had with early Impressions of the Plates, price 10l. 10s. or on large Paper, with Proof Plates, price 21l. Also, Clavis Hogarthiana; or, Illustrations of Hogarth, from passages in Authors he never read, and could not understand. The Second Edition.—These "Illustrations" form a part of the Third Volume of Hogarth's Works; but are likewise printed, for

separate distribution, in 8vo. embellished with a Portrait, price 4s.

The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius. Translated by William Wilkins, jun. M.A. Fellow of Gonvil and Caius College, &c. Part 2, elephant 4to. 3l. 3s. royal folio, 6l. 6s. boards.

HISTORY.

The Secret and true History of the Church of Scotland, from the restoration to the year 1678. By the Rev. James Kirton. To which is added, an Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharp, by James Russell, an actor therein. Edited from the MSS. by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. 4to. 1l. 16s. boards.

An Historical Display of the Effects of Physical and Moral Causes on the Character and Circumstances of Nations: including a comparison of the Ancients and Moderns in regard to their intellectual and social state. By John Bigland, Author of Letters on the Study of History, History of Europe, &c. 8vo. 14s. boards.

An Abridgement of Universal History, commencing with the Creation, and carried down to the Peace of Paris in 1763; in which the Descent of all Nations from their common Ancestor is traced, the course of Colonization is marked, the Progress of the Arts and Sciences noticed, and the whole Story of Mankind is reviewed, as connected with the moral Government of the World, and the revealed Dispensation. By the Rev. E. W. Whitaker, Rector of St. Mildred's, Canterbury. 2 vols. 4to. 8l. 8s. boards.

Ormerod's History of Cheshire, Part IV.

History of Berwick upon Tweed, with historical notices of the neighbouring villages, including a compendium of Border History, with a plan of the town. By the Rev. Thos. Johnstone. 12mo.

MATHEMATICS.

The Principles and Application of Imaginary Quantities; Book I. To which are added, some Observations on Porisms: being the First of a Series of Original Tracts in various parts of the Mathematics. By Benjamin Gompertz, Esq. 4to. 5s. 6d. sewed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Truth respecting England; or, an Impartial Examination of the Work of M. Pillet, and of various other writers on the same subject. Published and

Dedicated to the English Nation, by J. A. Vievard, Proprietor and Editor. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Observations on the West India Islands, Medical, Political, and Miscellaneous. By John Williamson, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, formerly Surgeon to the Caithness Highlanders, and of Spanish Town, Jamaica. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 5s. boards.

Cælebs Deceived. By Harriet Corp, Author of the Antidote to the Miseries of Human Life—Philanthropist—Conversations, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. 8s.

Supplement to Junius identified; containing of fac-similes of handwriting, and other illustrations. 8vo. 3s.

An Attempt to establish Physiognomy upon Scientific Principles. Originally delivered in a series of Lectures. By John Cross, M.D. 8vo. 8s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Vol. X., in 2 Parts, with 62 plates, of **General Zoology, or, Systematic Natural History**. Commenced by the late George Shaw, M.D. F.R.S. &c. With Plates from the first Authorities and most select Specimens. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. boards.—royal paper 3l. 16s. This Volume consists of Birds, by J. F. Stephens, F.L.S.

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Eight Familiar Lectures on Astronomy, intended as an Introduction to the Science, for the Use of Young Persons, and others not conversant with the Mathematics. Accompanied by Plates, numerous Diagrams, and a copious Index. By William Phillips, Author of Outlines of Mineralogy and Geology, and of an Elementary Introduction to Mineralogy. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

A Plan for Reducing the Poors Rate, by giving Permanent Employment to the Labouring Classes. With some Observations on the Cultivation of Flax and Hemp, and an account of a new process for dressing and preparing Flax and Hemp, without water-steeping or dew-rotting. By Samuel Hill, Esq. With the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Merits of the Invention. 2nd Edition. 8vo. 1s.

THEOLOGY AND SACRED LITERATURE.

Schleusneri Lexicon, Græco-Latinum, in Novum Testamentum, Recensuerunt, I. Smith, J. Strauchan, et A. Dickinson, Editio quinta. In four parts, or two

thick volumes, 8vo. 3l. boards. In this Edition the Syriac and Hebrew quotations have been carefully revised, and many errors of the former edition corrected.

Observations, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, on the Canonical Scriptures. By Mrs. Cornwallis, of Wittersham, Kent. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. bds.

Sermons, chiefly on Practical Subjects. By E. Cogan. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. bds.

A Series of Sermons on various subjects of Doctrine and Practice. By the Rev. George Mathew, A.M. Vicar of Greenwich, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Transplanted Flower: a Sermon, occasioned by the death of Miss Churchill. By the Rev J. Churchills. 8vo. 1s.

The Christian Faith stated and explained, in a Course of Practical Lectures on some of the leading Doctrines of the Gospel. By the Rev. H. C. O'Donnoghue, A.M. Handsomely printed in foolscap. 8vo. price 5s. 6d.

Also, by the same Author, **Early Piety, a Sermon on Prov. iv. 9.** addressed to Youth. Third Edition. 6d.

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Walks in Oxford; comprising an Original, Historical, and Descriptive Account of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings of the University with an Introductory Outline of the Academical History of Oxford. To which are added, a concise History and Description of the City, and denunciations in the environs of Oxford. By W. M. Wade. Illustrated by 13 Engravings, and a large Map. 2 vols. 8vo. 15s. or, in one volume 12mo. 8s.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1817.

Art. I. *Hume's History of England, revised for Family use; with such Omissions and Alterations, as may render it salutary to the Young, and unexceptionable to the Christian. Dedicated, by Permission, to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester. By the Rev. George Berkely Mitchell, M. A., Vicar of St. Mary in Leicester, Minister of the Old Hospital near Leicester, and Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. 8 Vols. 8vo. Hatchard, London.*

HISTORY has been supposed to bear the same relation to man, that experiment bears to nature. It is the development of his hidden principles, the display of his whole character. This, though assumed as an axiom, is exceedingly questionable, if applied to history in general. Did history, indeed, present itself in all the minuteness of Bubb Doddington's Diary, and follow the individuals it describes, into all their serpentine courses, and into all the selfish considerations which formed the real, if not ostensible motives of their actions, the sentiment would approach nearer to truth. History, however, is necessarily general. It selects, accumulates, arranges facts; finds or conjectures a few of the avowed, and but a very few of the real causes; and thus amuses or instructs its readers. The fates of individuals, of dynasties, of empires, pass before us; but while the geographical changes and national histories are exhibited, man, as an individual, in all that concerns his real character, remains just as little known to us as before. And though the value of history is immense, we are persuaded that more importance has been attached to it, as a comment on human nature, and as leading to a knowledge of man, than it deserves. It presents human passions on a gigantic scale, indeed; but the very same passions, affording the same illustrations of man, and conveying the same moral lessons, are presented to us in a state of intense operation, amid the peasants of a country village, or the children of a nursery. *There may be found*

the same selfishness, the same love of distinction, the same emulation, and mortal hatred, that agitate cabinets, and rouse a world to arms, and to deeds of notorious valour.

The general taste for history, may be resolved into the love of novelty, and the love of excitement. Though man, under every modification of circumstances, is the same guilty, selfish being, yet, almost infinite diversity is presented, from the ever-shifting scenes through which different persons are called to pass. This gives a novelty to most parts of history, that gratifies our desire for some 'new thing.' The love of excitement, however, is the great principle on which we are to account for such a taste. If there be nothing in the magnitude of the transactions, in the peculiar characters of the agents, or in the descriptions of the historians, to rouse the feelings, the history drops, still-born, as it were, from the press, or soon sinks into oblivion. History must rouse, otherwise it cannot please. And the skill of the historian is seen in the choice of his subject, in the selection and arrangement of his materials, and in the thrilling representations which he gives of transactions and characters. Thus, we are delighted and rapt into at least a momentary love of liberty, and into sympathy with the oppressed, while we move with Arminius on the banks of the Rhine, amid the gloomy and interminable forests of Germany; with Sertorius in Lusitania; with Cato in Africa; or, in more modern times, with Maurice of Saxony, with the Dutch in the thirty years' war; with Gustavus, breasting and overwhelming the imperial enemies of civil and religious liberty; and with Washington in America. History, however it may instruct, is, on the whole, far more adapted to produce pain than pleasure. It affords a melancholy view of human nature, subject in general to the baser passions of the heart. Who can view, without the most painful emotions, 'the slight pretexts upon which madness and ambition have sacrificed the blood and the subsistence of infatuated nations;' the too general hostility of governors to the governed; the indifference of rulers to real religion, further than their schemes of personal policy have been accidentally enlisted on the side of truth? Next to this is our sorrow that *historians*, in general, have so seldom availed themselves of the advantages which history afforded them, to teach mankind the lessons which their themes could not fail to suggest to men whose hearts truly felt the importance of benefiting mankind. Even Robertson, who never fails to delight by the almost poetic harmony of his language, who never offends against morals or liberty, scarcely ever appears, even in his history of Charles V, which exhibits the struggles of the Reformation, in the august character of a Christian moralist. Seldom have historians paid to the principles and love of peace, the homage due to them from

humanity ; seldom has their eloquence thundered against the cruelties and injustice of aggressors, unless their favourites have been aggrieved. Had they acted more on *Christian* principles, it is fair to presume that the taste of nations, determined, as it necessarily is, in a great measure, by the press, would have been different from what it now is. The historian is guilty at least of connivance, who does not study to exhibit war, as it is, with all its guilty causes, its melancholy accompaniments, its appalling consequences.

History may be presented in the rude and simple form of annals, unembellished by a single decoration of the imagination, unenlightened by a single ray of science, and scarcely affording to the future historian the least assistance, by exhibiting either the motives, circumstances, or consequences, of the actions and events narrated. It is, however, found in fact, that the fancy is ordinarily more alive than the understanding. Hence, in almost every country, in the earlier stages of its civilization, history has appeared in the form of poetry, presenting charms to uncultivated ears by its rude numbers and the dress of imagination. The historical songs of the Druids are lost ; but something of their spirit, and, perhaps, their manner, is preserved in the Scandinavian, Welch, and Scottish bards. Were Ossian admissible evidence, he might be adduced, *instar omnium* ; but as even now '*sub judice lis est*,' he can be considered only as an illustration, without being elevated into an authority. In those cases in which imagination was allowed to interfere in a region of fact and inference, it was inevitable that history would soon assume the character of fable, and the simple truth would be lost, or be found with difficulty amid the creations of fancy. Hence, the embarrassments presented to historians in the ruder ages of all countries, with the exception of one who had the Spirit of God for his guide. Even in the more advanced and polished stages of society, poetry has lent its aid in this department of literature ; and events which might otherwise have been totally unknown, or but dimly seen through the mist of tradition, have been perpetuated in the songs of Homer.

In every case, however, beyond the merest annals of the rudest ages, history has been a grand moral machine ; and, whether exhibited in the soberness of prose, or in the splendour of poetry, has had a very material influence on the movements of governments and the destinies of nations. If Homer's Achilles was the prototype of Alexander, and Alexander the pattern of Cæsar, who shall say how many *ignes minores* have been kindled by reflection from them, and how remote may be the consequences of that exhibition of a hero ? Poetry, availing itself of historical facts, has thrown charms of her own creation

love the one and hate the other. As Hume is not sparing in his reflections, he was evidently disposed to become the teacher of mankind: and what might he not have done, with such powers, had he been under the influence of a nobler motive than that which he, unblushing, avows?—*He wrote for FAME!**

The school of Edinburgh, not then so distinguished by a hardness of disquisition which led to the adoption of principles whose practical conclusions were atheism, was exchanged for those of Paris, Geneva, and Ferney, and the inveterate enemy of the religion of Christ, is apparent in every page that admitted its display. In *his* writings, the liberality of Paganism is always seen to advantage, in opposition to the inflexible stubbornness and frowning aspect of Christianity; Popery is extenuated, while the evils of Protestantism are blazoned; High Church, with her appalling claims and magisterial commands, has even the advantage of rigid Puritanism. And had any society existed, professing the generous and rational principles of atheism, he had doubtless given that the precedence, and exulted in the darkness he had formed; for the notion of a God, under any form of theism, is, at times, attended with some unpleasant associations and anticipations. He has thus contributed his share to the diffusion of that mental poison, which has produced so large a portion of the distractions of Europe for the last twenty-five years. If its virulence has been less active in England than on the Continent, the great counteracting cause will be found, not merely in the freedom of our civil constitution, and in our general information, but in the religious liberty, which has enabled Christianity to meet infidelity, not with the weapons of the inquisition, but with its own celestial light and power.

Men who write for fame or for subsistence, are seldom scrupulous in the choice of means, and generally feel the pulse of the public. It is the business of such writers, to study, and, in some degree, conform to, the temper of those on whose award they depend for success. They may make high pretences of independence, and of giving laws of thinking to the age; but they are generally hurried on in the track of the literary and reading mass; and though they may accelerate their movements, they can scarcely alter their direction. Hume felt

* This is every where intimated, and sometimes explicitly avowed, in that curious, egotistical, and, in one sense, *candid* account of "My own Life," written by this ingenious Author. It is candid: for, though it obviously intended to blazon his own excellence, it is the exhibition of excellences which have not the remotest relation to the Christian virtues of humility before God, and disinterested love to man. They are the excellences of a *philosopher* who has successfully learned to esteem himself better than others.

of that family, for the subject of his fragment of history, (and what intelligent reader does not lament that it is *but* a fragment?) evidently intended to inculcate his own liberal views of government, far more than to expose the puerile superstition and the gigantic despotism of that expatriated monarch. And it is well known that while love of fame was the remote inspiring principle of all Hume's writings, the *immediate* object of his history was to extenuate the crimes of the Stuarts.

With the Stuarts he began his historical career: thence he threw back a glance at the Tudors; and the ingenious apologist of the one became the severe censor of the other. It is true, he justifies the opposition of the people to James, and sometimes praises the conduct of Elizabeth; but the general character of these first two portions of history, is decidedly partial. Circumstances, and, perhaps, inclination, determined him to creep backward, till he entered the cradle of the English nation; and thus in a succession of retrograde movements, he completed the present work. In every part of his history the characteristic features of his mind had frequent opportunities of displaying themselves; nor was he backward in exhibiting them. And his whole history, so far as its facts and circumstances admit, is such as, *a priori*, might have been expected from a man whose pride, *assuming* the form of scepticism, induced him to maintain the monstrous position, that there was neither matter nor mind in the universe, and that nothing existed but a succession of floating ideas; and who, maintaining a certain doctrine which a few years since agitated the university and city of Edinburgh, has dexterously contrived to disprove the testimony of our senses in the case of miracles, and to get rid of a God, by shewing, that as we can prove things to be *sequences** only, and not *consequences* of what are ordinarily termed *causes*, the argument from the universe to an intelligent *mind* as its author, is inconclusive.

History, in the hands of so powerful a writer, might have been made one of the greatest literary and moral benefits which a nation could receive. Here, every moral principle might have received its just award, and its operation or defect of operation on individuals and society presented. We should thus have been taught, not by the rule and line of didactic, and dogmatic, or argumentative system, but by the actual operation of principle, which would then have had a 'local habitation and a name,' and would have been presented in all the imbodyed forms of real life. Here, we should have seen the conflicts and alternate triumphs of good and evil, and might have learned to

* This we think is the term used by professor Leslie and others, in the controversy alluded to in the text.

love the one and hate the other. As Hume is not sparing in his reflections, he was evidently disposed to become the teacher of mankind : and what might he not have done, with such powers, had he been under the influence of a nobler motive than that which he, unblushing, avows?—*He wrote for FAME!**

The school of Edinburgh, not then so distinguished by a hardness of disquisition which led to the adoption of principles whose practical conclusions were atheism, was exchanged for those of Paris, Geneva, and Ferney, and the inveterate enemy of the religion of Christ, is apparent in every page that admitted its display. In *his* writings, the liberality of Paganism is always seen to advantage, in opposition to the inflexible stubbornness and frowning aspect of Christianity; Popery is extenuated, while the evils of Protestantism are blazoned; High Church, with her appalling claims and magisterial commands, has even the advantage of rigid Puritanism. And had any society existed, professing the generous and rational principles of atheism, he had doubtless given that the precedence, and exulted in the darkness he had formed; for the notion of a God, under any form of theism, is, at times, attended with some unpleasant associations and anticipations. He has thus contributed his share to the diffusion of that mental poison, which has produced so large a portion of the distractions of Europe for the last twenty-five years. If its virulence has been less active in England than on the Continent, the great counteracting cause will be found, not merely in the freedom of our civil constitution, and in our general information, but in the religious liberty, which has enabled Christianity to meet infidelity, not with the weapons of the inquisition, but with its own celestial light and power.

Men who write for fame or for subsistence, are seldom scrupulous in the choice of means, and generally feel the pulse of the public. It is the business of such writers, to study, and, in some degree, conform to, the temper of those on whose award they depend for success. They may make high pretences of independence, and of giving laws of thinking to the age; but they are generally hurried on in the track of the literary and reading mass; and though they may accelerate their movements, they can scarcely alter their direction. Hume felt

* This is every where intimated, and sometimes explicitly avowed, in that curious, egotistical, and, in one sense, *candid* account of "My own Life," written by this ingenious Author. It is candid: for, though it obviously intended to blazon his own excellence, it is the exhibition of excellences which have not the remotest relation to the Christian virtues of humility before God, and disinterested love to man. They are the excellences of a *philosopher* who has successfully learned to esteem himself better than others.

indeed a perfect congeniality of soul with the persons among whom he spent so large a portion of his life; whose principles were fashioned, and whose vices were cherished, by Voltaire and Rousseau. He has followed, no doubt, the bent of his own mind; but he was vastly encouraged in this by the movements of minds around him. He had a moral constitution fitted for the mephitic atmosphere in which he breathed; and the baseness of his heart, which prepared him for such an element, was cherished and increased by the region in which he lived. It was this state of things which brought to maturity the seed so sedulously sown by his continental coadjutors, and of which Europe has long been reaping so plentiful, so melancholy a harvest. This natural result, from which years or ages of sufferings will scarcely suffice to extricate the nations, will, it is hoped, stamp the mark of deserved infamy on *infidelity*, which has proved itself so unfriendly to social happiness and civil rights; and on *superstition* too, which gave to infidelity its most powerful arms, and prepared the men before whose eyes it never suffered Christianity to be presented in all its majestic simplicity, to reject the truths, to which it had so strangely added its own puerile errors. It will, at all events, prevent our soon seeing another philosophical Frederic, exchanging his sceptre and his sword for the sceptical pen dipped in gall, to write down and * crush the wretch whose benevolent descent from heaven gave light, and hope, and peace, to man on earth.

Hume declined entering minutely, like Buchanan in his classical work on Scotland, into the fabulous parts of history: and he did well; for the uncertainty of earlier history in general, may be inferred from the air of fable which mingles with all the earliest accounts of nations. Take that of Rome, for instance. Virgil was allowed, by the laws of epic poetry, to invent an historical machinery for his hero; and, unless in the absence of all other information, as in the case of Troy, no one would resort to the poet for historical notices. But the solid judgement and discriminating mind of Livy, was under the necessity of commencing his immortal pages with a fabulous account of the exposure and preservation of the immediate founder of Rome. His own scepticism is indeed apparent; but the very mention of the fable shews his want of all authentic documents.† No-

* Such is said to have been the literary watchword among the infidel philosophers of the Continent, in reference to Christ and Christianity.

† Such a tale, in classic story, is common; for thus the poets have exposed the infant Paris on Mount Ida; and thus Herodotus pretends Cyrus was exposed by the command and through the fear of Astyages.

thing, however, more clearly shews the uncertainty of early history, than the various accounts given of the Jews by foreign historians. Justin, *Lib. 36 c. 2.* Tacitus, *His Lib. 5. c. 2.* and Apion, whom Josephus so successfully combats, give the most preposterous accounts of the early history, migration, and settlement of that people. If the Hebrew originals were generally inaccessible, the Septuagint was open to all Greek scholars, and every man of education in Rome was acquainted with Greek. If, where a document of so high authority existed, an eminent historian like Pomp. Trogus, (of whose work Justin is an abridgement,) and the still more celebrated Tacitus, could display so much ignorance, and employ so much fable, what could Hume have done more than he has done, with the earlier portions of the English History, unless he had given the reins to invention, and expatiated on a ground purely ideal; or seized on a few facts, and plunged into the abyss of conjecture for the purpose of giving to those insulated and mutilated fragments the semblance of one historical whole? He has commenced his history with a most just observation. 'The curiosity, entertained by all civilized nations, of enquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty and contradiction. Ingenious men, possessed of leisure, are apt to push their researches beyond the period in which literary monuments are framed or preserved; without reflecting, that the history of past events is immediately lost or disfigured when entrusted to memory or oral tradition.'

Yet, after all that Hume and Henry, and Smollett and Belsham, with a list of minor writers, have accomplished, after all the just distinction which several of these have acquired by their laboured researches, and profound reflections; and while editions after editions have issued, and are continuing to issue, from the press, the genuine friends of literature, of the British Constitution, and of Christian morality, consider a History of England still a *desideratum*. And the public wait, with no ordinary anxiety, for a work from the pen of an eloquent senator, eminent in every department to which he has directed his attention, who shall rival Hume in the appropriateness of his selection of facts, in the clearness of his narration, in the philosophical arrangement of his materials, in the vividness of his description, in the vigour of his conceptions, and in the depth of his reasonings and reflections; and who shall surpass him in purity, and in all the great moral and political characters of a thorough English historian: who shall, in fine, produce a work fit to meet the eye and fall on the ear of the most modest and religious, and calculated to excite or keep alive all that is British, all that is

free, in the educated part of the community. If such a work be not presented to the public, Sir James Mackintosh will have disappointed, as an historian, the high expectations which he has created, as the Author of *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, as the advocate of Peltier, as the constitutional judge of Bombay, and as the strenuous defender of human rights in the British Parliament.

Still, Hume will long maintain a high place in the public estimation. He has already the advantage of actual occupancy, nor will it be easy to displace him from his high and commanding position. His influence does not, we apprehend, arise from superior accuracy in the narration of facts, nor from the political principles which pervade his work; but from that simplicity which presents every thing with so much clearness, and that tone of deep sentiment which, as in Tacitus, causes the narrator to be forgotten in the more elevated and dignified character of philosopher. As Hume, with all his literary, political, and religious delinquencies, will be extensively read, and, were it not especially for the latter, ought to be read, Mr. Mitchell has done well in making this revision. What he has done, however, cannot be known by a cursory reading. It consists much in the suppression of casual reflections, which, however incidentally introduced, were designed by their frequency, to generate scepticism or infidelity; for Hume was not like his fellow transgressor, Gibbon, who entered on grave and seemingly elaborate defences of 'our orthodox faith' and 'our holy religion,' as he generally terms it, in order to burlesque it by its grotesque exhibitions, and to weaken its evidences by the designedly feeble arguments adduced for its support. Let us hear Mr. M. speak for himself.

'The plan of the Editor of the present work is, to put into the hands of parents and instructors of youth, and into those of the general reader, who has no time to search more original authorities, an edition of this eloquent and useful historian, purified from his contaminating principles.

'In pursuit of this object, the Editor has altered no one fact or statement of the general narrative, or one line of those masterly delineations of character, with which this beautiful writer abounds, except when, from a reference to his own authority, or from a comparison of other historians, the efforts of unhappy prejudice were apparent.

'To these authorities and historians, the reader will find regular references, on all occasions of importance.

'In some places the alteration of a single expression has removed the objection; in others, the omission of a sentence, no way connected with the history, and only introduced to cast a slur upon religion, was all that was necessary; but in others the Editor's task has been more extensive, especially in the latter volumes.

'The Editor has still one observation to make respecting the nature

of his undertaking and his claims upon the attention of the public. The infidel philosophy of modern times, in its plans against revealed religion, seems to have included a conspiracy against the purity and peculiar honour of the female character; and if it has not endeavoured to lower according to its own views, that character in the estimation of mankind, it has certainly wished to *alter* it into something more suitable to the taste of the profligate and licentious. It has hence arisen, that the two most celebrated historical productions of modern times, the works of Mr. H. and Mr. Gibbon, are replete with passages most offensive to the delicacy of the female mind; and it is to be feared most pernicious to the youth of the other sex.

‘Of this, I think, there can be no doubt, that the strongest bulwark of virtue in the mind of a young man, is a high estimation of the character of women. Whatever, therefore, tends to lower that estimate, tends, in an equal degree, to *demoralize* our youth.

‘It has accordingly been a principal object in the present edition, to remove from the narrative of Hume, all coarse and indelicate expressions and allusions, and all improper quotations from ancient authors, with which the more refined ideas of modern times ought to have prevented the historian from polluting his pages. The Editor, therefore, ventures to indulge a hope that he shall obtain the thanks and encouragement of an enlightened age, which has received with such marked favour a FAMILY SHAKESPEARE, in presenting them also with a FAMILY HUME.* *Preface*, pp. xiii—xv.

As history will ever delight, and as the history of England ought to delight the minds of Britons, we can venture to re-

* ‘It is most painful to reflect that Gibbon, whose brilliance and wit are so fascinating, whose learning is so various and profound, whose range of history gives him such charms of novelty, and who is altogether one of the most astonishing writers of the whole republic of letters, should be the very beastliest and most detestable author in existence. His infidelity, great as it is, dwindles into a minor and almost imperceptible offence, compared with his obscenity. He fairly revels amid the scenes of a Mahomedan haram, and never loses an opportunity of displaying the prurience of his filthy imagination for the purposes of self-gratification and of demoralizing his readers. Obscenity stains the very substance of his history. This must discredit it with all who love modesty, who cultivate a spirit of elegance in their souls, and of delicacy in their language, and are not completely vulgarized by their animal instincts. In his Preface, Mr. Gibbon very truly informs us, that he is ‘now descending into the vale of years;’ and the volumes themselves assure us, that he is descending with all the gross laciviousness of unblushing youth about him. How full must be the fountain of impurity in the heart, when the stream is foaming and frothing so much through every page?’ See “Whitaker’s Review of Gibbon’s History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire:” a work which displays profound research, and a force of indignant eloquence which reminds us of Junius, and occasionally equals his boldest language.—Will any compassionate Mitchell ever rise with a capacity of presenting to the world a FAMILY GIBBON?

commend to parents, and to the heads of those seminaries in which such extended histories are introduced, in preference to his entire work, the present expurgated edition of Hume. As a *history*, its value is not in the slightest degree impaired; for there is not a fact suppressed or added, though, on examination, some statements may have received a slight modification: a modification, however, for which sufficient reasons exist. Should some of its sentiments still be thought exceptionable, they will not be found in the moral and religious parts of the work, as Mr. M. has paid to these the most vigilant attention. It should be remembered, that as it was not the Editor's intention to remould the work, and give it an entirely new character, and as those slightly exceptionable sentiments are so interwoven in the texture of the history, as to prevent their separation without mutilating some of its fairest portions, we must acquit him of all the evil, if any there be that yet remains, and wait in hope that the day is near, when we shall hail the appearance of a History of England so truly British and so truly Christian, as to permit our recommending it without reserve to universal attention.

Art. II. *On the Principles of the Christian Religion*: addressed to her Daughter; and, *On Theology*. By Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, Author of the "Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, &c." 8vo. pp. 347. Price 10s. 6d. London. Longman and Co. 1817.

MR. LUCY HUTCHINSON needs no introduction to our readers. The remarkable case of literary resuscitation of which she has been the subject, has been attended by a success equally remarkable in winning for herself a large portion of general admiration, in the face of a host of opposing influences. Displaying, in one hand ensigns sure to provoke a very formidable hostility, and the memoirs of her husband in the other, she has forced the lines of prejudice, and conquered for herself an honourable place in public opinion. She will continue to be thought of, not simply as a credible memorialist of transactions which will interest Englishmen as long as Englishmen are free: the eminent qualities of mind and heart which exhibit themselves in her writings, give her a personal consideration that entitles her to a niche among our worthies. Mrs. Hutchinson has ascended to her place in the noble company of them who are to be had in everlasting remembrance. Calvinist, Puritan, Baptist, Republican,—an abettor of rebellion so called, she has added a notable demonstration to the thousand that have been given of the *unmeaningness*, as designations of character, of those sweeping epithets which are the delight of heated and empty heads. In this view, the publication of the

present volume may do good, as it will repeat and strengthen the impression which has been made by its precursor.

We shall not attempt to determine what might have been the fate of this altogether interesting publication, had it been the only production of the Author that had reached us ; but we are disposed to give ourselves credit for as much *unassisted* judgment, as would have induced us to recommend it to the perusal of our readers for its own sake, and not merely as a literary curiosity. Unquestionably, we should have pronounced it the work of a very extraordinary woman, exhibiting, as it does, a degree of acquaintance with the learning most in vogue at the time, reputable to a scholar, and distinguishing in the case of a female ; a considerable superiority to prejudices, and emancipation from senseless trammels, which, in her time, exercised an influence over respectable understandings ; a propriety of style, which proves the mind to be in possession of itself ; a *naïveté*, which results from earnestness and reality of feeling ; the good taste of a virtuous mind ; and still further, a power of fixing the attention upon abstractions, which, (and no real disparagement is included in the remark,) we are little accustomed to look for when comfortably seated by our firesides.

In his Preface to the Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, the Editor states, that among Mrs. Hutchinson's MSS. there were 'Two Books, treating entirely of religious subjects,' concerning which he says, 'Although the fancy may be rather too much indulged (in them) the judgement still maintains the ascendency, and sentiments of exalted piety, liberality, and benevolence, are delivered in terms apposite, dignified, and perspicuous.'

With these pieces we are now presented. The first is on the principles of the Christian Religion ; addressed to her daughter, Mrs. Orgill ;—the second is on Theologie ; composed probably for the Author's own improvement, and, we should conjecture, at an earlier period of her life. The dedication of the first treatise, to her daughter, displays much of the writer's sound sense, Christian spirit, and genuine humility. She thus states her design.

'If any attempts have beene made to shake you in principles, I bewaile it as my neglect of fixing them by precept and example, and have written this little summary for you, not that I thinke it is anything but what you may, more methodically collected, find in many bookes already written, and as usefully gather for yourselfe out of the same spirituall garden where I had them, but that it may lie by you as a wittnesse of those sound truths I desired to instruct you in, and as my last exhortation that you take heed you be not seduced to factions and parties in religion from that Catholick faith and universall love, wherein all that are true Christians must unite.'

As the period in which Mrs. Hutchinson lived, might be characterized as the age of *notions* and divisions, she appears peculiarly anxious to guard her daughter against the perils to which even the well-intentioned are exposed at such a time. After urging the importance of stability in principle, she thus enforces catholicism of temper and conduct.

‘ There never was a time, when the truth was more clouded with the mists of error, then att this day ; so that it is very difficult for young converts not to be infected with some of them, all the old ones, against which the Church of God in and immediately after Christ’s time so powerfully contended being renewd in our dayes, and many new stalks growing upon every old poysonous roote, the broachers and sect masters coming many of them forth in the appearance of angells of light ; and it is Sathan’s pollicy at this day, when the guilded baites of the world and the sweete allurements of the flesh will not prevaile, then to tempt, with a wrested Scripture, as he dealt even with Christ himselte ; and if some one opinion draw men into a sect, for that they espouse all the erronious practises and opinions of that sect, and reiect the benefitt they might have by spirituall converse with Christians of other iudgments, at least receive nothing from them without it passe the verdict of that sect they encline to. But I must, having bene very much exercisid concerning this thing, hold forth to you the testimony that I have receivd of God, whither you will receive it from me or not. Sects are a great sionne, and Christians ought all to live in the unity of the Spirit ; and though it cannot be, but that offences will come in the Church, yet woe be to them by whom they come. Love is the bond of perfectnesse, and they that breake the communion of saints walke not charitably, and will be highly accountable to God for it. Those that make devisions, and those that follow deviding seducers, keepe not close to the undisputable precept of Christ. In his name, therefore, I beg of you to study and exercise universall love to every member of Christ, under what denomination soever you find them.’

We draw from their places the following sentences, as they exhibit the simplicity and humility of the amiable writer.

‘ You may perhaps, when you have read these common principles and grounds, which I have here collected for you, thinke I might have spard my payns, and sent you a twopennie catechize, which contains the substance of all this ; and it is true here is nothing but what in substance you will find in every sound catechize, but though wee ought to be taught these things, the first that wee are taught, yet they will hold us learning all our lives, and att every review wee shall find our understandings grow in them. The want of having these grounds well layd, is the cause of so many wavering and falling into various sects.’ ‘ The Apostle reproaches the weakness of our sex more than the other, when speaking of the prevalency of seducers, he says they lead about silly weomen, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth ; therefore every wise and holy woman ought to watch strictly, over herself, that

we become not one of these; but as our sex, through ignorance and weakenesse of iudgement (which in the most knowing weomen is inferior to the masculine understanding of men), are apt to entertaine fancies, and pertinacious in them, soe wee ought to watch over ourselves, in such a day as this, and to embrace nothing rashly; but as our owne imbecillity is made knowne to us, to take heed of presumption in ourselves, and to leane by faith upon the strength of the Lord, and beg his protection, that wee may not be led into error.' 'I have had many distractions of spirit, and interruptions in setting downe these things, which I send you, as a testimony of my best and most tender love to you, who cannot consider the age and temptations you are cast upon, without greate thoughts of heart and earnest prayer for you many times when you sleepe, and dreame not of the spirituall loving care I have for you.' (She thus concludes:) 'It is life, not notion, that God requires; if you live in your first light, God will enlarge it, and give you eternall light and life in our Lord Jesus, which is the most fervent prayer of your truly affectionate Mother.'

Mrs. Hutchinson does not write without *method*, though she appears often to be following merely the current of her thoughts, as she passes through the common places of divinity; or, as she herself expresses it at p. 90, where she makes a pause, as it seems, to collect her digressions.

'I have before, in declaring God and Christ, and what he hath done for us, and how wee are brought into the participation of his grace and glory, made digressions and enlargement, and perhaps anticipated and misplac'd some things. To passe over apologies, while I write not for the presse, to boast my owne weaknesses to the world, but to imprint on your hart the characters I have receiv'd of God; I shall go on, only reduce my digressions into a summe of what you have before.'

And we cannot better give an idea of the plan of the treatise, than by quoting what immediately follows.

'The true wisdom and felicitie of man consists in the knowledge of God, as our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, which we could not perfectly arrive to, but by the reflection of ourselves in our created, lapsed, and restored estate. This restoration being effected by the mediator Christ, I propounded 5 things to be considered of him, 1. Who he is; viz. the eternall Son of God, uniting our humane to his devine nature, and being so, God-man, two distinct natures in one person, reconciling the fallen nature of man to the pure nature of God, and marijng them together in his person. 2. What he hath done for us, viz. that he died to satisfie the wrath of God due to our transgression, and rose againe for our iustification, and ascending up to his Father's glory, hath taken possession of the heavenly inheritance for us, and received gifts for men, which he gives us by his Holy Spirit, being made our High Priest, who, by once offering up of himselfe for us, hath for ever perfected those that come to God by him: and our Prophett, who hath declar'd unto us the whole will of the Father, and by his continuall intercession

all pardon, and all grace, and all good things for us, and who Spirit teaches us and leads us into all truth; and our King, who hath vanquish't for us the powers of hell, and Sathan, and death, so that wee should not remaine under their dominion, but be his servants and faithful subiects, and live under his protection, in his reigne and glory. 3. How he is exhibited to us, viz. by preaching of the Gospell, and the Spiritt mooving therein. 4. How wee are receiv'd of us, viz. by faith, which the Spiritt workes in our hearts, whereby wee receive Christ offer'd unto us in the Gospell, and are made one with him. The last consideration is, how wee are kept in his fellowship, which I have in generall sayd to be by the Spiritt working love in our hearts, and keeping us in the exercise of all the duties of it to God and man.'

This expanded view of this last head occupies the remaining thirty and forty pages of this first Treatise.

It could easily fill our pages with extracts that would gratify pious readers. We shall select a few, which, while they are interesting for their matter, are the most in the manner of the Author; and we shall keep in view a further object. Should any of our readers be unwilling to believe that *such* a man was, to use the language of our times, a *thorough* Unitarian, they shall have the opportunity of satisfying themselves on the point; and while we would beg them to remark what topics, and in what a strain, Mrs. Hutchinson addresses her daughter, we challenge them, from any part of her writings that have been given to the public, to point out the notions of a weak, credulous, superstitious, or enthusiastic person, or of a low, sectarian, or fanatical spirit, which, suppose; at least that they are not resolved to throw away all their reason and all discrimination, might help them to account for the phenomena.

In the second head, speaking of what has been done by Christ for his Church, she says:

Christ is made our peace and righteousness, being the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world; all the types and sacrifices of the law, shadowing forth and leading to him, who was the true and only peace-maker between God and man, who gather'd all the elect into one body, and made them fellow members with him, and the righteousness of God in him; their sins forgiven him, and his righteousness theirs by imputation; he deliver'd us from the curse and bondage of the law, and restored that image of God which was lost by the first Adam's transgression, renewing his image in the inward man, and making them, after regeneration, to be in his image as of a second Adam, and roote of mankind. He hath made us unto us a fountaine of light, and life, and grace, and truth; a house of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God; a place of refuge against all the stormes of wrath and misery that wee

are liable to; a covering of our shame and nakedness; a living root, in whom wee grow up to God; a foundation of glorie and blessednesse in which wee are built up a holy building to God; a cleansing fountaine; a well of life to refresh all our wearinesse; a heavenly food to nourish us to life everlasting; a doore by whom wee have accesse to God; a shield that defends us from all the darts of the evill one; a Captain of our salvation to lead us into the heavenly Canaan, the everlasting rest of God. He hath restord to us a right in the whole creation, while the wicked are but usurpers of the good creatures of God. These and many others are the Scripture expressions of the greate things that Christ our Redeemer hath done for us, who not only redeemes the elect of God by price, having shed his pretious blood to make satisfaction to the wrath of God, and to purchase them to himselfe; but alsoe redeemes us by the power of his spiritt, delivering us from the bands of sinne, and hell, and death, which I have here a little confusedly sett downe as the Scriptures came into my mind, which finding such a vast extent of his love, could not easily contract itselfe into a summary and method of discourse, on a subject which ought to fill the hearis and tongues of men and angells with perpetuall admiration, and extolling the unspeakable and unconceivable love of God and Christ to poore lost mankind.' pp 49, 50.

The following extracts, which we give abridged, are excellent: the last paragraph we greatly admire.

'As faith apprehends God to be the chiefest good, and not only so in himselfe, but our soveraigne and only felicitie, wee cannot so believe, but our soules must love him above all, and long after him, and seeke their supream ioy in the fruition of him, which since wee can no way arrive to but by Christ, hence, he becomes the chiefest of 10,000 to our poore soules, exceeding pretious, and excellent, and admirable, farre above all that the tongue of men and angells can expresse him.

'All men pretend a love to God, but there are but few in whom it is sincere; therefore to discerne our love, I shall only here insert a few notes of true love. 1. None truly love God but those who love God only; they that lett anie creature share their heart with God, deceive themselves, and give God none of it. 2. As God is to be lov'd only, so he is to be lov'd constantly, as well when he strikes, as when he stroakes; as well when he takes, as when he gives. Whom Christ lov'd he lov'd to the end, and they that love Christ love him to the end. 3. He that truly loves God, loves him for himselfe more then for the good he expects from him.* 4. He that loves God

* This is a sentiment, we believe, very generally rejected by *Protestants* of the present day, as a refinement, and a branch of mysticism. We consider the making of this objection, as expressive of an important difference in the *style* of piety between the supporters of the two opinions. The dispute would arise no doubt in many cases from a mere misunderstanding of the proposition: it is frequent to hear the idea scouted of a *disinterested* love of God,—aye, and so it

loves all things that are his as his, and those most that have most impression of his holiness. 5. He that loves God loves all those that love him, and delights in their conversation, especially when they contend in the praises of God, and endeavour to magnify his name. 6. The love of God makes true believers to love all his ordinances, to love his word, and the messengers of it. 7. Further, the love of God makes a true believer to love all his dispensations, even his chastisements, so farre as they are destructive to that sinne which hath procured them. 8. Againe, the love of God makes believers love his interest, and be willing to part with all things that are deare to them for the advancement of his glory. 9. The love of God makes true believers to hate all things that are contrary to his holiness, even in themselves and their most beloved relations.

10. He that truly loves God delights to meditate of him, and to discourse of him, and to heare the mention of his name, and is weary

may, if by this is meant the loving that in which we know we have no interest: but what has this to do with the question? It is not imagined that any creature loves God under a formal disruption, if we may so speak, of the idea of God as the source and author of good to the individual; but, that the passion which necessarily and regularly takes place in proportion as the mind is rightly ordered, and as it apprehends God, is truly a different thing, and therefore susceptible of distinct consideration, though never in fact *disjoined* from the reflected or inferential sentiment which relates to individual felicity. For our own parts, we have always considered it as an important principle, and capable of extensive application to Christian experience, that the happiness to which man is restored in being reconciled to God, is derived in a way of *immediate* acts. It is conceived that the happiness of holy beings consists in the *direct* apprehension of the infinite blessedness and absolute excellence of God; and if they may repose, as it were, from this primary impression, it is in the *recollection* that thus themselves are blessed. We suggest, by the by, whether a fuller consideration of this principle, would not tend to dissipate the clouds that gloom the days of many Christians; the ray that is reflected is but a glimmering, and is robbed of its sensible heat: let faith be direct, and love will burn:—and love casteth out fear. When God is sought for only in the reflection from ourselves, no wonder if the way is dark, and the heart cold. As to the above sentiment being a branch of mysticism,—it may be so. The persons usually denominated the Mystics, lived for the most part in the twilight hours of the Christian day:—we think they were defective in their views of the Gospel: but in point of improvement, we had infinitely rather listen to the emphatic aphorisms of those who live under the full and strong impression of any one of the great facts of Christianity, than hear the flat descants of many who enjoy the meridian light of truth. In a word, we can wish nothing better for the comfortable, well-conditioned professors of the present day, than that they may go and learn something of that solemn, soul-absorbing, undiverted, painful, extatic love of God, which burns so bright in the lives and writings of the Mystics.

of that conversation, where God is seldome, slightly, or never remembered. Doe wee not see that even in creature loves, whatever the heart is sett on, men take all occasions to admire it, to consult how to attaine the enioyment of it, and delight to heare the object of their loves prayd and comended by others, love those that love it, and hate those that hate it, and use all endeavours to make others admire and love what they doe; and are wee not ashamed to pretend to the love of God, when a little discourse of him is tedious to us, when those that hate the mention of him, whose mouths are full of lies and vanity, whose hearts are full of the world, and whose conversations savour nothing of God, are our beloved and delightfull companions? This is a sore evill, and deserves a deepe consideration and reflection; even the saints themselves, in their conferences of God at this day, are rather fortifying each other in particular opinions that they affect, then magnifying the name of God for his excellency and his wonder, manifested to the sons of men in his greate workes of creation, providence, redemption, sanctification. Who declares to each other the goodnesse of God dayly exercised to their soules, and calls on their friends and neighbours to blesse the Lord with them and for them? Ah, wee live in such a world, that a true lover of God cannot doe it, without casting pearles before swine, that would turne and rent them; and therefore are faine almost, in all companie to keepe silence, or elce have their hearts disturbd from the contemplation of the deare object of their soules, and led astray in the willdernesse of the world.' p. 84.

Some pages further on we meet with a passage which may serve as a counterpart to the foregoing, and the length of which, we are persuaded, our readers will not regret.

' This feare, (that of the wicked,) bondage, and terror, believers and true worshippers of God are delivered from, through the redemption that is in Christ; but that gentle curb, which the love of God putts, as a bridle, on our wild affections, is the delight of the saints, who count the service of God perfect freedome. These are affected with a reverentiall, filliall awe in his presence; they dread his displeasure more than hell, and seeke his face and favour more than Heaven. Heaven would not be Heaven to a true child of God, if God were not there in his grace and favour, and were it possible there could be a hell, where God's favour could be enjoyed, a true lover of God would chuse it before Paradise, without him: but God cannot be seperated from Heaven, he is the heaven of heaven; and where he is present in grace and favour, there is no hell in the greatest tortures imaginable. This made Lawrence his gridiron a bed of roses; this made the stones that were hurld at Stephen, only to beate away the grosse ayre from about him, and bring the glorious heaven into his view, with the sight of which he was so extasied, he felt not the payne of the strokes. This reverentiall feare begetteth a holy care and watch in the soule, suspecting and crying out to God to keepe his citadell there, at every small motion and appearance of the enemy, in any suggestion or any rising mist. 'Tis a holy frame of spiritt that keepes us allwayes in a reverent awe and dread of the maiesty of God, and in an humble posture of soule before him, yet

cutts not of, but aggravates our delight in him, our ioy and our singing before him: it is our wall of defence, and not our prison; our badge of honor, and not our chaine of bondage: herein our love is exercised; and this is one of God's sweete embracings, whereby he holds in our soules and keepes them close to him. He that feares not God loves him not, as tis to be suspected too many doe that unreverently approach his throne in all their filthy pollutions, and dread not to come so undecently into his presence.' pp. 115—117.

The latter, and rather larger half of the volume, is occupied with the tract 'Of Theologie.' It is more laboured, more scholastic, less practical, than the other; it abounds with references to the classics, and to Jewish and Christian writers; and not being apparently, like that which Mrs. Hutchinson wrote for her daughter, composed under the impression of a definite and important object, will perhaps generally be read with less interest. At this period, the subpoenaing of a host of testimonies, the greater number of them vastly insignificant, was deemed an appropriate part of the treatment of every subject. Thinking was still at least as much concerned with names as with things. The discussion of the most important question was often a spontaneous exercise ending in itself; and controversy was a tournament, in which, though there was enough that was real to interest the malevolent passions, and in which serious injury might be inflicted, the very nature of the case precluded the expectation of any solid advantage. But if we refer to the intellectual character of the times at all, in the way of apology for the less interesting parts of Mrs. Hutchinson's writings, such a reference will, on the other hand, furnish the ground of a comparison very advantageous to her in several respects. In these pages she exhibits, on many occasions, that sort of intuitive good sense, in which her sex must be allowed so often to excel, and which led her at once to detect and expose the solemn nonsense that was by no means completely exploded a hundred and fifty years ago. Thus, referring to the disputes of the schools, she remarks:

'These, and such like impertinences, devines have variously disputed, mixing philosophy with Christian simplicity, and by accommodating the understanding of it to the rules of art, have cheated themselves with false notions, and understand it not at all.' p. 144.

And again,

'The schoolemen, stirrd up with an itch of disputation, contend about their theologie, whither it be *science* practicall or speculative, or *prudence* or *wisedome*: which word soever they fix on, weighing it upon all philosophical accounts, they wrack their braines to accommodate it to their theologie, and make it their businesse to fish out of humane learning all that is attributed to it. Suppose, for instance, *Wisedome* be their terme, whatever the philosophers say of that, must be accomodated to their theologie, and then they triumph over all

"as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word." But where churches, under a tolerable measure of external tranquillity, remain efficiently indifferent (whatever they may talk about, or pray about) to the diffusion of the Gospel in the world, we are disposed to assert it as an invariable principle, abundantly established by experience, that from such churches the Divine Spirit is departed. A worldly, a slumbering, a wrangling, or a sectarian spirit, pervades their members; a *notional* Christianity is the only thing which interests them as Christians; and the 'few names' that may be found in such societies, are subjected to years of sorrowful lamentation, that the word of God is *bound* among them. Such a state of things, to some considerable extent it appears, very quickly succeeded the *good times* of Puritanical persecutions, about the period of the complete overthrow of the enemies of true religion in the year 1648. Many, no doubt, were the exceptions. How many were there who would have rejoiced inexpressibly, could they have seen the things which we see? But how few, how very few are those who wholly escape the evil influences of the day in which they live! We have been led into this digression, by a passage which we shall quote, and which will not be perused by our pious readers, without an emotion of gratitude to the Source of all good, for the great change which, in this respect, has taken place in the sentiments of Christians, and the prospects of the Church. Could the spirit of the truly devout writer come down among us now, with what impatience, with what grief, with what joy, would she rend from her book the page which we transcribe.

* *Res.* No man doubts but that there is a possibility the Gospel might be preacht to those to whom it is not preacht. But that that might be done in respect to the event, which from eternity God will should not be done, is not yet proovd. The Scripture attributes it to the will of God, that the Gospel is not actually preacht to many, nor was not to be preacht to them. Nor appears it that this comes about through our sloth and negligence, which, if it did, would not much alter the case; for if God had willed their salvation, he could have removed that sloth. Besides, sloth cannot iustly be criminated where there is no office, for all our duty depends on the will of God calling us to office. *How will they make it appeare that wee are calld to the preaching of the Gospel, to those that live in the uttermost ends of the earth?* *Opponent.* There needs no ecclesiasticall mission for the undertaking that office. *Resp.* Grant that; but what is that providence of God, which so signifies his will to us therein, as to warrant us to set upon the worke in faith? Or who are endued with gifts for the due performance of it? It appears not to me, however sloth in performance of that duty wee are calld to may be iustly chargd on us, yet that our guilt is of that extent, as that it will be imputed as our crime, that the Gospel is not preacht in America' p. 191.

ground for that love of God which is at once the essence, and the motive of all true virtue.

And here is introduced in form, a long ‘ Digression concerning Universal Grace’, in which the opponent, upon ground perhaps somewhat *above* common Arminianism, maintains the *hypothetical* sufficiency of natural theology, to which the respondent, upon ground not entirely identical with that which would be taken by well-informed *modern* Calvinists, replies. This discussion occupies forty pages. It exhibits a great deal of acuteness and close thinking. But as it is stated in the commencement, as a common point, that ‘ The revelation of Jesus Christ, by the Gospel, is absolutely necessary to the obtaining of salvation,’ (p. 198), this admission may seem to reduce the dispute to little better than an idle amusement, at least so far as the question may appear to have any practical relation to the conduct of Christians in the world, as the repositories of the word of life. He who is duly impressed with the *indisputable fact*, that the world lieth in the wicked one,* will surely feel that there is something else to be done, than to run round the three worlds in pursuit of every hypothesis that may be started upon the subject.† But indeed it is amazing to observe the *sang froid*, if the expression may be allowed, with which Christian writers of times past very often speak of, and argue concerning, the state of the world. During the heat of persecution, an almost total forgetfulness of the condition of others may be easily accounted for, and in a sense excused. In such times, indeed, the Head of the Church seems to take the dissemination of his truth more immediately into his own hands. His people are absorbed with their own affliction; and he seems graciously to dispense on their part with those ‘ liberal devisings’ for the good of mankind, which ordinarily arise under circumstances of personal security. They are still honoured with being his agents, for he will do nothing without his friends; but they are so almost involuntarily. The “ Prince of the power of the air” is permitted to excite a hurricane, which scatters the good seed of the kingdom widely over the field of the world: “ Therefore they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word.” “ They which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far

* ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται.

† We would by no means be understood to deprecate those unavoidable *branchings* of divinity, which must more or less be pursued, when, for the instruction of those who are to teach religion, theology has to be reduced to a system of propositions. But we *do* object, chiefly on the ground of their *chilling* influence, to discussions of this sort not clearly indispensable to these methods of instruction, which themselves derive all their use from the narrowness of our views, and the feebleness of our powers.

"as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word." But where churches, under a tolerable measure of external tranquillity, remain efficiently indifferent (whatever they may talk about, or pray about) to the diffusion of the Gospel in the world, we are disposed to assert it as an invariable principle, abundantly established by experience, that from such churches the Divine Spirit is departed. A worldly, a slumbering, a wrangling, or a sectarian spirit, pervades their members; a *notional* Christianity is the only thing which interests them as Christians; and the 'few names' that may be found in such societies, are subjected to years of sorrowful lamentation, that the word of God is *bound* among them. Such a state of things, to some considerable extent it appears, very quickly succeeded the *good times* of Puritanical persecutions, about the period of the complete overthrow of the enemies of true religion in the year 1648. Many, no doubt, were the exceptions. How many were there who would have rejoiced inexpressibly, could they have seen the things which we see? But how few, how very few are those who wholly escape the evil influences of the day in which they live! We have been led into this digression, by a passage which we shall quote, and which will not be perused by our pious readers, without an emotion of gratitude to the Source of all good, for the great change which, in this respect, has taken place in the sentiments of Christians, and the prospects of the Church. Could the spirit of the truly devout writer come down among us now, with what impatience, with what grief, with what joy, would she rend from her book the page which we transcribe.

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Upon this passage we shall presently make a remark of another kind, and proceed now to follow Mrs. Hutchinson through her argument. She goes on to consider 'Naturall Theologie under that totall corruption whereby it became apostaticall.'

'The sad issues of humane defection and miserie which ran on corrupting the primitive theologie, till it ended in horrid and totall apostacy, and a hellish lake of mad idolatrie and most impure vanities, had a double spring. 1. Some trusting to their own powers and wayes labourd to emprove the reliques of naturall theologie, and through their naturall blindnesse, by that endeavour more corrupted it. 2dly. Others purposely and with wicked designe attempted the further corruption of it.' p. 229.

Under the first head the philosophers are included; under the second, the poets, priests, and institutors.

Philosophy is the sprowtings forth of the reliques of that theologie which was concreated with the first man, and which he had in the entire state of nature amplified by the revelation of God in his workes.' 'At the first, men that contemplated God tooke paynes to erect and refine philosophie, and made it their businesse to cherish, excite, and trace out the common notions of God, and of his will, and the dictates of good and evill, upon divers accounts, so that, if possible, they might by their conduct be led to the fruition of God.' But 'the event answerd not this most worthy attempt, for the innate vanity of the mind of man did variously lead about that naturall light that man had, or rather the reliques of it, in the investigation of truth, untill it brought it into the boggs and quagmires of vaine curiosities, endlesse contentions, and unprofitable speculations, where it was almost wholly choakd and extinct,' (producing, as she remarks, nothing but the mere *formal* philosophy of Aristotle and the schools, known by the names of ethics, and metaphysics.) These pretended sciences 'have obtaind such an empire in the iudgements of the learned men every where, that they must be tenderly dealt with for feare of blowing up the learned coales, and provoking a race of sternall disputers; yet wee must have leave and liberty alsoe to examine and consider them.'

Their futility and uselessness are then argued from the consideration, that the only true end of morality is the glory of God, and the fruition of him: now not only was this end entirely lost sight of, but had it been pursued, it must have been fruitless, as 'it reduces wretched sinfull men againe under a covenant of workes,' besides that it was pursued at a distance from the reality of things, and was little other than a sort of abstracted game of *signs*, the acquaintance with which had about as much to do with the true business of man in the world, as a proficiency in backgammon or chess.

'The comprehension of notions and the harmony of termes, wherein the knowledge of things is artificially deliverd, rather obstructs than promotes true wisdom, since we dayly see men accurately

skilld in all definitions, devisions, distinctions, terms, and notions, wherby any science may be learnt, who have the systeme of all learning at their fingers ends, and are never so much in their owne element as when they are taken up in disputations; yet, in truth, they understand not the things they talke of, only as parrotts doe the words they are taught; but the learning of sciences renders very few of them the wiser. The vanity of mans mind is not more evident in any of them then in this science of morallity. Unjust, lascivious, deboshit, wrathfull covetous, vitious men, all are or may be endued with it, and not renderd vertuous by it. Not one true vertue is troly taught in all Aristotle's bookes to Nicomachus; nor ever did any one, by the learning of them, arrive to be just, good, or really excellent, or anie thing but a masquerading hipocrite.' p. 240.

'There is nothing vertue now, but what believers receive from the grace of the new covenant. Tis very impious so to instruct any one in the generall vertue of nature, as not equally to teach them the knowledge of supernaturall grace, and the respect it hath to Christ the Mediator, or that any one should be stirrd up to the exercise of vertuous acts, without being at the same time taught from whence he is to expect his strength for the performance of them. The nature of vertue is to be taught, duties expland, the hate of sin and vice seriously inculcated, the practice of vertue pressd; but all this must be done with regard to Christ the Mediator, to the Holy Ghost, to the covenant of grace, and are to be done as obedience due to God. Now, he would be hussd out of the schooles, who, in explicating the morallity taught there, should fall on any mention of these things.' p. 242.

We should be happy to believe that there are no 'schooles' among us now in which such doctrines would be so received.

The wilful corruption of traditionary theology by the poets, is exhibited at some length by numerous references to the Greek and Latin classics, which Mrs. Hutchinson has done into English verse in a characteristic style. Near the close of this disquisition we meet with a passage which, while it displays peculiarly the simple and careless force of the writer, has, in point of sentiment, by no means ceased to be appropriate.

'I cannot but in this place take notice, how like themselves the wicked are in all times: proud wise fooles thinke nothing is to be seene which their blind misty eyes cannot discern, and that there is no use of or excellency in that which they cannot reach to, so they descend to practises, and those they beleive easie, and please themselves in pageantry and painting rotten posts, and will have all religion to consist in these faire outsides. At this, how many sursung men doe I heare talking the language of the vulgar. The mysteries of the decrees and councells of God, of the properties and operations of the devine nature, &c. are not to be prostituted, say they that be lieve themselves learned, to the simple laity; it is enough for them to live honestly and charitably among one another, and obediently to their Sovereigne and their guides; it makes them mad to teach them anything beyond these duties, which they can comprehend. The

Mrs. Hutchinson on Theology.

common people say, What doe you talke to us of religion; we pray to God, and live good lives, and hard things belong to schollars, not to us to study. All their iustice and honesty is overthrowne in one thing, if they would but consider it. Nothing is so due as the whole tendency of our whole lives, and every action of them, to the glory of God; now when wee centre in lower ends, and our good and righteous actions flow from an unrighteous spring, selfe-love and desire of ease, the greatest vertues are but appearing good. All the good wee doe can never make us good, but when by contemplating and embracing the grace of God, that hath made us good by grafting us into a good stock, then wee are capable of bringing forth good fruites;—but it is wonderfull to consider how many poore people delude themselves, and are deluded with the pursuite of a good life, before they have attained a renewd principle of life and all good actions.’ p. 289.

The concluding chapter of the first book, professes to treat of the dissipation of apostatized theology, by the publication of Christianity, though in fact it is chiefly occupied with a refutation of Cardinal Bellarmine’s fifteen notes of the true Church, which is here asserted to be, ‘ That company and community of men, who allways endeavour to please God in celebrating that worship which he himselfe hath instituted.’ This is, and ever was, the true Church.

Of the ‘ Seconde Booke of Theologie,’ in which it is proposed to consider in its origin, progress, decays, and revivals, that knowledge of God which is supernatural, we have only the first three chapters. The volume closes abruptly with remarks upon Gen. iv. 26. and vi. 2. in which we find what may be called the history and description of the first **DISSENTERS!**—a term which in *one sense or another* must belong to the true worshippers of God in this evil world, till the time when he that deceiveth the nations shall be “ bound with a great chain.”

‘ When as the church was conteind in the limitts of one famely, the reformation of it was easie, by the eiection of the contumacious offender. But mankind being encreasd, and the churches pale vastly enlargd, another way was to be taken. For a multitude of offenders produces impunity and licentiousnes in offending. Therefore these words denote two things—First, that the godly did constitute select congregations for the celebration of God’s worship: Secondly, that from that time they tooke up the name of the worshippers or sons of God, which they used till the next defection. Our interpreters allow both sences, for as in the text they read it, Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord, so in the margine they putt in, *To call themselves by the name of the Lord*, which implies that they seperately calld upon God in solemne worship. And that they were called by his name, worshippers or sons of God. And at that time this was the only way of reforming the church that was left them. Both the nature of the thing and right reason itselfe require the same course to be taken, when a multitude corrupt the worship of God, and obstinately persist in their wicked practises; which was the state of the church at that time: for what should they doe who

desire to preserve their consciences pure and blameless in the worship of God? shall they suffer themselves to be mixed with and corrupted by the apostate route? This seems to be contrary to their duty. Shall they cast out the apostates, and extirpate them out of the bounds of the church? But a few cannot doe this to many. There is then no way left for the godly but a secession and collection into seperate assemblies, and these words of the Scripture make it apparent this course was then taken. For the name of God was not then first of all prophand, that was done long before by the wicked Cainists.* Neither, speaking absolutely, can wee say that men then first began to call upon the name of God, for that had been done from the foundation of the world, all the godly having successively applied to his worship. But worship being at that time corrupted by the multitude, some certeine persons, by a visible separation from the rest of the world, did solemnly among themselves performe the worship of God.—The pious Sethites, that they might preserve themselves free from the common defilement, and uphold the worship of God in the promised Mediator pure, withdrawing from the apostate route, and setting up seperate congregations, were called the Sons of God. And here first the church of God stood up visibly and spontaneously seperate from the world. But in processe of time the ungodly Cainites, and those Sethithes from whom the godly separated in that reformation in the dayes of Enosh, pretending as it appears a common endeavour of peace, were admitted into the fellowship of the godly by intermarriages, and other bonds of civill society, and thereby almost universally confounded all things both devine and humane. Such for the most part is the fatall issue of corruption readmitted into a church after reformation.—The sons of God were those who, from the dayes of Enosh, sett up distinct congregations for the true worship of God, professing themselves the sons of God. Under that name they became the hate and scorne of the world. Neither ever was or ever will the world be unlike itselfe in this particular.’ p. 346.

The name of Mrs. Hutchinson will place this volume in the hands of many persons who, but from such an inducement, would never read a work of the kind; of many who, whatever their other acquirements may be, are very slenderly informed upon the subject of religion, and very ill provided with those general principles, or that knowledge of the Bible, which might qualify them to weed out the tares, without at the same time plucking up the precious wheat. Now, we would come in upon the candid moment of such persons, if any such peruse our pages, and, if they will allow us, do them a service. They will be offended with many passages in this volume: this we cannot help. With some few expressions they will be, we think, justly offended: this offence we would endeavour to remove. We know they will be disposed to place the whole together under the ban of one of those contumelious epithets, by

* The sense put upon the words by same commentators.

which it is the invariable *accident* of true religion to be known in the world ; and thus they will incur a hazard of which a man should not think without an emotion of the most serious alarm, that of fortifying themselves in a prejudice against the TRUTH of God. We should indeed feel ourselves in the most wretched of all situations, that of being the objects of our own contempt, were we conscious at present of being actuated by an anxiety for the honour of a name, or the interests of a party ; but still more strongly would this be our case, were we to be induced by the fear of being so thought of, to recede from the occasion. But, is it not a vain attempt, to endeavour to make Bible religion other than an object of railing and contemptuous animosity, to those who do not receive it ? We are assured that it is. It is still the ‘ *superstitio nova et malefica* ;’ and the forms of it are tolerated in the world only in proportion as its true glory is obscured. Nevertheless,—we should rather say—*therefore*, let the more scrupulous care be taken to avoid unnecessary offence. But there is another consideration of great weight which bears upon our minds. The humble, sincere, doubting, distressed inquirers, as they are the principal objects of hope, should be considered as the peculiar objects of instruction. These are the persons who *shall* be brought into the right way ; and these are exactly they whose safety and comfort are placed under the protection of that thrice repeated warning : “ It were better for a man that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these *little ones*.” On such accounts, we would not pass an occasion on which we observe what is essentially the truth, placed in an unfavourable aspect, of endeavouring to restore to those lovely features the day-light of harmony and consistency : still remembering that the grand obstruction to the perception of this loveliness, is the disorder of the organ of vision ; and that when this disorder is healed, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days.

That we may not unduly extend this Article, we must content ourselves with referring to the 19th and the following five pages of this volume, and to page 191, from which we have already quoted, as affording the grounds of the remarks we have to make. In these and a few other places, the points which distinguish the system called Calvinistic, are stated in a way not unusual indeed, especially at the time when Mrs. Hutchinson wrote, but still by no means satisfactory to ourselves, and in terms the most likely to occasion a stumbling at a doctrine of no small importance in the Christian system. Now, we must not be considered here as addressing ourselves to our well instructed religious readers ; we have nothing to offer on the present occasion

which is not, doubtless, perfectly familiar to their minds. We have in view those who would acknowledge themselves to have thought and read little on such matters, or to be still seeking an opinion upon them; and we would hope at least, if we do no more, to convince such persons, that there is something in the subject beyond what may be appropriately despatched by the calling of ugly and contemptuous names.

Let us then for a while banish from our minds all reference to creeds and systems; nay, let us cease to remember any of the assertions of revelation; and still further, we will, in supposition, recede as far back as we may from the centre of that sentiment which becomes us as creatures, till we stand even upon the very verge of that bottomless pit, the abyss of atheism. This we would do, because it is our most clear conviction, that not a single objection lies against the most revolting statements of the Scriptures, understood in their plain grammatical sense, which does not, with exactly equal weight, press upon every hypothesis that may be assumed, short of that frightful idea which ought scarcely to be named. When therefore objections of the kind we anticipate, are urged, we would not offend the sacred inclosure of Christianity, by the noise of a contest in which it has no *peculiar* concern; we would have our opponent forth without the walls of the city, and there, abroad upon the common field of the universe, either be made to acknowledge that there is no truth, no resting place for wretched man, or we would bring him down in the dust before the throne of the Most High, in unanswering acquiescence; or, if we could not do this, we would even drive him from stand to stand, into the very arms of the ghastly phantom whose name has just escaped our pen. Which then we ask, (let it be with reverence,) which of his attributes is it that we must deny to the Supreme Arbiter, the one and only Cause of all positive being? Is it his absolute and infallible knowledge of all existence, distinguished, alone in our narrow thought, into past, present, and to come? In a sane mind, though unaccustomed to deal with abstractions, the reflection of a moment will return all the answer which is required to such a demand. If there is, or may be, existence of which God is not the cause, or which stands in no relation to Divine causation, which is unavoidably implied in its being unknown, then we have a second independent universe, floating—who knows where?—beyond the bounds of omniscience; and which may—who shall say it may not?—one day come sweeping across the system of things known, with incalculable derangement, or absolute destruction. The distressing absurdity of such suppositions, causes a painful recollection of that depraved darkness of the human mind, which makes it sometimes necessary to give them an utterance.

statements can have place only in *this* world : they would be infinitely impertinent in heaven, or in hell. Are we then satisfied with the claim on the part of God, of being the source of good ; that, as without him there could be no being, so, for him, there could be no well-being ? But if there be an independent cause of *positive* being, or manner of being, other than God, we have two creators, two first causes. Besides, there is danger here of being blinded by a mere metaphysical artifice, of imagining the real separate existence of that which can so exist only in the mind. Such terms as good or well-being, would never have been thought of, but for the necessity of expressing the absence of the other relative mode of being, which we call evil. Good, expresses a being's relation of agreement with an ultimate end ; evil, the relation of disagreement. To talk of God, therefore, as the author of being, abstracted from all the good which belongs to its essence, is a logical absurdity.

We shall however come nearer to the point of the objection referring to the Divine apportionment of good : let us then consider the matter. There is much good of which we are the voluntary recipients ; unmeasured good is presented to the arbitrium of the will. But of both kinds it is as far as is conceivable from being true, that it is uniformly distributed, or equally apportioned ; and if, in the chilly region to which we have at present voluntarily retired, we may pronounce the name of good, and talk of it as the highest good, we beg it to be repeated, that in the possession of it, there is a vaster difference among men, than in the case of any inferior good. We repeat, there is no room to say, that though, in its lower sources, happiness is possessed in various degrees, the *summum bonum* is fully meted into equal portions. It is a *fact* not at all dependent upon the testimony of revelation, that moral well-being is the good of a few : it would be mere trifling for dispute's sake, or affectation, to deny that many, very many are *absolutely bad* ; they possess *none* of that happiness which is derived from virtue. This difference being acknowledged, where do we look for the cause of it ? Is the whole quantum of good cast, as it were, upon the winds, and are they the sovereign disposers of each creature's portion ? That is to say, God, though the cause of the matter of good, submits to an unreasonable chance in the vastly more significant affair of its allotment. Or, have creatures an independent power of appropriating to themselves various portions of the common mass ? If so, since we see one creature so much more of this power, than another ? Is *this* difference from chance ? If not, we shall be led to *in infinitum* for a cause of the difference, or be compelled to acknowledge that it has none, that it is something uncaused,

another first cause. If none of these suppositions can resist a moment's consideration, to what are we brought? What is our alternative but this, That God, uncontrolled by any consideration out of himself, parcels out to each of his creatures, all that good which the sum of its existence is to contain, and this in the way that belongs to that incommunicable and incomprehensible mode of his being, his Eternity. Now, let us translate this proposition into the phraseology of Christianity, adding to it nothing that will be thought worth a dispute if the premises be granted. 'God did, before the foundation of the world, by an infallible decree, determine the eternal salvation of all who shall finally be saved; and herein included all that grace of repentance and faith, and those good works, which are necessary parts of this salvation.'

But we shall be reminded that this is but one side of the subject, it has an affecting reverse: Evil is. Yes, and under whatever abstractions it may be attempted to disguise the fact, we are all far too well acquainted with the *thing*, long to resist the rising of a mournful contempt for such subterfuges. In the first place, then, we must caution our supposed opponent, against a practice towards which we have very frequently observed a disposition, that of endeavouring to fasten the burden of this obnoxious fact upon Christianity, if the objector be a professed infidel, or, upon some of its doctrines, if he take his stand within its pale. But with what justice is the Bible railed at, or is Calvinism railed at, because man is everywhere wicked, and wretched? As well charge all the groanings and writhings of an hospital upon the physician or the nurses. Revelation does nothing more than proffer a remedy to an acknowledged existing disease; with the addition of an authentication of the fearful forebodings of the guilty conscience. This premised, we protest against the implication of the position which we assert as the essence of Calvinism, with the ceaseless controversy — *to refer to modern* or with more modern controversies, relating to the final issue of evil. In most disputes, beside what is essential, there is something accidental. That which is essential to the Calvinistic question, relates to the cause of all good, and the cause of the difference in its dispensation. The points accidental and separable, refer to the origin and issue of evil, and the relation in which it stands to the Divine agency. Infidelity allows its existence, the wildest creed called Christian admits its awful consequence to stretch forward into the future state. So far therefore there is no dispute. Again: The objector against Calvinism specifically, would, we suppose, declare himself loudly against any imagined aspersion of the Divine character; and would perhaps profess to ground his dislike to the system on its supposed incompatibility with the honour of God. To this

feeling, if it be consistent, we shall be the last to object; this is the very point to which we would bring the business: To God be ascribed the honour of all good; to the creature, the shame of all evil; for we *know* that it is absolutely, finally, exclusively from ourselves. In proportion as we truly hate, resist, and overcome evil, will be the strength and clearness of this most salutary conviction. But is not Calvinism chargeable with the odiousness of maintaining a Divine predestination of guilt, and consequent punishment? If by Calvinism be meant the system that may be collected from the writings of those who have most distinctly asserted the doctrine of special and infallible predestination to eternal life, we are ready, freely and frankly to avow our conviction, that many things have been advanced by this class of writers, as being in their view unavoidable consequences of the system, which are alike unauthorised by Scripture, and unsupported by philosophical principles. Feeling themselves to be resting upon a rock that shall never be shaken, while they assert the Divine foreknowledge of all things, good, and evil, and the Divine causation and special dispensation of all good, it is but a few of them who have been at all successful in detecting the inconsequence of many generally received inferences relating to the origin and issue of evil. Assured that evil in its whole extent was as infallibly known as good, many of these writers have too hastily concluded it could be so only as the subject and result of decrees and appointment. Nor have they sufficiently observed that evil, being a *negative* mode, could not, in the nature of the thing, any more than a mathematical negation, have a positive cause; (and God is alone a positive cause;) but that yet, while evil can stand *related* only to the determinations, so to speak, that is, the acts, of him who does only good, having a proper and determinable cause in the essential and inseparable negativeness of all being but the first cause, it affords exactly as solid and calculable a ground of knowledge, as the Divine appointment of good.

Thus, Mrs. Hutchinson, following the current of opinion in her time, states the matter under all this confounding of things essentially different; and we have wished to suggest a hint, (and no more can here be expected,) which, if pursued, may exhibit the often misrepresented, and often vilified doctrine, in its simplicity of derivation from the first principle of natural theology, and its complete independence of those positions which have afforded the ground of the only plausible objections with which it has ever been assailed.

Art. III. *Lalla Rookh, an Oriental Romance*: By Thomas Moore. 8vo. pp. 398. Price 14s. Longman and Co. 1817.

WHEN an author proposes to criticise his own work, it must not be supposed that he is really to let the public into his faults. No one is obliged to criminate himself even indirectly before a British jury; and it would be hard indeed if a poor poet or novel-writer had not an analogous privilege by which to shelter himself from the mortification of becoming his own accuser. But one reason that we should not seek to the son of Parnassus for his own failings, (and it shall stand instead of the forty we could give,) is, that a million to one, he is the person least acquainted with them. Why then set up as autocritic? We frankly confess that we think the task of criticism might as well be left to us. At the same time, it must be remembered that all criticism is not vituperative, as the readers of our very lenient pages must be well aware; and though certainly it might not be *the thing* for the autocritic to allow himself the full laudatory strain in which we sometimes indulge, yet there are certain gentle hints and roundabout implications of praise by no means unbecoming or unusual, the which he may always safely employ, especially if he shew his unwillingness to praise himself by a contradictory clause of modesty. Thus, he may mention the very high opinion which *friends*, of unquestionable discretion in such matters, have formed of the work; provided he hint, however unobtrusively, that the judgment of a friend *may* be biassed, and his friends may *possibly* be mistaken. He may even give his own opinion, comparatively, and may be allowed to think the work the *least unworthy* of all that he has given to the public; or he may speak of the time and opportunities employed upon it, filling up, however, the unemphatic part of the sentence, with the remark that success is not *always* proportional to diligence. Then, difficulties overcome are so many triumphs; and the work was composed amid numerous interruptions and avocations, under the pressure of ill health, as a mere refuge from languor and low spirits, in the total absence of all books of reference, in a solitude that afforded no communication with others, in a bustle that allowed no pause for thought, in a hurry necessarily arising from a limitation of time, in short, under circumstances every way unfitting and disheartening; or the subject is entirely new, or it is hackneyed till nothing new can be said upon it, or it is so dry as not to admit the ornaments of composition, or, in fact, it is something which it displays an incredible genius ever to have attempted, begun, or carried into execution. Another method of the autocritic is a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*: to shew the excellence of the poem or the novel, he shews the absurdity of any one who can find or

fancy a fault in it; and to shew this, he puts into his critic's mouth some objection egregiously frivolous.

This last appears to be Mr. Moore's method in the prose-interludes of the poem before us;—we should say the poems, the work being a collection of stories sung by the prince of Bucharria to his betrothed Lalla Rookh, the daughter of Aurungzebe, as he conducts her, under the disguise of the minstrel Feramorz, from Delhi to Cashmere. Fadladeen, the critic, is of the princess's party, (a kind of concentration, we presume, of certain Fadladeens of the North,) from the futility of whose objections the reader is certainly led to infer the perfection of a poem which can furnish no better amusement for so renowned a dissector of tarts and epics.

We should not hesitate to call Mr. Moore the most *elegant* poet of the age. He has not the pathos of Southey, nor the spiritedness of Scott, nor the intense feeling of Lord Byron, nor the wayward imaginings of Wordsworth, nor the strange wildness of the Ettrick Shepherd; but whatever can in any manner or measure contribute to perfect elegance and polish, he has entirely at command;—enough of natural imagery, enough of sentiment, enough of feeling, for this end, with a fancy inexhaustible in pretty combinations, and a memory full fraught with whatever is luscious in language or gentle in versification. No thought so homely but he can dress it to advantage; none so awkward but he can teach it some graceful turn.

We are aware that we have not been describing a poet of the higher order; that Mr. Moore's pretty little gilded gondola is the gayest thing in the world for a Vauxhall regatta, or a Venetian carnival, but that it could not hope to live in the heave and the swell of the mighty ocean; that, when its sail is filled with the sigh of the zephyr or the breath of fair lady's fan, it coasts merrily by sunny islets and verdant fields; but that, when the waves are high and the winds are abroad, it has nothing to do there. Still, we think that the praise we have given, is so distinctly that at which Mr. Moore has always aimed, that his greatest admirers cannot be hurt at our refusing him any higher.

Even this praise, however, we cannot give without its qualifications,—such, and so hard, are critics. In the first place, the style which Mr. Moore has chosen, is that which beyond any other is liable to cloy. Nature is infinite; art, we know, is finite; and though nature presents herself to us under a thousand forms, still, every one sees these under a very narrow set of impressions, and there is always danger lest the poet, unlimited as he is in his range, should, like the bee, which, from a whole wilderness of flowers, all of different scents

and properties, extracts ever the same sweet but cloying honey, for ever present us images and feelings of the same complexion. There is always danger of this, but abundantly more in the elegant, than in any other species of composition. Elegance implies selection, and in proportion as the bounds within which the writer confines himself, are narrower, must the objects with which he is conversant be fewer. It is surprising how frequently, notwithstanding the fecundity of fancy which we suppose few would deny the Author, how very frequently the same images recur in the work before us. We must not be frightened from justice, even though we are anticipated by Fadladeen himself in one remark upon the endless profusion of flowers and birds and dews and gems exhibited throughout the poems of Feramorz. Here are roses,—roses in every page,—a whole haram for the most voluptuous of Feramorz's *bulbuls*, and sunshine on the waters and sunshine on the leaves, with breezes in every corner and odours in every breeze, and lutes and languishment, lovers and whispers, kisses and sighs,—smiles of all meanings, and eyes of all colours, with tresses to correspond, and moonlight—we have been so surfeited with moonlight, that how long it may be before we enjoy a walk in the evening again we cannot venture to say. As to women,—verily, it is ungallant, but we are perfectly sick of

‘ Young Mirzala's blue eyes,
Whose sleepy lid like snow on violets lies,
Arouya's cheeks,’ &c. &c.

It is impossible by quotations to give the feeling that arises from the *tout-ensemble* of these elegant, yet, we had almost said, palling poems. The reader may imagine the effect likely to be produced by a succession of passages like the following.

‘ Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave ?

‘ Oh ! to see it at sunset,—when warm o'er the Lake
Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws,
Like a bride, full of blushes, when ling'ring to take
A last look of her mirror at night ere she goes !—
When the shrines through the foliage are gleaming half
shown,

And each hallows the hour by some rites of its own.
Here the music of pray'r from a minaret swells,
Here the Magian his urn full of perfume is swinging,
And here, at the altar, a zone of sweet bells
Round the waist of some fair Indian dancer is ringing.
Or to see it by moonlight,—when mellowly shines
The light o'er its palaces, gardens and shrines ;

When the water-falls gleam like a quick fall of stars,
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shining walks where the young people
meet.—

Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one
Out of darkness, as they were just born of the Sun.
When the Spirit of Fragrance is up with the day,
From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
The young aspen-trees till they tremble all over.
When the East is as warm as the light of first hopes,
And Day, with his banner of radiance unfurled,
Shines in through the mountainous portal that opens,
Sublime, from that Valley of bliss to the world!

pp. 295—297.

Another disadvantage of Mr. Moore's style is, that it is so easily counterfeited. Grandeur of mien and beauty of countenance,—grace in the steps and heaven in the eye;—these are things not to be imitated, spite of heels and corsets, rouge and pearl-powder; but when the attraction of the muse is to consist in her dress and ornaments, then we all know that paste is cheaper than diamonds, and glass beads than pearls, and in unskilful eyes the lady may pass for a fashionable belle, in cotton velvets and gilded chains. Whether all of even Mr. Moore's diamonds are brilliants we shall presently see.

Figures, as we hinted above, are crowded almost beyond all precedent in the present volume. Some of these will doubtless be thought exceedingly beautiful.

“ Poor race of Men !” said the pitying Spirit,
“ Dearly ye pay for your primal Fall—
“ Some flow refts of Eden ye still inherit,
“ But the trail of the Serpent is over them all !” ’ p. 144.

‘ But nought can charm the luckless Peri;
Her soul is sad—her wings are weary—
Joyless she sees the sun look down
On that great Temple, once his own,
Whose lonely columns stand sublime,
Flinging their shadows from on high,
Like dials, which the wizard, Time,
Had rais’d to count his ages by !’ p. 153.

‘ Alas—how light a cause may move
Dissension between hearts that love !
Hearts that the world in vain had tried,
And sorrow but more closely tied :

That stood the storm, when waves were rough,
 Yet in a sunny hour fall off,
 Like ships, that have gone down at sea,
 When heav'n was all tranquillity !' pp. 304—305.

' Oh grief, beyond all other griefs, when fate
 First leaves the young heart lone and desolate
 In the wide world, without that only tie
 For which it lov'd to live or fear'd to die ;—
 Lorn as the hung-up lute, that ne'er hath spoken
 Since the sad day its master-chord was broken !' p. 22.

' Too happy days ! when, if he touch'd a flower
 Or gem of thine, 'twas sacred from that hour ;
 When thou didst study him, till every tone
 And gesture and dear look became thy own,—
 Thy voice like his, the changes of his face
 In thine reflected with still lovelier grace,
 Like echo, sending back sweet music, fraught
 With twice th' aerial sweetness it had brought !' p. 20.

' Many a fair bark that, all the day,
 Had lurk'd in sheltering creek or bay,
 Now bounded on and gave their sails,
 Yet dripping, to the evening gales ;
 Like eagles, when the storm is done,
 Spreading their wet wings in the sun.' p. 254.

Mr. Moore is not always, indeed, so *happy* ; though we have no doubt many a fair critic of seventeen has thought the following prettinesses the sweetest things imaginable.

' There blow a thousand gentle airs,
 And each a different perfume bears,—
 As if the loveliest plants and trees
 Had vassal breezes of their own
 To watch and wait on them alone,
 And waft no other breath than theirs !' p. 234.

' Yes—for a spirit, pure as hers,
 Is always pure, ev'n while it errs ;
 As sunshine, broken in the rill,
 Though turn'd astray, is sunshine still !!!' p. 230.

This we take to be as remote from common sense, as from orthodoxy, and as far from being poetry as from either : but it is a *sweet pretty* image ! !

' For mine is the lay that lightly floats,
 And mine are the murmuring, dying notes,
 That fall as soft as snow on the sea,
 And melt in the heart as instantly !' p. 318.

How convenient for the poet this same word *melt* ! Again :

' With sudden start he turn'd
 And pointed to the distant wave,

Where lights, like charnel meteors, burn'd
 Bluely, as o'er some seaman's grave;
 And fiery darts, at intervals,
 Flew up all sparkling from the main,
 As if each star that nightly falls,
 Were shooting back to heaven again.' pp. 194—195.

Surely this is childish work. But we must in fairness proceed.

' But now that Shape, which had appall'd her view,
 That Semblance—oh how terrible, if true!—
 Which came across her frenzy's full career
 With shock of consciousness, cold, deep, severe,
 As when, in northern seas, at midnight dark,
 An isle of ice encounters some swift bark,
 And, startling all its wretches from their sleep,
 By one cold impulse hurls them to the deep.' p. 32.

' And amply Selim quaffs of each,
 And seems resolv'd the floods shall reach
 His inward heart,—shedding around
 A genial deluge, as they run,
 That soon shall leave no spot undrown'd,
 For Love to rest his wings upon.
 He little knew how well the boy
 Can float upon a goblet's streams,
 Lighting them with his smile of joy;—
 As bards have seen him, in their dreams,
 Down the blue Ganges laughing glide
 Upon a rosy lotus wreath,
 Catching new lustre from the tide
 That with his image shone beneath.' pp. 326—327.

' The beauteous clouds, though daylight's Star
 Had sunk behind the hills of Lar,
 Were still with lingering glories bright,—
 As if, to grace the gorgeous West,
 The Spirit of departing Light
 That eve had left his sunny vest
 Behind him, ere he wing'd his flight.
 Never was scene so form'd for love!
 Beneath them, waves of crystal move
 In silent swell—heav'n glows above,
 And their pure hearts, to transport given,
 Swell like the wave, and glow like heav'n!' p. 254.

But we quote no more of these Della Cruscan graces, these untranslatable turns that hinge upon the twofold sense of a word, these pretty nothings. The above may suffice, we think, to shew that all Mr. Moore's glitter is not gold; and we are the more earnest in exposing the counterfeit, on the principle that the law always punishes with greater severity a crime of *admission* commission. They who cannot give us Mr. Moore's beauties, will give us his faults, and the beauties and the faults together

are of so seductive a kind, that we shall be inundated with roses and bad taste, Lilla's sweet smiles and the poet's simpering nonsense.

The first poem is, 'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.' This prophet Mokanna was an impostor, purporting to be a successor of Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. His face is always shrouded from the eyes of even his greatest favourites, by a silver veil, to conceal, ostensibly, the splendours which his followers were yet neither worthy to behold nor able to tolerate; in reality, hideousness of feature unbecoming not only a prophet, but a man. Like Catherine of Medici, Mokanna always carries with him a *cortège* of young girls,—What could our poet do without them?—the victims of his own lust, and the decoy-birds by which to attract devotees. Among the rest is one Zelica, who had been betrothed to a fond and youthful lover that war had torn from her arms, and of whose death she had since heard.

'Such was the mood in which that mission found
Young Zelica,—that mission, which around
The Eastern world, in every region blest
With woman's smile, sought out its loveliest,
To grace that galaxy of lips and eyes,
Which the Veil'd Prophet destin'd for the skies!—
And such quick welcome as a spark receives
Dropp'd on a bed of autumn's wither'd leaves,
Did every tale of these enthusiasts find
In the wild maiden's sorrow-blighted mind.
All fire at once the madd'ning zeal she caught:—
Elect of Paradise! blest, rapturous thought;
Predestin'd bride, in heaven's eternal dome,
Of some brave youth—ha! durst they say "of some?"
No—of the one, one only object.' pp. 23—24.

The poem opens with a grand pageant, planned for the purpose of receiving young Azim,

'a proselyte worth hordes
Of cooler spirits and less practis'd swords.—

The prophet speaks, his followers applaud, his mistresses peep from their curtained haram, and in the youth Zelica recognises her own Azim. Such are the materials of the story: we shall not follow it out. It is much too *melodramatic* for our taste; all probability or consistency is sacrificed for a stare and a start. In proof of this, we shall give the means which Mokanna adopts for binding Zelica irrevocably his.

'He hurried her away, yet breathing bliss,
To the dim-charnel-house;—through all its steams
Of damp and death, led only by those gleams
Which foul Corruption lights, as with design
To show the gay and proud *she* too can shine!—

And, passing on through upright ranks of Dead,
Which to the maiden, doubly craz'd by dread,
Seem'd, through the bluish death-light round them cast,
To move their lips in mutterings as she pass'd—
There, in that awful place, when each had quail'd
And pledg'd in silence such a fearful draught,
Such—oh! the look and taste of that red bowl
Will haunt her till she dies—he bound her soul
By a dark oath, in hell's own language fram'd,
Never, while earth his mystic presence claim'd,
While the blue arch of day hung o'er them both,
Never, by that all-imprecating oath,
In joy or sorrow from his side to sever.—
She swore, and the wide charnel echoed, “never, never!”
pp. 26—27.

In the same *striking* style is the death of Zelica. The prophet is defeated, and flies to Neksheb, taking with him this poor victim and the few of his followers that still remain to him. Here they hold out for some time; but at length

‘Mokanna sees the world is his no more;—
One sting at parting, and his grasp is o'er.’

He invites his followers to a banquet, poisons them, and being, though ‘cruel yet merciful,’ and not wishing them ‘to linger,’ tears his veil and frightens them to death, then plunges into a vessel of ‘burning drugs,’ and leaves Zelica the only living thing within the walls. What becomes of her let the poet tell. The next morning the city is stormed, a breach effected, and the besiegers enter, Azim, of course, first.

‘Just then, a figure, with slow step, advanc’d
Forth from the ruin’d walls; and, as there glanc’d
A sunbeam over it, all eyes could see
The well-known Silver Veil!—“’Tis He, ’tis He,
“Mokanna, and alone!” they shout around;
Young Azim from his steed springs to the ground—
“Mine, Holy Caliph! mine,” he cries, “the task
“To crush yon daring wretch—’tis all, I ask.”
Eager he darts to meet the demon foe,
Who still across wide heaps of ruin slow,
And falteringly comes, till they are near;
Then, with a bound, rushes on Azim’s spear,
And, casting off the Veil in falling, shows—
Oh!—’tis his Zelica’s life-blood that flows!’ pp. 119—120.

Azim is another instance in point, and the poet has described him so well that we shall not attempt any description of our own.

‘Though few his years, the West already knows
Young Azim’s fame;—beyond th’ Olympian snows,

Ere manhood darken'd o'er his downy cheek,
 O'erwhelm'd in fight and captive to the Greek,
 He linger'd there, till peace dissolv'd his chains;—
 Oh! who could, ev'n in bondage, tread the plains
 Of glorious Greece, nor feel his spirit rise
 Kindling within him? who, with heart and eyes,
 Could walk where Liberty had been, nor see
 The shining foot-prints of her Deity,
 Nor feel those god-like breathings in the air,
 Which mutely told her spirit had been there?
 Not he, that youthful warrior,—no, too well
 For his soul's quiet work'd th' awakening spell;
 And now, returning to his own dear land,
 Full of those dreams of good that, vainly grand,
 Haunt the young heart;—proud views of human-kind,
 Of men to gods exalted and refin'd;—
 False views, like that horizon's fair deceit,
 Where earth and heav'n but *seem*, alas, to meet!—
 Soon as he heard an Arm Divine was rais'd
 To right the nations, and beheld, emblaz'd
 On the white flag Mokanna's host unfurl'd,
 Those words of sunshine, "Freedom to the World,"
 At once his faith, his sword, his soul obey'd
 Th' inspiring summons; every chosen blade,
 That fought beneath that banner's sacred text,
 Seem'd doubly edg'd, for this world and the next;
 And ne'er did Faith with her smooth bandage bind
 Eyes more devoutly willing to be blind,
 In virtue's cause;—never was soul inspir'd
 With livelier trust in what it most desir'd,
 Than his, th' enthusiast there, who kneeling, pale
 With pious awe, before that Silver Veil,
 Believes the form, to which he bends his knee,
 Some pure, redeeming angel, sent to free
 This fetter'd world from every bond and stain,
 And bring its primal glories back again!" pp. 13—15.

Now, what was the method most likely to confirm a young and burning proselyte like this? Surely Mokanna hits upon the worst, when he introduces him, on the very evening of the solemnity, into a haram glowing with voluptuousness, into the very centre of 'rings and plumes and pearls,' 'illuminated halls,' and 'fragrant waters.' But if the scene does not suit Azim, it does Mr. Moore: he is quite at home, while the hero 'roams bewildered.'

We have not scrupled to express our undisguised opinion of 'the Veiled Prophet': it is not a poem to our taste, but it contains beautiful passages nevertheless. The reminiscences of the girls of Mokanna's haram are very touching.

————— Some younger girls
 Are gone by moonlight to the garden beds,

To gather fresh, cool chaplets for their heads ;
 Gay creatures ! sweet, though mournful, 'tis to see
 How each prefers a garland from that tree
 Which brings to mind her childhood's innocent day,
 And the dear fields and friendships far away.
 The maid of India, blest again to hold
 In her full lap the Champac's leaves of gold,
 Thinks of the time when, by the Ganges' flood,
 Her little play-mates scatter'd many a bud
 Upon her long black hair, with glossy gleam
 Just dripping from the consecrated stream ;
 While the young Arab, haunted by the smell
 Of her own mountain flowers, as by a spell,—
 The sweet Elcaya, and that courteous tree
 Which bows to all who seek its canopy—
 Sees, call'd up round her by these magic scents,
 The well, the camels, and her father's tents ;
 Sighs for the home she left with little pain,
 And wishes ev'n its sorrows back again !' pp. 51—53.

Sir John Stevenson must do his best for the following song.

' There's a bower of roses by Bendemeer's stream,
 And the nightingale sings round it all the day long ;
 In the time of my childhood 'twas like a sweet dream,
 To sit in the roses and hear the bird's song.
 That bower and its music I never forget,
 But oft when alone, in the bloom of the year,
 I think—is the nightingale singing there yet ?
 Are the roses still bright by the calm Bendemeer ?

' No, the roses soon wither'd that hung o'er the wave,
 But some blossoms were gather'd, while freshly they shone,
 And a dew was distill'd from their flowers, that gave
 All the fragrance of summer, when summer was gone.
 Thus memory draws from delight, ere it dies,
 An essence that breathes of it many a year ;
 Thus bright to my soul, as 'twas then to my eyes,
 Is that bower on the banks of the calm Bendemeer !' p. 63.

' Paradise and the Peri' is a lighter and more fanciful, but, in our conception, a much happier effort of the Author. It is not without his usual tawdriness ; but we think there is no reader, not even a critic by profession, but must be pleased with it.

' One morn a Peri at the gate
 Of Eden stood, disconsolate ;
 And as she listen'd to the Springs
 Of Life within, like music flowing,
 And caught the light upon her wings
 Through the half-open portal glowing,
 She wept to think her recreant race
 Should e'er have lost that glorious place !

' " How happy," exclaim'd this child of air,
 " Are the holy Spirits who wander there,

“ Mid flowers that never shall fade or fall;
 “ Though mine are the gardens of earth and sea,
 “ And the stars themselves have flowers for me,
 “ One blossom of Heaven out-blooms them all !”’ p. 133.

‘ The glorious Angel, who was keeping
 The gates of Light, beheld her weeping :
 And, as he nearer drew and listen’d
 To her sad song, a tear-drop glisten’d
 Within his eyelids, like the spray

From Eden’s fountain, when it lies
 On the blue flow’r, which—Bramins say—
 Blooms no where but in Paradise !

“ Nymph of a fair, but erring line !”
 Gently he said—“ One hope is thine.

“ ’Tis written in the Book of Fate,

“ *The Peri yet may be forgiven*

“ *Who brings to this Eternal Gate*

“ *The Gift that is most dear to Heaven !*

“ Go, seek it, and redeem thy sin ;—

“ ’Tis sweet to let the Pardon’d in !”’ pp. 134—135.

The poem consists of the three different attempts made by the Peri after this gift ‘ most dear to Heaven.’ We shall leave these to the guess of our readers, contenting ourselves with two quotations from this pleasing little poem. The first is an Egyptian scene.

‘ Her first fond hope of Eden blighted,
 Now among Afric’s Lunar Mountains,
 Far to the South, the Peri lighted ;
 And sleek’d her plumage at the fountains
 Of that Egyptian tide,—whose birth
 Is hidden from the sons of earth,
 Deep in those solitary woods,
 Where oft the Genii of the Floods
 Dance round the cradle of their Nile,
 And hail the new-born Giant’s smile !

Thence, over Egypt’s palmy groves,
 Her grots, and sepulchres of Kings,
 The exil’d Spirit sighing roves ;
 And now hangs listening to the doves
 In warm Rosetta’s vale—now loves

To watch the moonlight on the wings
 Of the white pelicans that break
 The azure calm of Mœris’ Lake.

’Twas a fair scene—a Land more bright
 Never did mortal eye behold !

Who could have thought, that saw this night

Those valleys and their fruits of gold
 Basking in heav’n’s serenest light ;—

Those groups of lovely date-trees bending

Languidly their leaf-crown'd heads,
 Like youthful maids, when sleep descending
 Warns them to their silken beds;—
 Those virgin lilies, all the night
 Bathing their beauties in the lake,
 That they may rise more fresh and bright,
 When their beloved Sun's awake;—
 Those ruin'd shrines and towers that seem
 The relics of a splendid dream;
 Amid whose fairy loneliness
 Nought but the lap-wing's cry is heard,
 Nought seen but (when the shadows, flitting
 Fast from the moon, unsheath its gleam)
 Some purple wing'd Sultana sitting

Upon a column, motionless
 And glittering, like an idol-bird!" pp. 140—142.

Who could have thought, amid this lovely scene, the plague
 busy?

Just then beneath some orange trees,
 Whose fruit and blossoms in the breeze
 Were wakening together, free,
 Like age at play with infancy—
 Beneath that fresh and springing bower,
 Close by the Lake, she heard the moan
 Of one who, at this silent hour,
 Had thither stol'n to die alone.
 One who in life, where'er he mov'd,
 Drew after him the hearts of many;
 Yet now, as though he ne'er were lov'd,
 Dies here, unseen, unwept by any!" pp. 144—145.

Not 'unwept by any:' one follows him to weep for him and
 by him;—it is his own betrothed bride.

" Oh! let me only breathe the air,
 " The blessed air, that's breath'd by thee,
 " And, whether on its wings it bear
 " Healing or death, 'tis sweet to me!
 " There,—drink my tears, while yet they fall,
 " Would that my bosom's blood were balm,
 " And, well thou know'st, I'd shed it all,
 " To give thy brow one minute's calm.
 " Nay, turn not from me that dear face—
 " Am I not thine—thy own lov'd bride—
 " The one, the chosen one, whose place
 " In life or death is by thy side!
 " Think'st thou that she, whose only light,
 " In this dim world, from thee hath shone,
 " Could bear the long, the cheerless night,
 " That must be hers, when thou art gone?"

" That I can live, and let thee go,
 " Who art my life itself?—No, no—
 " When the stem dies, the leaf that grew
 " Out of its heart must perish too!
 " Then turn to me, my own love turn,
 " Before like thee I fade and burn;
 " Cling to these yet cool lips, and share
 " The last pure life that lingers there!"
 She fails—she sinks—as dies the lamp
 In charnel airs or cavern-damp,
 So quickly do his baleful sighs
 Quench all the sweet light of her eyes!
 One struggle—and his pain is past—
 Her lover is no longer living!
 One kiss the maiden gives, one last
 Long kiss, which she expires in giving! pp. 147—148.

The 'Fire-worshippers' is not very original in fable: A young fire-hearted, fire-worshipping Persian is in love with the daughter of the oppressor and persecutor of his nation and religion, the Arab satrap Al Hassan. We have left ourselves no room for an analysis of the story, short in comparison of the number of lines which Mr. Moore has spent upon it, as that analysis would be. The poem is too wordy.

We shall close our extracts with a pretty fantastic song from the 'Light of the Haram.'

' I know where the winged visions dwell
 That around the night-bed play;
 I know each herb and flowret's bell,
 Where they hide their wings by day.
 Then hasten we, maid,
 To twine our braid,
 To-morrow the dreams and flowers will fade.
 ' The image of love, that nightly flies
 To visit the bashful maid,
 Steals from the jasmine flower, that sighs
 Its soul, like her, in the shade.
 The hope, in dreams, of a happier hour
 That alights on misery's brow,
 Springs out of the silvery almond-flower,
 That blooms on a leafless bough.
 Then hasten we, maid,
 To twine our braid,
 To-morrow the dreams and flowers will fade.
 ' The visions, that oft to worldly eyes
 The glitter of mines unfold,
 Inhabit the mountain-herb, that dyes
 The tooth of the fawn like gold.
 The phantom shapes—oh touch not them—
 That appal the murderer's sight,

Lurk in the fleshly mandrake's stem,
 That shrieks, when torn at night !
 Then hasten we, maid,
 To twine our braid,
 To-morrow the dreams and flowers will fade.
 ' The dream of the injur'd, patient mind,
 That smiles at the wrongs of men,
 Is found in the bruis'd and wounded rind
 Of the cinnamon, sweetest then !
 Then hasten we, maid,
 To twine our braid,
 To-morrow the dreams and flowers will fade.'

pp. 314—316.

Two words with Mr. Moore at parting. It is now some years since not only we, but every person of correct moral feelings, turned with disgust and abhorrence from a volume of poems 'that blurr'd the grace and blush of modesty,' and, veiling all that was licentious in thought under the utmost grace and sweetness of language, shewed more hostility to virtue, than the grossest indecency or most undisguised profligacy. Since then, we are happy to say, Mr. Moore's muse has somewhat improved in her morals, though she has rather gone off in her personal charms. Still, we confess, we have a higher and more sacred idea awakened by the name of poet, than he seems to have ; and were all poets like him, we could not but concur with Plato in banishing them from the state. It is an old quotation : ' Aut prodesse volunt ;' and assuredly never understood by its author in its highest and best and sublimest meaning. It is not by grave saws and sleepy precepts that a poet is to attempt or expect to profit his readers ; it is by the examples he portrays, by the feelings he inspires, by those high and severe imaginings of more than human excellence, those holy aspirings, those ' immortal longings' after all that is best and greatest in our nature. The lamp of the soul too often burns dim in the thick atmosphere of earth. She repairs to the altars of poetry to replenish it with light from those fires which, like the vestal flames, should be never kindled but from Heaven. Nothing should be here to soften or enervate ; nothing loose, nothing voluptuous ; nothing but what plumes the soul's ' all-too ruffled' wings, and impels it for its native skies. Such a poet is a good poet, and a good citizen. Is Mr. Moore such a one ?

Art. IV. *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation and its Connexion with the Modern Astronomy.* By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. 8vo. pp. 276. 18s. Longman and Co., &c. 1817.

(Continued from page 319.)

SUCH a view of the magnitude of the Creation shows the conceivable insignificance of this our world; inasmuch that, according to our Author's simile, its total annihilation would be no more sensible a loss to the Universe, than the loss of a leaf into a stream which carries it away, with a destruction of all its multitude of microscopic animalculæ, would be to a sample forest. Such is the importance in the Universe, of a globe which appears so wide a scene to its intelligent inhabitants, baffling by its long succession of regions after regions, the realizing power of their imagination;—the globe, of which the most protracted journeying life would suffice but for the survey of a very small portion;—for the ascendancy over narrow sections of which, opposed millions have, through every age, been inflamed to mutual bloodshed and extermination;—for the acquisition of little specks of which, in an appropriation through a few fleeting years, innumerable individuals are at all times toiling with an ardour which merges all other interests, and which, in short, its transient inhabitants are seeking to make Heaven and a God. Such, relatively to the grand whole, is the importance of this orb, and of the creatures to whom it appears so immense and interesting an object. Truly, it was reserved for the Modern Astronomy to supply an adequate commentary on our Author's text: "Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?"

But here, instead of an humble and adoring gratitude that the Almighty *does*, nevertheless, visit man, in ways of marvellous condescension and benignity, there comes in the malignant suggestion, that our world being so trivial an object in the Creation, it is absurd to imagine that the Being who presides over it all should give such attention to this atom of existence, as the Christian religion represents him to do, and therefore the religion that so represents cannot be true.

Is it likely, says the Infidel, that God would send his eternal Son to die for the puny occupiers of so insignificant a province in the mighty field of his creation? Are we the befitting objects of so great and so signal an interposition? Does not the largeness of that field which astronomy lays open to the view of modern science, throw a suspicion over the truth of the Gospel history; and how shall we reconcile the greatness of that wonderful movement which was met in heaven for the redemption of fallen man, with the comparative meanness and obscurity of our species?

‘ Such a humble portion of the universe as ours, could never have been the object of such high and distinguishing attentions as Christianity has assigned to it. God would not have manifested himself in the flesh for the salvation of so paltry a world. The monarch of a whole continent would never move from his capital, and lay aside the splendour of royalty; and subject himself for months, or for years, to perils and poverty, and persecution; and take up his abode in some small islet of his dominions, which, though swallowed by an earthquake, could not be missed amid the glories of so wide an empire; and all this to gain the lost affections of a few families upon its surface.’

How little apprehension our Author, as a Christian advocate, felt at meeting this objection, appears from the ambitious delight with which he has dilated the view of that grandeur of the Universe, on which the objection is founded. He proceeds to the argument for silencing it, in the Second Discourse, which commences with some striking observations on the imperfect community of feeling and of intellectual perception between human beings. These are made to bear on the character of Sir Isaac Newton, in the way of representing that the generality of even cultivated men are perfectly unapprized of, and incapable of adequately estimating, some of the most important circumstances in the agency of that philosopher's mind. They look at his brilliant discoveries, and admire, in a general way, the mighty force of genius and intellect so obviously manifested in them; but have no comprehension, and from the nature of the case can have none, of that absolutely sublime self-command and self-denial which accompanied, in continual exercise, the process which resulted in so vast an extension of the dominion of science. They cannot be aware what a course and what a magnitude of achievement it was, of self-emancipation from all pre-occupying systems and notions; of calm endurance of the hostility of those who could not be so emancipated; of repression of all temerity of speculation that might have sprung from conscious power and success; of invincible coolness and persevering labour amid the dazzling disclosure of magnificent novelty; of resistance to all the beguilement of the splendid plausibilities which must often have presented their sudden fascinations to such a mind in such a career; in short, of incorruptible reason, which never lost sight of the tests of truth, nor failed to acknowledge submissively the limits to the range of the human intellect. An entire exemption from arrogance and presumption, and an invariable, inviolable fidelity to the principle of admitting nothing but solid evidence as the foundation of any part of his theories, are described as the distinctive qualities of what may be called the moral government of Newton's intellectual powers and operations. With just indignation

to observe, how easily and unceremoniously this pre-requisite fact was taken for granted; and without, probably, one hour's impartial inquiry how the Bible does actually represent the matter, it was confidently affirmed, as a thing liable to no question, that the pretended dispensation of the Messiah is by the import of its own declaration restricted from any wider sphere than that of man and his interests.

Now, it is positively denied that the Scriptures make any such representation; it is next asserted without contradiction, that no such information has come by any *other* superhuman communication; and when it is added that there is nothing in the nature of the case to justify or countenance any such assumption, the infidel's asserted fact, from which he infers that Christianity is an imposture, is exploded away. The argument is the simplest and the shortest possible; but it is amplified with great force of imagination by Dr. Chalmers, in a series of bold suggestions of what *may* be true, as to the extent of the Christian economy, for any thing the infidel can know to the contrary.

'For any thing he can tell' [and with this precise phrase are pointed a whole quiver of assailant sentences,—no less than ten in immediate succession] 'sin has found its way into other worlds. For any thing he can tell, their people have banished themselves from communion with God. For any thing he can tell, many a visit has been made to each of them, on the subject of our common Christianity, by commissioned messengers from the throne of the Eternal, &c. &c. &c.'

And is it not about as silly as it is arrogant, in these infidels, to affect to *dictate to religion what they choose it shall be*, that they may have the greater advantage against it? It seems much of a piece with that memorable proceeding of certain of the fraternity, the decreeing death to be an eternal sleep,—which made just no difference at all in the real attributes of death, and made a difference but so much for the worse in the feelings of whoever could, in such self-betraying folly and presumption, advance the more carelessly and confidently to the encounter with that formidable power. Neither death nor religion will consent to forego its qualities in obsequiousness to the arbitrary definitions of man; nor submit to the circumscription which it might be commodious to him to impose.

The advocate of Christianity, then, confidently repels the assumption of its enemies as to the limitation of its sphere; but at the same time he is hardly less confident in the assurance that, even were the assumption conceded to them, and were it avowed by the Christian revelation that the economy therein declared, in terms importing so marvellous an intervention of Deity, does really concentrate all these glories of grace and power on man exclusively,—even then it could easily be shewn that the notion of this being so immeasurably out of all propor-

therefore our Author reprehends the ignorant arrogance of pretenders to philosophy, who, come into possession of Newton's grand discoveries, with an ease which might have precluded, but does not preclude, any indulgence of such an impertinent feeling as pride, avail themselves in the prosecution of other speculations, of these great conquests of science, in a spirit perfectly the reverse of that of the mighty thinker who made them : of which anti-philosophical, and anti-Newtonian spirit, one of the most remarkable samples is this argument against Christianity.

Dr. C. exposes, with great force of aggravating illustrations, the total baselessness and extravagant arrogance of the assumption that the dispensation of the Messiah does in no manner involve or affect any other tribes of beings than the human race. It must be confessed that the matter is carried somewhat to the extreme in supposing, as a parallel case, such a hardly possible absurdity as that of a man's gravely delineating, on the ground of assumptions drawn from some general analogies among the planetary worlds, a scheme of a department of the natural history,—of the botany, for instance, of some of the planets, and proceeding to the length of theorizing on the moral temperament of their inhabitants. There is some trifle less temerity in hazarding negative general assertions, than in hazarding positive specific statements, respecting the unknown economy of other worlds. The parallel holds, however, in the essential point of absolute want of all evidence, and therefore of all reasonable ground for the assertions.

'How do infidels know that Christianity is set up for the single benefit of this earth and its inhabitants? How are they able to tell us that if you go to other planets the person and the religion of Jesus are there unknown? We challenge them to the proof of this and positive announcement of theirs. We see in this objection a glaring transgression on the spirit and the maxims of that very philosophy which they profess to idolize. They have made their argument against us out of an assertion which has positively no feet to rest upon—an assertion which they have no means whatever of verifying—an assertion, the truth or the falsehood of which can only be gathered out of some supernatural message, for it lies completely beyond the range of human observation.'

Those who raised the objection were aware that, to give it full effect it was necessary the religion itself should be made accessory to its own intended humiliation ; that the Book professing to be a comprehensive revelation of its constitution, should be understood to avow, or most decidedly imply, that the pretended mediatorial economy of the Son of God, is limited exclusively to the human race. It was obvious that, unless this were understood, the hostile argument must, in every way, and every part, be founded on a pure assumption. But it is curious

to observe, how easily and unceremoniously this pre-requisite fact was taken for granted; and without, probably, one hour's impartial inquiry how the Bible does actually represent the matter, it was confidently affirmed, as a thing liable to no question, that the pretended dispensation of the Messiah is by the import of its own declaration restricted from any wider sphere than that of man and his interests.

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tion to the despicable insignificance of this spot of earth and its inhabitants, that it is irrational to believe it, is a notion betraying great narrowness of mind,—proud as its entertainers are of this fancied elevation of thought.

On this lower ground Dr. C. powerfully maintains the argument in the third Discourse, ‘On the Extent of the Divine ‘Condescension.’ ‘Let us,’ he says, ‘admit the assertion [of ‘the confined scope of the Christian economy] and take a view ‘of the reasoning which has been constructed upon it.’ The exposure of this reasoning begins with the remark, (which expresses the essential principle and force of the whole refutation,) that this doctrine of disbelief arises entirely from the combined feebleness and arrogance of the conception entertained of the Deity. It is a conception which presumes to limit the powers of that Being, and which takes its authority to do so from the very fact of the demonstrated immensity of those powers. By practically demonstrating his ability to make and sustain a system so amazingly vast, he has demonstrated his *inability* to give a distinct and perfect attention to each part. We cannot comprehend the possibility of the combination or union of this immense generality, and this absolutely perfect particularity, of the exercise of intelligence and power,—and therefore it is impossible, even to the Supreme Mind. In other words, that Mind has been too ambitious of being the God of an indefinite multitude of worlds and races, to be a God, in the fulness and perfect exercise of the Divine attributes, to any one of them in particular. The exceedingly monstrous absurdity, as well as presumption, of thus inferring littleness from greatness, and on the very ground that that greatness is proved to be infinitely transcendent, is exhibited in its just character, and with just reprobation, in several powerful and eloquent passages, too long to be transcribed. Who can think of the subject without being confounded at the dire perversity of the human mind, that thus, instead of following forth the plain, rational indication afforded by the fact of infinite perfection evinced in one mode, to the delightful, and sublime, and adoring effect of attributing perfection in all modes, would choose to violate the clearest rules of sense in order to degrade and eclipse the glorious idea of the Divine Nature;—as if to indemnify and avenge itself for the insignificance of its own!—God shall not in *every* way infinitely surpass man, and defy his comprehension. This is the principle, Dr. C. says, of the kind of infidelity under consideration.

‘To bring God to the level of our comprehension, we would clothe him in the impotency of a man. We would transfer to his wonderful mind all the imperfection of our own faculties. When we are taught by astronomy that he has millions of worlds to look after, and thus add in one direction to the glories of his character, we take

away from them in another, by saying that each of these worlds must be looked after imperfectly. The use that we make of a discovery that should heighten our every conception of God, and humble us into the sentiment that a Being of such mysterious elevation is to us unfathomable, is to sit in judgment over him, aye, and to pronounce such a judgment as degrades him, and keeps him down to the standard of our own paltry imagination! We are introduced by modern science to a multitude of other suns and other systems; and the perverse interpretation we put upon the fact that God *can* diffuse the benefits of his power and his goodness over such a variety of worlds, is, that he *cannot*, or will not bestow so much goodness on one of those worlds, as a professed revelation from Heaven has announced to us.

The argument might be authoritatively insisted upon, and without fear of rational contradiction, that the exercise of intelligence and power manifested to demonstration in maintaining the system of the amazing whole, does *necessarily* include a distinct attention to all the constituent parts, down to the minutest. For, in the most general and the simplest notion possible of that comprehensive exercise, we make it take distinct account of the great leading and immediate constituents or components of the system, with their relations and adaptations; but these have also *their* constituents, by means of which they are what they are in themselves, and what they are relatively to the whole system; and then these again, these subordinates, have *their* constituents also, with their relations and adaptations; and so downward in an indefinite gradation. Now, it is evident that, throughout this referring series, the state or constitution of things at each further remove, must depend on the state or constitution of things at the next remoter condition of their existence; and so onward, to that state of things, whatever it is, in which created existence has its essence and its primary constitution: so that the ultimate state of things, as appearing in a perfectly constituted Universe, depends, through a long and continuously dependent gradation, on the nature and adaptations of their primary constituents. And how, therefore, can a given state of things in their ultimate constitution, be secured without a certain condition of things being maintained in the primary mode of their existence? And how can this be without the Divine inspection and power being constantly exerted on them all in that, their original mode?

But not to seek the aid of these subtleties:—It is immediately obvious that an incomparably more glorious idea is entertained of the Divinity, by conceiving of him as possessing a wisdom and a power competent, without an effort, to maintain an infinitely perfect inspection and regulation, distinctly, of all subsistences, even the minutest, comprehended in the Universe,

than by conceiving of him as only maintaining some kind of general superintendence of the system,—only general, because a perfect attention to all existences individually would be too much, it is deemed, for the capacity of even the Supreme Mind. And for the very reason that this would be the most glorious idea of him, it must be the true one. To say that we can, in the abstract, conceive of a magnitude of intelligence and power which would constitute the Deity, *if he possessed it*, a more glorious and adorable Being than he actually is, could be nothing less than flagrant impiety.

On even such general and *a priori* grounds the Preacher is authorized to meet the infidel objection by the following position :

‘ That God, in addition to the bare faculty of dwelling on a multiplicity of objects at one and the same time, has this faculty in such wonderful perfection, that he can attend as fully, and provide as richly, and manifest all his attributes as illustriously, on every one of these objects, as if the rest had no existence, and no place whatever in his government or his thoughts.’

But, he insists chiefly and wisely on the strong and accumulated *proofs of fact*, that the Divine intelligence and energy are thus all-pervading and all-distinguishing. He appeals, in the first place, to the personal history of each of his hearers, and of each individual of the species, as most simple and perfect evidence that God is maintaining, literally without the smallest moment's intermission, an exercise of attention and power inconceivably minute, and complex, and as it were concentrated, on each unit. Each is conscious of a being totally distinct from all the rest ; as absolutely self-centered and circumscribed an individual as if there were no other such being on earth. And thus distinct is each as an object of the Divine attention, which in a perfect manner recognises the infinite and to us mysterious difference between the greatest possible likeness and identity. But think of the prodigious multitude of these separate beings, each requiring and monopolizing a regard and action of the Divine Spirit perfectly distinct from that which each of all the others requires and engages. A mere perception of every one of the perhaps thousand millions of human beings,—a perception that should simply keep in view through every moment each individual as a separate object, and without distinguishing any particulars in the being or circumstances of that object,—would evince a magnitude and mode of intelligence quite overwhelming to reflect upon. But then consider, that each one of these distinct objects is itself what may justly be denominated a system, combined of matter and spirit, comprising a vast complexity of principles, elements, mechanism, capacities, processes, liabilities, and necessities. What an inconceivable kind

and measure, or rather magnitude beyond all measure, of sagacity, and power, and vigilance, are required to preserve *one* such being in a state of safety, and health, and intellectual sanity. But then, while the fact is before us, that so many millions are every moment so preserved, and that during thousands of years the same economy has been maintained, and that not a mortal has the smallest surmise but that it can, with perfect ease, be maintained for ages to come,—the suggestion that all this is *too much* for the Almighty, never once obtruding itself to disturb any man's tranquillity—while there is before us the practical illustration of a power combining such immense comprehension with such exquisite discrimination, how well it becomes our intellect and our humility to take upon us to decide *what* measure and manifestations of his attention such a Being may or may not confer upon one world, in a consistency of proportion with the attention which is to be perfect in its exercise on each and all!

The argument from the demonstrated perfect and continuous attention of the Divine Mind to objects comparatively insignificant, becomes indefinitely stronger when carried down to those forms of life which are brought to our knowledge by the utmost powers of the microscope. A doctrine or a disbelief founded on inference from one view of the works of God, must, to be rational, comport with the just inferences from every other. Yet those who justify their infidelity by the discoveries of the telescope, seem to have chosen to forget that there is another instrument, which has made hardly less wonderful discoveries in an opposite direction; discoveries authorizing an inference completely destructive of that made from the astronomical magnitudes. And it is very gratifying to see the lofty assumptions drawn, in a spirit as unphilosophical as irreligious, from remote systems and the immensity of the Universe, and advanced against Christianity with an air of irresistible authority,—to see them encountered and annihilated by evidences sent forth from tribes and races of beings, of which innumerable millions might pass under the intensest look of the human eye imperceptible as empty space. No need, for the discomfiture of these assailants making war in the pomp of suns and systems, of any thing even 'so gross as beetles,' or as the hornets, locusts, and flies, which were arrayed against the pagans of former ages and other regions. In all their pride they are 'crushed before' less than 'the moth,' beyond all conception less. Indeed the diminutiveness of the victorious confronters of infidel arrogance, is the grand principle of their power; insomuch that the further they decline in an attenuation apparently toward nothing, the greater is their efficiency for this controversy; and a might altogether incalculable and unlimited, for this holy service, resides in those beings of which it is no absurdity nor temerity to

assume that myriads may inhabit an atom, itself too subtile for the perception of the eye of man.

Let a reflective man, when he stands in a garden, or a meadow, or a forest, or on the margin of a pool, consider what there is within the circuit of a very few feet around him, and that too exposed to the light, and with no veil for concealment from his sight, but nevertheless invisible to him. It is *certain* that within that little space there are organized beings, each of marvellous construction, independent of the rest, and endowed with the mysterious principle of vitality, to the amount of a number which could not have been told by units if there could have been a man so employed from the time of Adam to this hour. Let him indulge for a moment the idea of such a perfect transformation of his faculties as that all this population should become visible to him, each and any individual being presented to his perception as a distinct object of which he could take the same full cognisance as he now can of the large living creatures around him. What a perfectly new world! What a stupendous crowd of sentient agents! What an utter solitude, in comparison, that world of living beings of which alone his senses had been competent to take any clear account before! And then let him consider, whether it be in his power, without plunging into gross absurdity, to form any other idea of the creation and separate subsistence of these beings, than that each of them is the distinct object of the attention and the power of that One Spirit in which all things subsist. Let him, lastly, extend the view to the width of the whole terrestrial field, of our mundane system, of the Universe,—with the added thought how long such a creation has existed, and is to exist!

And now, with such a view of what that Spirit is doing, has been doing through an unimaginable lapse of ages, and may do through an unbounded futurity,—is it within the possibilities of human presumption and absurdity, vast as they are, to do any thing *more* presumptuous and absurd, than to pretend to decide beforehand what is beyond the competence of the power, or out of proportion for the benevolence of that Spirit? Yes, it is within those possibilities; for the presumption and absurdity may be inconceivably aggravated by that decision being made in express and intentional contradiction to a powerful combination of evidence, that he actually *has* done a given work of signal mercy to the human race.

The topic of the infinite multitude of beings impalpable and invisible from their minuteness, attesting, in every spot of the earth, a Divine care and energy indefatigably acting on each, is vigorously illustrated and applied by our Author, who considers the infidel objection as by this time fairly disposed of. It is hardly necessary to recapitulate; but the argument stands briefly

thus : No inference drawn from the stupendous extent and magnificence of the whole creation, is of the slightest authority, unless it consists with the inferences justly to be drawn from what we know of particular parts ; the antichristian inference drawn from that magnificent whole is decisively contradicted by the known facts in this particular part that we inhabit, which give such a demonstration of infinite greatness fixed in benevolent attention on indefinite littleness, while superintending the mighty aggregate of all things, as to leave no ground for a presumption that such an interposition as that affirmed by Christianity, implies too great a measure of Divine attention and action toward man, to be believed : therefore it may be believed, and authoritatively demands to be believed, *if it comes with due evidence of its own.* The whole object of the argument is to shew that the ground is perfectly clear for that evidence to come with its full appropriate force : the statement of that evidence was no part of the Author's object.

At the close of this argument, one or two considerations may deserve to be briefly adverted to. The infidels whose objection the Doctor is resisting, would never have thought of raising that objection as against that theory of Christianity which has in recent times assumed to itself, as its exclusive right, the distinction of 'rational.' And to professors of that system our Author's whole effort of argument and eloquence appears, with the exception of the display of the Modern Astronomy, little better than a piece of splendid impertinence ; since there could be nothing very wonderful or mysterious in the circumstance of God's appointing and qualifying, among any race of his rational but fallible creatures, a succession of individuals, of the mere nature of that race, to be teachers of truth and patterns of moral excellence to the rest, and in distinguishing one of them by the endowment of a larger portion of light and virtue than any of the others. It is only against what we shall not hesitate to denominate the Evangelic theory, which is founded on the doctrine of a Divine incarnation and an atoning sacrifice, that the objection in question can be advanced with any serious force.

And this suggests another consideration. This being assumed as the true theory, a doubt may perhaps be raised, whether the Preacher's argument from the astonishing extent and distinctness of the attention and care exercised by the Deity on this most inconsiderable of his creatures, be available or strictly applicable ; whether there be any thing so analogous between the natural and providential economy and a dispensation so signally peculiar as that of redemption, as to admit of an argument from the evidence of the one to the probability of the other. The Doctor fully assumes this analogy.

For our feeble powers of contemplating the government of the Almighty, and for facility of popular instruction, there may be an advantage in our usual mode of viewing that government as distinguished into separate departments, as of nature, providence, and grace. But we should greatly doubt whether, in a higher contemplation, this notion of separate departments would not vanish away. For if, in the first place, we endeavour to elevate our thoughts to the Divine Nature, in contemplation of any of the attributes,—the power, for instance, or the goodness,—we cannot conceive of that attribute in any other way than as a perfectly *simple* quality, than, if we may presume to apply such an expression, a homogeneous element; capable of an infinite diversity of modes of operation and degrees of manifestation, but not consisting of a combination of several distinguishable modes of the quality, each specifically applicable to a distinct department of the Divine government.

If, in the next place, we descend to the view of this world as a scene of that government, we may, on a slight general inspection, seem to distinguish several departments so dissimilar to one another, as to have but a very partial relation or mutual dependence; each existing as if chiefly for itself, and each requiring not only an appropriate mode of the operation of the Divine power or goodness, but an appropriate modification in the attributes themselves; and we shall speak accordingly, of the kingdom of Nature, Providence, and Grace. But, if we think long, and comprehensively, and deeply, these artificial and arbitrary lines of demarcation will gradually melt from sight; while instead of them there will become visible the grand lines of one vast system, lines running throughout it in all directions, evincing a perfect relation through all that we had regarded as almost independent parts; or rather evincing a *unity* of economy, consisting of an infinity of particulars combined with Divine Art. And therefore, though some of these particulars will appear prominent, by a richer luster of the Divine goodness, they will still stand in an inseparable relation to all the other particulars in which that goodness is manifested, while all these other particulars stand in a contributive connexion, and a relative value, to those richest and best.

It must follow, that it is incorrect and absurd to say, that the striking manifestations of the Divine power and goodness in a department of what we call the world of nature, are of an order so perfectly foreign to the principle of a certain other and far greater affirmed manifestation of those attributes, as to furnish no analogy by which to combat the objected improbability of that greater manifestation.

But suppose we place out of the argument, the marvellous evidences, revealed by the microscope, of the determination of

the attributes of the Infinite Spirit to the most diminutive objects, and consider only the exquisite minuteness of their unre-mitted exercise towards Man. *He*, at least, is a *system*, in which each part and circumstance is in strict relation to all the other parts and circumstances. Both from the nature of the case, and from numberless illustrations of fact, it is evident that the apparently slightest circumstances of his being and condition may have a vital connexion with the most important. There is no dissevering the human individual into independent portions, to be the subjects, respectively, of unconnected economies of Divine government. It may be assumed that God does nothing for him purely and exclusively *as an animal*, but that his whole combined nature is kept in view in the Divine management. The natural providence, if we may so call it, and the moral government, must be inseparably combined in one process, which cannot leave untouched the spiritual part. But then, it cannot be alleged that the astonishingly condescending and minute attention, which we see to be exercised by the Divine Being upon a thousand small particulars in the nature and condition of man, is an agency so foreign to the interests of his soul, that no inference can be drawn from it relative to the probability of the highest possible expedient adopted for those interests by that Being.

While, however, we think our Author is perfectly warranted in the course of argument he has pursued, it is not to be denied that in a few instances he has, inadvertently, fallen into expressions which do injustice to the surpassing *degree* and the transcendant *mode* of the manifestation of the Divine goodness as given in the great expedient of redemption. The relation prevailing through all the agencies of the Divine goodness, comports, it is unnecessary to say, with a stupendous superiority of degree in which that goodness is manifested in some parts of the government of the Almighty. One of the expressions we allude to occurs in the following passage :

‘ Let such a Revelation tell me as much as it may of God letting himself down,’ (this refers to the economy of Mediation,) ‘ for the benefit of one single province of his dominions, *this is no more than what I see lying scattered, in numberless examples, before me ;* and running through the whole line of my recollections ; *and meeting me in every walk of observation to which I can betake myself ;* and, now that the microscope has unveiled the wonders of another region, I see strewn around me, with a profusion which baffles my every attempt to comprehend it, the evidence that there is no one portion of the universe of God too minute for his notice, or too humble for the visitations of his care.’ p. 116.

We have justly ascribed such expressions to ‘inadvertency,’ for the Doctor loses no occasion for enforcing the glorious su-

premacv of the dispensation of Christ over the other illustrations of the Divine benignity ; nor can any terms be more animated than those which he has employed to this effect, in some passages of the discourse on the argument of which we have so very disproportionately enlarged.

The direct and conclusive argument against the infidel objection closes here. It rests its strength on indisputable matters of fact. And it leaves the infidel literally not an atom to stand upon ; for it animates even atoms to an implacable hostility against him.

In several succeeding Discourses the eloquent Advocate pursues his career over a much ampler but less solid ground. A very brief sketch of his interesting course must be deferred to close this too-protracted Article in our next Number.

Art. V. *Harmonies of Nature*, By J. B. H. de St. Pierre ; being a Sequel to his *Studies of Nature*. Translated by W. Meeston, A. M. In three Volumes. With a Portrait. 8vo. pp. xxi, 1490. Price 11. 16s. Baldwin and Co. London. 1815.

ST. PIERRE has added another name to the long list of men of talent and acquisition, who have rendered their abilities and attainments nearly useless, by mistaking their proper range. He applied himself to the study of Nature ; and if he could have been satisfied to tread in the steps of his precursors, to have verified their observations, and added to their store, he might have rendered essential service to science, and ranked high among Natural Historians. But the rage of systematizing, the affectation of originality, and an absurd propensity to sentimentalize where sentiment is perfectly out of place, have degraded him from the station which he might have claimed among scientific observers, to the far lower tenet of a picturesque describer and an agreeable writer. The pursuits of science are with him never truly scientific. We always feel that he is giving way to his impulses instead of chastising them to sobriety : he is the very sensualist of nature, giving himself up to enjoyment, instead of calmly calculating the safest and most economical modes of arranging and perpetuating the feast.

There is in St. Pierre a large proportion of enthusiasm, with a very slender mixture of that sound and discreet exercise of the reasoning faculty, which alone merits the name of philosophy. His eye is keen in its glance and rapid in its movements, and he paints in rich and glowing tints the objects which come within its range ; but he errs both from defect and in excess. He marks, it is true, many a minute and delicate quality ; but at the same time, he neglects perhaps another which is far more important and distinctive. He is led into this error of defect, by some

mysterious and fanciful analogy, invisible to all eyes but his own and perfectly inaccessible to the limited powers of sober and intelligible description. Hence, he is carried further, and passes forward from this deficiency of information, to excessive luxuriance of painting; he discovers and describes inexistent things with as much facility as if they were of every-day occurrence; he traces out 'contrasts' and 'harmonies,' sometimes, we admit, with great feeling and beauty, but too often with a readiness and confidence, precisely in the inverse ratio of reality. To all this must be added a very large proportion of commonplace, to which he occasionally contrives to give the air of novelty, by mere dint of twisting and distorting, to make it fit some vacant corner of his hypothesis.

His Tales are, we confess, very little to our taste. The "*Chaumiere Indienne*," with some good painting, is, in all besides, full of affectation and maukishness, and is withall very absurdly satirical, and of injurious tendency. "*Empsael, an Episode or Dialogue, illustrative of Human Harmonies*," appended to these volumes, seems to be extremely dull, and its illustrative qualities have altogether escaped us. We guess, however, that there is some mysterious 'harmony' between the wild, fierce, and relentless hero of the tale, and the arid soil on which he pursues the chase, and some further connexion between his character and the physical condition and aspect of his favourite haunt, the City of Lions, once populous and magnificent, but now deserted except by wild beasts. It is by way of 'contrast,' we presume, but the effect is inexpressibly unpleasant, that the excellent Antony Benzet is introduced among these fictitious personages, rambling on the shores of Africa, and regulating his travels over the world 'by the course of the sun.' *Paul and Virginia* is in a better taste: there is much beauty in the scenery, and an innocence and simplicity in the unfortunate lovers, that, in the absence of higher quantities, have made their story popular.

Of the work before us our notice must be brief and desultory; it would not be practicable without a sacrifice of space and labour, for which our readers would be but little indebted to us, to follow St. Pierre analytically through the various applications of his fantastic "*Harmonies*;" we shall therefore suffer him to describe his own system without presuming to make any comment upon what we are not always acute enough to understand, and which, when we are able to snatch a glimpse of something like meaning, appears to us to be 'neither rich nor rare.'

'The vegetable kingdom presents, like the other departments of Nature, what may be called thirteen harmonical relations: the first is celestial or soli-lunar; six are physical; and six moral. I use the name of soli-lunar, because the moon here exercises an influence in

conjunction with the sun. Of the six physical harmonies, three may be called elementary, viz. the aerial, the aquatic, and the terrestrial; while three may be called organized, namely, the vegetable, the animal, and the human. In the moral harmonies, we find likewise three that are elementary, the fraternal, the conjugal, and the maternal; while three are organized or social, viz. the specific, the generic, and the spheric.

‘These harmonies are marked by a progression in point of power, the second combining and augmenting the faculties of the first; the third, in like manner, those of the second, and so on till we arrive at the spherical; which is not only composed of the various faculties of species and genera, but has, by its revolution, an incessant tendency towards infinity.’ pp. 17—18.

The plant which he selects for the exemplification of his theory, is Corn, which is placed in ‘harmonic relation to the ‘sun’ by the reflection of heat on the stalk ‘by means of small ‘leaves,’ and ‘by the reflection of the ground around its ‘base.’

‘We may trace likewise *lunar* harmonies in the knots which separate the straw from the corn, and which are equal, in point of number, to the lunar months during which the growth has been going on until the formation of the ear.’

It will not be expected that we should transcribe any more of these dull reveries; and although we might extract many beautiful passages of detail tolerably free from such whimsical speculations, yet, as these are scattered throughout the volumes, and would afford very little interest in a detached form, we shall content ourselves with a general reference to the original. In some superficial remarks on the respective powers and provinces of Poetry and Painting, we find the following passage of incomparable absurdity.

‘If painting is inferior to poetry, it may proceed from our being obliged to look out for the harmonies of the different objects introduced into it; while poetry places them in a manner before our eyes. Painting, moreover, gives only the exhibition of a single event, or a single point of view; but poetry displays various scenes in succession; scenes calculated to produce lively and durable impressions. This is the reason that no painting of Poussin has called forth those tears which flow at the verses of Racine. Sculpture, although exhibiting the relieve of objects, labours under a similar disadvantage. The description of Laocoön in Virgil is unquestionably more affecting than the admirable piece of art which represents the unhappy father grouped along with the serpents who are devouring his children. Still it is undoubted that more time and labour were required to make the painting of the Deluge, than the most pathetic scene of Andromaque; or to sculpture the group of Laocoön, than to compose the verses of Virgil. Poetry is indebted for its advantages over painting, to the harmonies of objects which it is enabled to exhibit more

delicately, by detaching them and expressing their modulations in succession.' pp. 261—262.

We are quite unable to make sense of this. We are not exactly acquainted with those passages of Racine which 'call forth tears,' and whatever admiration we may have felt for his exquisite versification and his dramatic purity and skill, we cannot say that we have as yet been able to discover in his productions either pathos or sublimity in their highest sense. But whatever may be our sentiments respecting Racine, we cannot express our astonishment at the consummate ignorance or unfairness which could for one single moment refer to Poussin as a proof of the inferiority of Painting to Poetry in the expression of the Pathetic. Severe, cold, classical, lofty, Poussin, so far as our acquaintance with his productions extends, has never succeeded in touching the feelings; and pathos seems to us in perfect contrast with the principles of his style. The *Lacoon* is a better chosen illustration; but even there the sensation produced is rather horror than sympathy, although both are excited in a very high degree; high enough indeed to stand the comparison with Virgil's description, and judging from our own feelings, to bear away the palm. Illustrious names of artists might be cited, who have produced effects fully equal to those of the most powerful poetry; and we should not do justice to our own feelings, if we did not mention, in complete refutation of St. Pierre's criticism, Chantry's exquisite monumental composition in the present year's Exhibition. What others may have felt, we know not; but for ourselves, it was impossible to contemplate those lovely infants, in their touching simplicity and truth of form, attitude, and feature, without a pang, equalling if not surpassing any that we ever felt from the most highly wrought scene of poetical distress.

In a subsequent portion of this work, we meet with some remarks on the celebrated *Fata Morgana*, and in connexion with them, the following magnificent description, which, as it is entirely unconnected with hypothesis, we shall quote as a fair specimen of St. Pierre's talent for painting.

One evening, about half an hour before sunset, the south-east trade wind began to fall, as generally happens at that time of day. The clouds which it drives before it in the sky, at a distance as regular as its own breeze, became thinner, while those to the westward collected into groups in the manner of a landscape. They exhibited the appearance of an extensive region consisting of high mountains, separated by deep valleys and surmounted by pyramidal rocks. On their tops and sides appeared detached mists, similar to those which arise round a real land. A long river seemed to wind through the valleys, and to fall here and there in cataracts; and the imagination was even led to conceive it to have at one place a great bridge.

posed of half fallen arches. Groves of cocoa-trees, with habitations interspersed, seemed to rise on various spots of this aërial island. These different objects, however, were not adorned with the rich tints of purple, yellow, or emerald, so common at sun-set in these regions; this landscape was not a coloured painting, but a plain engraving, uniting the harmonies of light and shade. It exhibited a country enlightened, not by the solar rays striking in front, but by their reflection from behind. Yet so soon as the orb of day had sunk behind this aërial landscape, some of its decomposed rays were perceived to lighten the half transparent arches of the bridge with a scarlet tint, and to display their reflections in the valleys and on the summit of the rocks. Floods of light covered the contour of the landscape with beautiful yellow, and diverged in rays towards the upper sky; but the body of the clouds remained under a dark half tint, while we saw around the sides of this landscape the flash of lightning, and heard from afar the rolling of thunder. So strong was the deception, that the spectator could not forbear believing that it was a real land, at the probable distance of four or five miles. It might indeed have been a reverberation in the sky of a very distant island, the shape of which might be exhibited to us by the reflection of the clouds. Experienced seamen have repeatedly assured me that they had been deceived by similar appearances. Be that as it may, all this fantastic display of magnificence and terror, these mountains crowned with palm-trees, the storms raging on their summits, the river, the bridge, all melted away and disappeared at night-fall, as the illusions of the world vanish at the approach of death. The orb of night, the triple Hecate, which repeats by milder harmonies those of the orb of day, rose on the horizon, put an end to the dominion of light, and substituted that of shade. Soon did we see a multitude of stars of perpetual brightness shine in the bosom of darkness. Oh! if day itself is but an image of life; if the rapid hours of the dawn, of morning, of mid-day, and of evening, represent the transient epochs of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age; death may be expected to exhibit to our view, like night, a new sky and a new world. pp. 22—24.

Under the head 'Terrestrial Harmonies,' we find some interesting particulars respecting mountains, but, as usual, disfigured by a classification at once unscientific and useless. There are, it seems, according to this nomenclature, *Parasol* mountains, and mountains Reverberating, Hyemal, Volcanic, Eolian, Hydraulic, and Littoral. We are disposed to think that a very valuable and popular publication might be constructed by a judicious selection from the works of St. Pierre; some original facts and striking passages might be found for this purpose in the work before us, and many more in his *Etudes de la Nature*. The Planetary 'Harmonies' afford St. Pierre an opportunity of at once sporting his wildest theories and displaying his richest powers of description. Their produce, their inhabitants, and almost their history, seem as familiar to him as

If he had navigated the ethereal void, and touched at every star: in this his adventurous course we dare not follow him. The translation is executed with sufficient care, and appears, so far as we can judge without reference, to be faithful to the original.

Art. VI. *Annals of the Reign of King George the Third*; from its Commencement in the Year 1760, to the General Peace in the Year 1815. By John Aikin, M. D. In Two Volumes. 8vo. Price 1l. 5s. London. Longman and Co. 1816.

THE investigation of events long past, is necessarily involved in much perplexity, arising in the greater number of instances, from defective evidence or mutilated records. It seldom happens that the historian of receded ages, has it in his power to check the errors of one statement, by the superior precision of another; to balance the deficiencies or the exaggerations of an alien or a partial testimony, by any just contemporary scale; or to follow with firm and confiding step, the leading of some living witness uninfluenced by party, passion, or vindictive feeling. Under these circumstances it becomes necessary for him to act upon an extended plan, to enlarge his inquiries, to pursue long and laborious trains of investigation, to discuss difficult problems, to sift evidence, to balance probabilities, and to state clearly for the satisfaction of his readers, the reasons which have determined his conclusions.

But when, on the other hand, the events to be narrated are recent, covered by no veil excepting that of prejudice, open to every eye, and accessible to every judgement, it is obvious that much of this labour may be spared, both as unnecessary, and as hazardous. Perhaps none of us view immediate events with an impartial spirit; we look at them not in the broad and fair light, by which an unprejudiced observer would inspect them, but we use contrivances, set them as an artist does the Figure, in a particular attitude and in managed light, and compel them to occupy some convenient place in our own system, and to *groupe* with our own hypotheses. Under these circumstances, the fairest narrator of recent transactions would incur from both sides the imputation of partiality; and unless he be strong in his conviction of the purity of his principles, and well skilled to maintain the rectitude of his decisions, he will do wisely to decline the doubtful honours of the historian, and to rest content with the humbler but surer fame of the annalist. Indeed, if all history had been written in the form of annals, much as we should lose by the disappearance of some of the brightest illustrations of the range and power of the human intellect, we are yet persuaded that much would be gained in

point of veracity and reality, even in those instances where we are usually furthest from suspecting their absence.

Here we may, perhaps, be permitted to remark, without exposing ourselves to reproof for wandering from our subject, that it has happened only in one instance, and in one particular chain of events, that a standard has been established, by whose unerring rectitude all other histories may be safely tried. And it is remarkable that the Sacred Writings, to which of course we shall be understood to refer, afford a solitary example of the union, in one record, of two opposite modes of writing history. They blend the deepest and richest philosophy of history, with the simplicity of official documents. The motive is always illustrated by the act, and the action invariably referred to the true and guiding impulse. Brief and succinct as the narrative may be, yet, in the utmost compression and rapidity of its current, it maintains a depth and *body*, never lessened, never diverted, never varying from the true direction of its course. It is impossible to read the Scriptures without being compelled to attention and thought. Independently of the stupendous prodigies by which they at once quell and excite the imagination, there is in them a richness, a pregnancy, a power, which keep the intellect in a state of continual and intense exercise. The book of Genesis, in particular, has always appeared to us a model of interesting narrative. The magnificence of its opening, the brevity and simplicity of its details, the inimitable beauty of its representations and descriptions, the importance and distinctness of its incidental elucidations, together with the magnitude and grandeur of the events which it unfolds, combine to place it in the highest order of compositions.

At the first glance, the composition of annals appears extremely easy; but a little consideration will convince us, that it is very much the reverse. It requires no mean skill and no inconsiderable practice, to make such a selection both of marking and minor facts, as to produce at once harmony and effect. It is exceedingly difficult to prevent confusion in the arrangement and intersection of events, and it requires the utmost exertion of talent at once to present transactions unbroken, and to maintain chronological sequence. Under these impressions, we felt considerable gratification at finding the respectable name of Dr. Aikin at the head of these volumes; and without meaning to affirm their perfect accuracy, and admitting the possibility that we may, among the number of events here brought into such restricted limits, have passed over statements which a closer survey might give room to question, we may venture, in general, to recommend these volumes, as well written, judiciously selected and arranged, and as altogether affording a very satisfactory view of the period to which they relate. The following

extract, it will be seen, accords with our previous view, and is a part of Dr. Aikin's prefatory exposition of his motives for the compilation of the present work.

* It will be manifest that the compass of these pages could not afford scope for entering into those conjectures relative to the secrets of cabinets, or those discussions concerning the plans of policy, that may be supposed to have influenced sovereigns or their ministers, which usually occupy a large space in professed histories. Perhaps, however, the utility of a historical narrative is not materially impaired by such an omission. Were it possible to attain more certainty with respect to such topics, than can come within the reach of a private person, what, in general, would be gained, except a nearer insight into a drama of life representing the play of ordinary motives upon ordinary minds—a view of the secondary movements of a machine, the main-springs of which are acting according to known and obvious laws? In reality, the great series of human affairs is directed by a chain of causes and effects of much superior potency to the efforts of individuals in any station, who, for the most part, are rather the subjects, than the rulers, of events. While men, in continued succession, under a variety of characters, probably at all times existing in nearly equal proportions, are pursuing a course influenced by their passions and interests, changes are operating in the large masses of mankind, the result of combinations of circumstances which the flux of ages has been requisite to produce. It is from the observation of these, and not from an acquaintance with court intrigues and party manœuvres, that the true philosophy of history is to be deduced; and the impartial record of leading facts is the grand desideratum for obtaining this important addition to human wisdom. Of such incidents, the period which the present work comprehends has been singularly fertile; and the intelligent reader cannot fail of drawing inferences from them, which will have more value as the product of his own reflections, than as the promptings of a writer.

It is not necessary that we should make any further extracts from a work of this kind, nor that we should analyse that which is itself an analysis. Fidelity, distinctness, and comprehensiveness, are the main requisites of annals, and the present publication will be found to possess these qualities in a very respectable degree.

Art. VII. 1. *The Beauty and Glory of the Primitive Church.* A Sermon delivered at Salter's Hall, at a Monthly Association of Ministers and Churches. By George Burder, Author of *Village Sermons*. 8vo. Price 1s. Black and Co. 1817.

2. *The Duty and Means of ascertaining the genuine Sense of the Scriptures:* delivered at a Monthly Association of Ministers and Churches. By Henry Foster Burder, M.A. 8vo. Price 1s. 6d. Conder. 1816.

3. *Voluntary Subjection to God, the genuine Liberty of a Rational Creature:* the Substance of a Sermon. By James Knight. 8vo. Price 1s. 6d. Conder. 1816.

WE have had frequent occasion to notice Sermons preached before this Monthly Association, as being some of the most interesting of this class of publications: the above form a valuable addition to the series.

The first, by the venerable Author of the *Village Sermons*, is a plain but judicious and manly comment on the account given in the second chapter of the Acts, of 'the faith, the piety, the love, the influence, and the increase' of the first Christian church. We subjoin the introductory paragraph.

'That there is much beauty and glory in that system of religion which we term Christianity, will be readily allowed by all who bear the Christian name; and that we may expect to find its greatest glory in the primitive church, will be as easily admitted by those who are acquainted with the depravity of human nature. Through the prevalence of that depravity, the best institutions among men are apt to degenerate: and their friends are frequently obliged to refer to the records of their first establishment, in order to restore them to their pristine purity and usefulness. It is not, then, to be wondered at, if the grossest corruptions should be found to have vitiated and disgraced the holy religion of the Son of God. That religion was designed to destroy the works of the devil, and to counteract all those moral evils which he was the instrument of introducing into our world; to deteriorate therefore that Divine remedy, and to render it inefficient, is precisely that policy that might be expected from the great Deceiver and Destroyer.'

The second Sermon, by the Rev. Henry Burder, is founded upon John v. 39. "Search the Scriptures," &c. After illustrating the *duty* of diligently endeavouring to ascertain the genuine sense of the Scriptures, the preacher proceeds to specify as the direct *means* to be employed for this purpose,—'the study of the Scriptures in the languages in which they were originally written;' 'the study of the entire volume of Revelation, and a comparison of its various parts;' 'an attentive consideration of the circumstances under which the several books of Scripture were written;' a judicious use of works incidentally illustrative of the contents of Scripture; a diligent investigation of 'the scope and connection of Scripture; and, lastly, a careful adherence to the just laws of interpretation where there

‘ seems reason to suppose that the language of Scripture is figurative, or the meaning allegorical.’ These hints are highly important, and they are enforced with neatness and perspicuity. Should the Sermon fall into the hands of any persons unacquainted with the academical institutions among the Protestant Dissenters, it may be serviceable as shewing, that the unanimity and zeal the Dissenters have manifested in the circulation of the Bible without note or comment, is far from being connected with any opinions tending to disparage the use of every possible means of elucidating the contents of the sacred volume.

Mr. Knight’s Sermon is a practical illustration of those words of our Lord: “ If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” There is a singular conciseness in the style, but the remarks are what, to use a quaint term, may be termed very pithy, and bear the impress of deep reflection.

‘ We prize the Gospel as a *dispensation of liberty*: we have much reason to do so, if we really know and experience the liberty of the Gospel. To make us *free* was certainly the design of the Son of God; and his glory is eminently that of a Redeemer.

‘ But there are professors who not only seem to confine their attention to the subject of forgiveness, and the blessedness connected with it, but, virtually, to deny that *more* is comprehended in the liberty of the Gospel!

‘ They strangely overlook, or culpably refuse to regard, those numerous portions of Scripture, in which forgiveness of sins, and a cordial delight in God’s commandments, are conjointly set before us, as forming that salvation which is in Christ Jesus; much less do these professors assign to forgiveness the place which it holds in the scripture, as a blessing *subordinate* to the grace of our sanctification.

‘ The most evangelical introduction and enforcement of practical godliness is too evidently a strain of preaching not grateful to their hearts. Their countenance falls, when *some texts* are announced, and looks are exchanged expressive of dissatisfied feelings. They anticipate nothing but *duty* and *bondage*, which, with them are almost convertible terms.

‘ But are these the disciples of Jesus? Of Him who delivered the sermon on the mount? Is it to such a temper of mind as this, that men are redeemed with the blood of the Lamb? Can Scriptural charity believe that characters like these are “ one spirit” with Him who said, “ My meat is to *do the will* of Him that sent me?”

‘ Let no man deceive you with vain words, with *clear views*, *strong faith*, or *rapturous experience*.

‘ As many as are led of the spirit of God, are led into the way of his statutes and judgments. They delight in the law of God after the inward man; and, conscious of the captivity of remaining darkness and corruption, they rejoice to be instructed, admonished, reproved, and exhorted, that they may grow in grace, and abound in the work of the Lord.’ pp. 25—26.

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the

Preacher's closing address on the duty of Christians to approve themselves the subjects of the Most High, and the substantial friends of their species, by making it the business of their lives to promote the diffusion of the Gospel of Christ, and its effective operation, to the utmost extent of their opportunities, means, and influence.

‘ The world is enslaved by sin, by guilt, by corruption, by tyrannical lusts and passions. Defective and transient, scarce worthy of the name, is that liberty which is beneath the liberty of the Gospel. To make men free is the prerogative of the Son of God: we shall do nothing, if His name be lightly esteemed, if his counsels and commands be disregarded; nothing—except we be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus.

‘ I mean not to say that the statesman should sleep at his post, or be negligent in his sphere: happy and honourable are they who have laboured, or are labouring for the emancipation of the degraded and oppressed; happy above the rest of their order in society, whose time, whose talents, and whose political influence are employed in loosing the bonds and breaking the fetters of ecclesiastical or civil domination.

‘ I mean not to oppose the spirit of that apostolic advice in its application to individuals or communities—“ If thou mayest be made free, use it rather.”

‘ But this I would say; “ Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness” for yourself and for others: anticipate no great or lasting results from the systems of philosophers, the efforts of senators and rulers, or the combined exertions of a people, if *that instrument* be slighted, which is the *power of God unto salvation*.

‘ Men will not cease to hurt and destroy, to enslave their neighbours, or to wear the chains of slavery themselves, till the knowledge of Jehovah and of his Christ shall cover the earth.

‘ Finally, let the seed of Messiah *be refreshed amidst their labours* and discouragements in his service, by the *prophetic discoveries* of “ Him who declares the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, my counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.” pp. 29—31.

Art. VIII. *The Scotch Cheap Repository Tracts*; containing Moral Tales for the Instruction of the Young. By a Society of Clergymen in Dumfries-shire. Second Edition, corrected, and greatly enlarged. 8vo. pp. 464. Price 9s. Oliphant and Co. Edinburgh.

THESE Tracts are written in professed imitation of Mrs. More's admirable Cheap Repository Tracts; but they are adapted for a higher class of peasantry in point of intelligence and religious knowledge, being primarily intended by their Authors, to subserve the moral and spiritual improvement of their own parishioners. The standard by which their general composition may be judged of, is to be found in the late Mrs. Hamilton's “ *Cottagers of Glenburnie*,” who contributed to the pre-

sent volume, 'The History of Jean Morton.' 'The History of Maitland Smith,' was first published, in a separate form, in 1807, with the view of raising a sum to assist in supporting the unhappy family of the criminal whose life it faithfully records: it is well known, we presume, to most of our readers, as it has obtained a very extensive sale. All the tracts contained in this volume, have undergone the careful revision of the respective writers, and a considerable addition has been made to the longest tale in the Collection. 'The Cottage Fire-side,' written, we believe, by the Reverend Henry Duncan. This excellent little narrative occupies 400 pages of the volume, and will be found instructive and interesting to all classes of readers. The characters are admirably sustained in all the simplicity of nature, and the incidents, though of that every-day description which Miss Edgeworth was one of the first who ventured to select as the basis of a tale, succeed in keeping alive the reader's interest; some of the scenes, indeed, exhibit considerable powers of moral painting. Our first extract is simply illustrative of the best quality of a Tract—its usefulness.

'As we walked along, the lively hue of some wild flowers which grew by the side of our path, attracted *wee Jock's* attention, and breaking from me he ran eagerly to *pu' a posey*, as he called it. Having collected a large bunch, he returned with great exultation, and held them up for me to admire. I took one of them in my hand, and, after directing the attention of my little companions to its more minute beauties, I gravely said, "Do you know, John, who made this pretty flower?" "No," replied he, "but it was may-be daddy, for it's on his groun'." "O Jock! what nonsense!" said his sister laughing, "how could daddy make it? It just grew there." "Did it make itself then?" said I. With this question Janet was evidently puzzled. It was quite new to her, and gave rise to a train of very serious reflections. She therefore continued silent and thoughtful, for some time. In the mean while, little John, delighted with his new employment, ran on before us, pulling every flower that came in his way, till he had filled his lap, and then, with that fickleness which is so natural to childhood, he flung them all into a little stream, and pleased himself with seeing them carried down by the current. Janet still held my hand, without speaking; and, as I did not chuse to interrupt her meditations, we walked slowly on, till we came to a stile, within a few yards of her father's door, when, suddenly stopping, she said with timidity, "Tell me, uncle, does any body mak' the flowers grow?" This was exactly what I wished. I now found, that I had roused my little niece's curiosity and interested her heart, and that her mind was in a proper state for receiving a first practical lesson in religion. But I thought it better to prolong her suspense, as I hoped, thus, to give more solemnity and effect to the impression I proposed to make on her mind. Taking her, therefore, in my arms, and kissing her affectionately, "My dearest child," I said, "I am glad you have been thinking about this. Since you wish to know, I

will tell you something that I'm sure you'll be both pleased and surprised to hear. But we will go in just now.—Ask me about it after breakfast.”

‘ I met my brother at the door, in the act of coming to seek me, and, on going in, I found my sister-in-law bustling to prepare breakfast. As soon as we were quietly seated round the table, I turned the conversation to the delightful walk I had taken, whilst they had been dozing away their time in bed. “ Ah, George!” said my brother, wishing to justify himself, “ It is easy for you to rise on a Sabbath morning; for you hae nae hard work to tire you through the week. For my part, I'm glad o' rest when I can get it; and ye ken the Sabbath was made to gie rest to man and beast.” “ True, brother,” replied I, “ it was so; but, you will find nothing, I suspect, in all the Bible, that gives the smallest countenance to *laziness* on any day of the week; much less, on the day which God has choosen for his own peculiar service. Do you think there is no difference between *sloth* and *rest*; or, do you suppose a strong healthy man, like you, requires to lie so late in bed, in order to recruit his strength? O John! I fear it is only those who find ‘ the Sabbath a weariness,’ that can make such a supposition.” “ Indeed and atweel!” said my sister with some heat, “ I'm sure naebody can say that we think the Sabbath a weariness. There's nae better gangers to the kirk, though I say't, within twenty miles, than John Ferguson and me. Neither o' us can bear to stay awa' frae't; the days ay sae lang and dreary, whan we're obliged to stay at hame, without ought to do. But ye wad na hae us get up in the morning, and travel about the hale country side, wad ye? 'Deed, I think ye wad hae been better in your bed yoursel', for a' the good ye hae done.” “ My dearest sister,” returned I mildly, “ I'm sure you would not have made that observation, if you knew how I was employed.” “ And so, ye think it's right,” replied she, “ to gang staring about, on the Sabbath day, spying ferlies! That may be your religion, but, I'm sure, it's no mine. I was never learnt sic gates. If ye had been staying at hame, reading your Bible, and saying your prayers, you might hae had some reason to speak; but I like nane o' your stravagers on the Sabbath day.” “ I agree with you, sister,” said I, taking no notice of the angry tone in which she spoke, “ that it is idle, and even sinful, to go abroad merely for the purpose of *spying ferlies* on the Lord's day, and I fear there are too many guilty of this sin, not only when walking in the fields, but even when they assemble in the church of God. I would wish you, however, to make a proper distinction in this matter. The mere act of walking cannot be wicked in itself, and its propriety or impropriety must depend, on the motive from which it proceeds, and the sentiments to which it gives rise. Can you not suppose, that the mind may be as well employed, in a solitary walk amongst the beauties and wonders of the creation, as when shut up within the walls of a house.” “ But has na our Saviour said, ‘ when ye pray, enter your closet, and shut the door,’ and is na this a proof that the house is the proper place for private worship.” “ No,” answered I, “ our Saviour certainly never meant to confine our private devotions to the house. If you will look at the passage, you will see that his only view was to

condemn the public and ostentatious manner in which the Pharisees offered up their petitions, *in the synagogues and corners of the streets*. Did not he, himself, set us an example of private prayer to God in the open air? Did he not, during the solemn silence of night, when all the busy thoughts of other men were sunk in sleep, often withdraw from the company of his disciples, to the lonely mountain or the retired valley, and there, whilst the moon and stars were moving in brightness, at once the proofs and emblems of the great Creator's power and glory, did he not hold communion with his heavenly Father, and pour out his soul, before the broad eye of Omniscience, in a secret fervent prayer?" As I spoke these words, I felt my heart burn within me, and both my brother and sister seemed struck with astonishment, at the animation of my look and gestures, and the warmth of my language.' pp. 226—228.

The conversation about the flower is not forgotten. 'Wee Jock' soon after enters the room with a flower in his hand, and running up to his father, cries "Daddy, did you make this?"

"You little foolish boy, what puts that into your head?" replied my brother. "Wha made it then?" said the child. "Gang to uncle George, and he'll tell you," answered the father, unwilling to engage with a subject on which he distrusted his own judgment. Whilst this conversation was going on, my little Janet had slipped quietly behind my chair, and reminded me, in a whisper, of my promise. "Listen," said I, "to what I am going to tell your brother." Then taking Jock on my knee, I said, "Do you know that besides *this* daddy, you have another father, who is the father of every body?"—"What?" replied my little nephew, "is he daddy's father too, and mammy's and your's, and Jock Rabson's and a'?" "Yes," said I, "and it was he that made that pretty flower, for he made not only every body, but every thing too in all the world." "Where does he live then?" asked he, "for I'm sure I never saw him." "You never saw him, my love," returned I, "but he sees you, and knows every thing you do, and say, and think." "But he does not see me e'nnow, I'm sure," replied he, looking anxiously round the room, "for he's no here." "You need not look for him," said I, smiling, "for nobody can see him; but if he were not just now in this very room, do you know that we would all die, for he keeps us alive every moment. He goes with us wherever we go, and he stays with us wherever we stay. And he is so good! I cannot tell you how good he is." The little boy was evidently bewildered and confounded for a few seconds. He had never heard of God before, or, at least, he had never heard him spoken of, in a manner that he could at all understand, and the idea was new and wonderful to him. In a very short time, however, the impression wore off, and he ran out of the room with as much thoughtlessness and unconcern as ever. But the case was different with my little niece. She listened to every word I spoke, with the most eager and serious attention. "Did that father make me too, uncle?" said she, after a pause, "I thought God made me, for the Carities says sae." "Yes, Janet," answered I, "your catechism says true. God did make you and every body, for God is this very Father that I am talking about." "But mammy says," returned she, "that God lives

in heaven, far aboon the skies. How can he be here too, keeping us alive, and how can he mak' the flowers grow, and how can he see us when we dinna see him?" "All this is very wonderful, Janet, and the only answer I can give you is, that it is very true. God is here, and at your grandmother's, and among the stars, and in heaven far above the skies, all in one moment.—This Bible, that you sometimes see your father and mother reading, tells us all about him, and we are sure that what it tells us is true, for it was God himself that made good men write it, and informed them what to say." "O then I wish I could read it," said Janet, eagerly, "for I would like to ken about him; but you'll may-be tell me; will you, uncle?" Most willingly, my dear girl," returned I; "but you will soon learn to read it for yourself. In the mean time we are going to prayers, and must make ready for church; so I will not tire you any more just now." "But I am not tired," answered the sweet girl, "when will you tell me more?" "Put me in mind," said I, "the first time you see I am not busy." p. 231.

The following is in a higher style.

"Does his first name begin with an R?" said I. "Yes," he answered, "they call him Robert!" I made no reply, but could not help thinking on the letters scratched on the handle of the fatal knife. From this time I kept my eye on the fellow as much as I could. He was a short stout-built man, with red hair and a ruddy complexion; but there was a fierceness in his eye, and a dark cunning in the expression of his countenance, which marked him to be "fit for treasons, stratagems, and wars." He evidently wished to be thought perfectly at his ease, and with this design he talked when every other person was inclined to be silent and serious. But I thought he over-acted his part, and I saw that his conduct attracted the notice of more people than myself, and particularly of Mr. Thomson and Mr. Johnston, though they made no observations. Wine was now handed round, but nobody tasted it except Stewart, and one or two of his drunken companions, who emptied their glasses with an air of triumph. To account for the conduct of these individuals, it may be proper to mention, that some of Mr. Thomson's parishioners agreed with Isaac in disapproving of the funeral regulations; and being headstrong and violent tempered men, had formed a party against their introduction. Amongst this number were all the loose characters who liked idleness and drunkenness.

The procession at length moved forward to the church-yard. When the ceremony of interment was over, and before any person began to retire, Mr. Thomson, standing on a grave-stone, informed the company, that it was the wish of the sheriff, that no person should be permitted to leave the church-yard, till an examination had taken place, which might serve to throw some light on this dark and horrid business. "Huzza!" cried Rob Stewart, "that's right! I'll guard the yett and let nane out." "You are saved that trouble, young man," replied Mr. Thomson, "for there are constables already posted at the gate, and none need attempt to escape. I must request every person," continued he, "to sit down on the grass in the vacant space at the north side of the church, arranged as neatly

as far as possible. That you may not think this request unnecessary, I will explain to you the reason of it. The murderer, whoever he was, left the impression of his shoe on some new dug ground near the spot where the crime was committed. An accurate drawing of the form and dimensions of that impression has been taken by my friend Mr. Johnston and is now in my hand. Our intention is to examine the feet of all who are present, and compare their shoes with this draught, in hopes that this measure may tend to detect the guilty person." My eyes were steadily fixed on Rob Stewart during this speech, and I observed his face turn pale and red by turns. The marks of guilt were visible I thought on his countenance; but when Mr. Thompson ceased speaking, he had recovered himself sufficiently to exclaim, "What good 'ill that do? A hunder folk may hae shoon o' the same size, and may-be o' the same shape too. It may mak innocent folk suspected, and sae for my part I winna consent till't. Come let us be off, lads." As he spoke he pulled some of his companions by the arm, and turned towards the gate with the intention of making his escape. "The first man that leaves the church-yard before he is examined," cried Mr. Johnston, "will be taken up as a suspected person, and committed to jail. I have the authority of the sheriff for saying so." A murmur of approbation succeeded this speech, and Stewart turned back intimidated, and seated himself on a grave-stone at a little distance, folding his arms across his breast, and kicking his heels against one of the feet of the stone, that he might appear very much at his ease. As soon as silence was obtained, Mr. Thomson, in a few simple words, refuted Stewart's objections, and, at the same time, held up to public view Mr. Johnston's drawing of the footstep, to convince the people that there was something so remarkably peculiar in its shape, there could be little doubt of finding out the person to whom it belonged by the means proposed. Every one seemed now eager to have his shoes examined, and hastened to seat himself on the grass. Two shoemakers were employed to take the measurement, and Mr. Johnston accompanied them with the drawing in his hand. Stewart had placed himself in the middle of the crowd, and I saw him make one or two unsuccessful attempts to shift his seat, so as to escape examination. When at last his turn came, his colour suddenly changed to a deadly pale, and with a horrid groan he fell senseless on the ground. He was restored by the application of some water which was quickly procured, and looking wildly round him he exclaimed, "You cannot say that I did it! It was dark—who saw me?" "God Almighty saw you, unhappy young man!" said Mr. Johnston, in a tone which thrilled through my heart; for he had now taken the dimensions of Stewart's shoe, and found that it corresponded in every particular to the copy he had drawn. The murderer, for I had now no doubt that this was he, having recovered his strength, started up on his feet, and drawing a sharp pointed knife from his pocket, threatened to stab to the heart the first man that laid hands on him. He then made a desperate spring, and before any person had sufficient presence of mind to prevent him, reached the church-yard wall, which he cleared without diffi-

culty, but losing his balance when he reached the other side, he stumbled forward, and fell on the point of the knife. He was now secured, and as he was losing much blood, he was conveyed to the manse, which happened to be the nearest house; the surgeon who was present, attending him for the purpose of dressing his wound. The knife had entered the bowels and had made a dangerous wound, which the surgeon immediately pronounced likely to prove mortal. The unfortunate wretch overheard the opinion of the surgeon, and cried out with a savage joy, which filled every person present with horror, "Then I'll disappoint the law yet—If I could na mak my escape ae way, I'll do it in another. Sleep! sleep! they say it's a sleep." "Alas! young man," said Mr. Thomson, shuddering as he spoke, "in that sleep there are awful dreams to the wicked. Dreams! do I say? they are horrible realities. God grant that you may not find——" "It's a lie!" interrupted he with a dreadful oath, "I'll no believe it—sae ye need na preach to me." Mr. Thomson finding he could do no good by continuing the conversation left the room.' pp. 270—273.

The following domestic scene will supply hints to many who are above the condition of George Ferguson and his Jean, but whose children are 'aboon their foot.'

"My brother, finding his voice begin to falter, abruptly ended the prayer, and sent the young ones to bed. "Your voice and manner in prayer are so like our father's," said I, when I had a little recovered myself. "Ah!" replied he, "I wish I were like him in other respects. I often blush, my dear George, to think how ill I fill his place. Every thing gaed on like clock wark wi' him, and he was never hurried, nor put out o' his way. Even his very bairns ken'd their ain place without being tell'd, and watched his looks to see what he wanted. Alas! I'll never be like him. I am sure," added he, after a pause, "you will think my bairns an unruly set. You and I, George, durst nae mair hae behaved to our father as they do to me—They'll scarcely do ought that I bid them. I hae to speak to them ten times before they'll move a step; and I'm sure they canna say it's because I use them ill." "Na, but John," said his wife, with some heat, "ye maunna talk in that way. Our bairns, poor things, are nae war than their neighbours. Indeed and atweel! what can ye expect o' young witless things? Ye wad na hae an auld head on young shoulders, wad ye?" "But, my dear Jean," said my brother, "it was sae different in our father's time wi' George and me. We wad as soon hae put our head in the fire, as hae said as much as ~~what~~ *for*, when he bade us do any thing. I never thought sae meikle about it till this moment. There maun be something wrang." "Well! well!" exclaimed I, rejoiced to find my brother in this humour, but not wishing to enter into an altercation with his wife, "should there be any thing wrong, it is not yet, I hope, too late to correct it."

"But my bairns," said the fond father; "I doubt what I said about them yesternight, will mak' you think them unco misleard. But they're no sae ill as I said. To be sure they're no sae fear-

for me, as we used to be for our father ; but where will you meet wi' bairns brought up sae weel as we were ?" " Where, indeed !" returned I, whilst I felt the tear of gratitude and filial affection starting into my eye ; " but, John, I don't think you do our father justice when you say we used to be afraid of him. He was not a tyrant that we should have feared him : he was our friend, our instructor, and our guide. He did not drive us with the lash of authority ; he gently drew us by the cords of love : and you know *perfect love casteth out fear*." " Very true," answered my brother ; " I was wrang when I said we were fear'd for our father, for I never ken'd ony body I liked half sae weel, except my wife, nor ony body I could tell o' the thoughts o' my mind sae easily to ; but still there was something, I ken na what, that made me rin whenever he bade me, and like to do whatever he wished, though I had never sae great an aversion to it naturally." " You have exactly expressed my feelings," replied I ; " and these are the sentiments that every child will have for his parents, if there is not some fault in his education. " I dinna ken" said he ; " I think there's a difference in the nature o' bairns." " Nobody can deny that," said I, " but all children can be managed." " I wish you would tak' an' manage mine then," replied he, half angry and half in earnest, " for I'm sure they're aboon my foot." " Let me first observe their dispositions," answered I, " and the way you treat them, and I will try what can be done."

The distress of the poor mother when her son George is brought home apparently drowned, is finely—we were going to say imagined, but the impression on the reader's mind is, that the Author has no other merit than that of relating what actually took place within his observation.

“ Finding the door locked, however, “ He is dead ! he is dead !” exclaimed my sister with a shriek of despair ; “ ye need na try to hide it : I ken the warst ! Open the door, O open the door, and let me see my poor drowned boy ance mair.” “ O, Mrs. Ferguson,” cried the minister, for I was too much affected to speak, “ do endeavour to command yourself. We have hopes of your son's recovery ; but do not attempt to come in just now, otherwise you will spoil all, and may have to reproach yourself with being the cause of his death. Go into the house for a few minutes, and your brother will let you know, the moment any alteration takes place.” “ My brother !” said she, “ where is my brother ? what for does he no speak ! If he speaks I will believe him.” “ O George,” cried my brother, “ speak for mercys sake ! are you sure he is na dead ! are you sure he'll live ?” “ My dearest brother,” replied I, commanding myself as well as I was able, “ I am here doing every thing I can for your poor boy, and, I trust in God, all will yet be well ; but if you wish to save him do not disturb us, for this is a critical moment.” “ O I am calm ! I am perfectly calm !” said my sister, in a tone of voice which made me tremble for her reason, “ but make haste, for my brain is turning round.” These words were succeeded by a faint scream, and immediately after, I heard her stagger backwards, and fall to the ground. “ O God !” exclaimed my brother wildly ; “ must I lose her too ! this is too much.” p. 242.

The means used for his resuscitation, (which, with great propriety are specified with the most accurate minuteness, agreeably to the directions of Dr. Cullen,) are at length successful. They attempt to dissuade the mother from remaining with him in his present exhausted state. She bursts out in passionate emotion, throwing herself at the same time on the bed:

“How can I leave you, my darling boy. They shall not tear me from you—I’ll sit by your bed as you sleep, and hearken to every breath you draw. Nae body can watch like a mother; I ha’e often watched by your cradle, when you were owre young to thank me, and wha shall prevent me now. You wad na wish me to leave you, my dear bairn? wad he?” “O no mother,” replied George feebly, “I’ll sleep better if you’re near me.” “I kent it! I was sure o’t!” exclaimed my sister, whilst tears for the first time found a passage down her cheeks.’ p. 246.

We are glad to hear that this tale is separately published. The length of the extracts which we have been led to make from this portion of the volume, precludes our entering upon any particular account of its remaining contents. All further recommendation of this interesting volume would be superfluous.

Art. IX. Alpha and Omega; or a Minister's closing Address: a Sermon, preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Stafford, on Sunday, Aug. 31st, 1817. By the Rev. Joseph Maude, M.A. Assistant Preacher, at St. Mary's Stafford, and late of Queen's College. Oxford. 8vo. Price 1s. 6d. 1817.

THE impression produced by this Sermon on the auditory, if it was delivered in a manner at all corresponding with the earnestness and pathos which characterize the composition, must have been very striking and effective. We have no knowledge of the preacher; but our attention was arrested by the opening paragraph. The text is Rev. xxi. 6. “And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha, and Omega,” &c.

‘Who have most need of mercy? Ministers who preach the Gospel, or the people to whom that Gospel is preached? In his own perception, every true minister, and every true Christian will feel, and be ready to acknowledge, that he, of all others, is most dependent upon this attribute of the Godhead for his present and eternal welfare. But have not ministers *peculiar* need of mercy? The Apostle Paul, when addressing himself to collective bodies of Christians; to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, and to other churches, uniformly salutes them with those two special blessings, *Grace* and *Peace*: “Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.” But when writing to those eminent ministers of Christ, Timothy and Titus, there is an observable difference in his mode of salutation. To *Grace* and *Peace* he also adds *Mercy*; “Unto Timothy, my own son in the faith: *grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord.*”

It is not imagined that any *essential* difference is hereby intended; inasmuch as *private Christians* have need of mercy, as well as their *spiritual Instructors*; and we also know that *Mercy* is comprehended under the other two expressions of *Grace* and *Peace*. But we may, perhaps, be allowed to gather thus much from the peculiarity of the apostolic salutation, that ministers of religion, *above all* other persons whatever, have *need of mercy*. They are placed in situations of greater responsibility; they are generally favoured with superior advantages in *knowing* and *doing* the will of God; and are therefore under greater obligations to live unto God, and for the benefit of their people. If they sin, they sin against greater light and knowledge; and their guilt is marked with a deeper stain. If they fail in their duty, the consequences are *more than ordinarily awful*. Being responsible, in a sense, for the souls of those to whom they are sent, any deficiencies in them, especially such as materially affect their ministerial character; any defect in their instructions; any delinquencies in their pastoral life, involve *not only their own souls* in correspondent danger, but *the souls of their people*. The flock may suffer through the ignorance and wanderings, and finally perish through the heedlessness of the shepherd.

‘How far this peculiar need of mercy, in the case of ministers of the Gospel, might enter the Apostle’s mind, we cannot determine; only such may be the intimation. And, Brethren, I believe I can with truth affirm, that it is with correspondent feelings I stand up, this day, before you, and before God.’ pp. 5, 6, 7.

Independently of any circumstances of local interest, the whole Sermon is of a superior order, and will be read with great satisfaction. As an affectionate appeal of the Christian minister to his people, it is well adapted to come home to every man’s bosom. There is something very impressive in the use which is made of the words chosen for the text.

‘If, Brethren, such enquiries so press upon us, and appear so serious in reference to the close of my ministry amongst you, what an additional degree of importance do they acquire in our view, when contemplated in reference to that time, to which we are all gradually and surely hastening, when the tongue now speaking shall be silent in the dust, and your own bodies shall be consigned to the tomb. O how strangely soon may it be said of the *life* of him who speaks, and of the *life* of you who hear, *It is done!* What will then be most important to us, and to our surviving friends? Whether we *lived*, and whether we *died* in Christ. Whether Christ be *our Saviour*—Whether he be our *Alpha* and *Omega*.

‘Again, after death shall have closed our eyes upon all our earthly prospects, and all our earthly plans; and when of that *Judgment*, which shall eventually take place, it may also be said, *It is done*; when the issue of it shall be fully known, and fully felt, in the respective sentences passed upon the righteous and the wicked; O how momentous the thought! What is *our sentence*—What is *our place*—What is *our portion*? If now we *begin* with Christ we shall then have our *end* with him. If he be now our *Alpha*, he will then be our *Omega*.

‘ Lastly, when it shall be said of Christ’s mediatorial kingdom. *It is done* ; when, as Mediator, he shall have accomplished all the will of God ; and the misery of the wicked, and the blessedness of the righteous shall have been publicly developed ; when the church of the redeemed shall shout, *Alleluia !* and the Angels round about the throne, in admiring praise, shall respond, *Amen* ; O how awful is the consideration ! What will then be our *thoughts*, our *views*, our *feelings*, our *state*, our *eternity* ? That such a crisis is on the approach, we are assured—“ Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up, “ the kingdom to God, even the Father.” The mediatorial kingdom, of Christ, in which every thing pertaining to his Church and people was committed to his rule and government, having answered its designed end, shall come to its close. It s^t all be delivered up to the Father by the Son. “ And when all things shall be subdued unto “ him, then shall the Son also himself,” as *Man and Mediator*, “ be “ subject unto him that put all things under him, that God,” Father, Son, and Spirit, “ may be all in all.” p. 25.

Art. X. *Poems*. By Miss D. P. Campbell, of Zetland. 12mo. pp. 226. Price 10s. 6d. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

THESE poems appear to have been written under the genuine inspiration of sorrow. The Author alludes, in a modest Introduction, to circumstances of severe calamity, and to the deprivation of the advantages attached to happier situations of life, as having attended their composition ; and she ventures to hope that ‘ having no ambition to gratify, and no presumption to answer for, the eye of criticism will be lenient in ‘ its judgement and sparing in its scrutiny.’ This appeal to our best feelings would have secured our silence had we found nothing in the volume which deserved our praise ; but let the following stanzas, in which the deep tones of the heart are so plainly distinguishable, speak for the Author in the irresistible eloquence of nature.

• TO AN OLD MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

• While some, of their fictitious lyres,
 A mournful farewell take,
 Deep tones of sorrow from thy wires,
 My trembling fingers wake :
 What though thy tones were wild and rude
 Yet oft they pleas’d mine ear,
 They charm’d my hours of solitude,
 And sweeten’d ev’ry tear !
 Partner of many a lonely hour,
 And soother of its pain,
 Farewell !—thy soft consoling pow’r
 Shall never charm again !
 Then fare-thee-well !—for we must part,—
 A lighter hand, a gayer heart
 May wake thy notes with better skill ;—

With more of music's melting art,
A sadder never will !' p. 226.

Possibly to some of our readers the image of a young poetess,

' — A lone wand'rer of the Northern isles,
Plac'd far amid the melancholy main—'

may present itself as a vision of romance, and her simple strains may seem to come with wild and unearthly music from some sea-beat isle where storms have their home, and sea-gulls scream, and spirits resort, and mermaids sing the fisherman's requiem. How far the realities of lonely sorrow might prove from answering to this picture, it is only painful to surmise. The circumstances under which these poems were written, certainly impart a picturesque character to many of them, which is considerably aided by the references to surrounding scenery. By this means they will not fail to excite the imagination of a reader of kindly feeling, who, surrendering himself to the romantic illusion, is content to listen to the artless strains of 'untutored nature's child.' There is something very pleasing in the following stanzas which occur in the 'Address to Zetland.'

' Oh ! Laxford, dear ! thy barren hills
Fond mem'ry still must love ;
To thee my wand'ring fancy turns,
Where'er my footsteps rove.

' Oh ! scenes by happy childhood bless'd,
When grief was all unknown—
But dearer now, and treasur'd more,
Your joys for ever flown.'

' I dream'd not that a fairer spot
On earth's broad bosom lay ;
Nor ever wish'd my wand'ring feet
Beyond its bounds to stray.

' And when I read of fairer fields
Beyond the northern main ;
And tow'ring trees, whose leafy arms
Spread o'er the flow'ry plain ;

' Of rivers, through the verdant vale
Meandering smooth and clear ;
Or where cascades their torrents dash
O'er precipices drear :

' I read—and fancy cloth'd thy steps
With darkling groves of pine ;
Bright bloom'd thy flow'rs, smooth flow'd thy streams,
And ev'ry charm was thine.

' Soft on the weedy sea-beach stole
The wave with murmur low ;
And o'er the undulating tide
Serenely zephyrs blow.

- ‘ And there the moon, in radiance pale,
Her mildest lustre threw ;
Silv’ring the rocks of Tuinna-taing,
And Ocean’s bosom blue.
- ‘ The fields of Hammerslain were gay
With flow’rs of simple dye ;
And primrose there and daisy bloom’d
Beneath a brighter sky.
- ‘ Oh, Laxford ! once my happy home,
Farewell thy rocky shore !
The wand’rer that has fled from thee
Returns, alas ! no more.
- ‘ Oh ! Hammerslain’s romantic fields,
Take, take my last farewell !—
Another now shall rove your banks,
And in Scott’s-Hall shall dwell ;
- ‘ Another now shall nurse the flow’rs
I rear’d with anxious care ;
Another range the sandy beach,
And cull the sea-shells there.
- ‘ Another, by the burn reclin’d,
O’er some sad tale shall weep ;
Or list’ning to its murmur’ing voice,
Be softly lull’d to sleep.
- ‘ Another now by Severspool
At purple dawn shall stray,
And on the mossy ward-hill mark
The sportive lambkins play.
- ‘ Farewell, ye scenes of dear delight,
A long, a last adieu !
For never more your distant charms
These aching eyes shall view.
- ‘ And, Laxford ! thou my once lov’d home,
A long farewell to thee—
The blissful hour of sweet return
Shall never smile on me !
- ‘ Yet mem’ry oft with pious tear,
As changing seasons roll,
Shall consecrate thy parted joys,
And bind thee to my soul.’ pp. 106—108.

In a volume of *Miscellaneous Poems*, there must be exhibited considerable inequality of merit, but there is a strain of genuine feeling throughout these simple productions, which cannot fail, we think, of beguiling the reader’s sympathy; and some of the pieces display a very elegant mind and a cultivated fancy.

‘ The Zetland Fisherman ’ will please as a characteristic descriptive ballad ; ‘ The Fairy of the Wood,’ is a beautiful little legend ; but we select the following as being, we think, worthy to rank with some of the best of our old English ballads in sim-

licity and pathos; a description of poetry which is adapted
fter all to take the strongest hold upon the mind.

‘ THE SOLDIER’S WIDOW

AT THE GRAVE OF HER ONLY CHILD.

‘ “ In vain for me may summer’s glow
Make blooming nature smile ;
In vain may all the charms of spring
Adorn our happy isle ;

‘ In vain for me may zephyrs kiss
The lily’s spotless breast ;
In vain for me the blushing rose
In beauty’s garb be dress’d ;

‘ In vain for me may pebbly brooks
And winding streamlets run ;
In vain for me the rising morn,
In vain the setting sun.

‘ My world is yonder little grave,
My all its narrow space ;
My only child reposes there,
Lock’d in Death’s cold embrace.

‘ Yet peace is thine, sweet innocent !
By care nor grief oppress’d ;
Thou sleep’st regardless of the pangs
That rend thy mother’s breast.

‘ Unconscious babe ! I would not wish
Thy deep repose to break ;
Better in peace to slumber there,
Than like thy mother wake.

‘ Sleep on, sleep on, my darling babe !
Till Heav’n’s resistless voice
Shall rouse the slumb’ers of the tomb,
And bid thy soul rejoice.

‘ Sweet child ! thine infant eyes had scarce
Beheld life’s op’ning dawn,
Than thou wert fatherless, and I
A widow left forlorn.

‘ Nor e’en the last sad grief was giv’n,
His dying form to see ;
He fell upon a foreign shore,
Unwept by all but me.

‘ Henry ! thy nature suited ill
The battle’s stormy rage—
Then wherefore go, my only love,
The bloody war to wage !

‘ How happier I, didst thou repose
Beside our infant son ;
Than buried ~~thus~~ in field of strife,
Where bloody deeds were done.

‘ But, ah ! to heav’n’s eternal throne
My ceaseless pray’r shall rise,
That yet our parted souls may meet
In yonder blissful skies.”

‘ She paus’d—for now the glimm’ring east
Disturb’d the friendly gloom ;
Then slowly sought with bleeding heart
Her chang’d and cheerless home.’ pp. 53—5.

The lines ‘ To an Hypocrite,’ are vigorous and pointed, and as a varied specimen of Miss Campbell’s abilities, we cannot, in justice, withhold them from our readers.

‘ TO AN HYPOCRITE.

‘ Thy heart is hard—thou hast no tear
Like that which drops from Pity’s eye,
Her angel voice was never dear,
Nor can thy bosom heave the sigh,
The tender sigh ! for other’s anguish,—
Then, haste thee—to thy pleasures fly,
And leave me here in grief to languish.

‘ Yet, thou hast said—perhaps hast sworn—
Thy soul was tenderness and truth !
Go, Hypocrite ! thou canst not mourn
O’er a bruise’d heart, and blighted youth,
With’ring away with grief and sorrow !
Or, if thou dost, I fear, in sooth,
’Tis but the semblance thou dost borrow.

‘ Yet thou canst talk, oh, wond’rous well !
Of sympathy and feeling too ;
And bid thy changeful bosom swell
With pity that it never knew,
And seem all tenderness and passion !
Yes ! to thy baser nature true,
Thou weep’st, and why ?—it is the fashion !’ pp. 151.

We think that these extracts will supersede the necessity of our entering upon any critical estimate, or adding any formal recommendation of this unassuming volume. If they have succeeded in making a favourable impression on the reader, we may then state, what it would be otherwise unavailing to mention, that the motive which has led to its publication is no other than the ‘ hope of alleviating the many and deep distresses ‘ which the untimely death of an affectionate parent has entailed ‘ upon his afflicted family ;’ in particular, to enable the Author, besides contributing to the relief of her distressed mother, to educate a younger brother and sister, who have been long wholly dependent on her exertions for their support. The volume is dedicated by permission to Walter Scott.

Art. XI. *Journal of a Tour in Germany, Sweden, Russia, Poland:* during the Years 1813 and 1814. By J. T. James, Esq. Student of Christ Church, Oxford. 4to. pp. viii—528. Price 3*l.* 3*s.* Murray, 1816. (Second Edition since published, in 2 Vols. 8vo.)

THIS is a highly interesting and well-written work, containing a great deal of valuable information and sensible remark, and displaying a very considerable proficiency in ‘the habit of rightly conducting inquiry’, without which a traveller may see and hear an infinity of things, and return without gaining any accession to his knowledge. The period at which Mr. James visited the Continent, was a very critical one; and not the least interesting portion of his work is that which relates to the memorable campaign of 1813. In the month of August in that year, he arrived at the confines of the Brandenburg territory, which he describes as exhibiting the silence and solitude of a deserted land; not a man capable of bearing arms to be seen, the village cross and well forsaken, the corn standing ripe for the sickle, but only a few groups of old people, women, and children, to be seen in the fields. All trade, domestic as well as foreign, was throughout Prussia completely at a stand, commercial confidence extinguished, heavy forced loans levied on every individual, the plate of the palace melted down, immense foreign armies in the heart of the country, and the chief fortresses in the possession of the enemy; such was the aspect of the country when Mr. James visited Berlin; such are some of the realities of war. The enthusiasm of the people was however at its height; their feelings of implacable hostility to the French only waited for the decision of their king, to be developed as the general sentiment of the nation. Moreau was at Berlin, confident of ultimate success: ‘*tout est assommé,*’ was his language. Blucher, the idol of the army, was once more at the head of his *children*. Mr. James gives a very characteristic speech of the veteran to some battalions which, exhausted by fatigue, had halted, declaring themselves unable to proceed.

“Are you wearied, my children? Are you drenched with rain? Are you pressed by hunger? And am not I, in my old age, subjected to all these sufferings alike with every man amongst you? But the enemies of my king are in the land, and I have sworn to take no rest—follow me.” They instantly rose as if his words had wrought a miracle on their jaded bodies.

This enthusiasm has had its vent, but not its reward. It is painful to reflect how little has been gained by ‘the deliverance of Europe.’ At a time when even Englishmen are to be found who speak of liberty and popular rights as mere phantoms, we are glad to meet with such sentiments as the following, in a writer who will not be charged with any tendency to Jacobinism.

‘The Prussians are a people, if properly treated, neither factious nor designing; yet the unfortunate policy of the court, so long persisted in, have produced the germs of parties that may one day or other be of dangerous consequence to the welfare of the country. A despotism is a primitive form of government, injurious ever to itself or its neighbours, which ought to be disavowed among the more enlightened nations of Europe, in such an era as the present. But views of a higher nature than the rights and interests of a single nation, seem to require that in a large portion of the European continent certain changes should be made. The public weal of Europe demands that Germany should be free: if she is not to lie at the mercy of the first conqueror that appears on the stage of the world, whether from the east or the west, her sovereigns must be supported in the day of trial by the powers and energies of a free people, without which the colossal bulwarks that modern policy has sought to raise for her protection, will stand forward but to expose the more their real impotence. Had Prussia been blest with a representative system, had the feelings of the country been consulted, she would long since have decided, at a single blow, that war in which Europe was now engaged for the sixth time. Had Austria been so constituted, had a proper spirit of inquiry and activity thoroughly cleansed and purged the several parts of her political frame, that country, possessing the greatest national resources, and the finest troops in the world, would not have had to lament the fatal reverses that have arisen from a disorganized government, administered by the hand of imbecility. A pure monarchy is found weakest in a defensive war. Buonaparte well calculated the difference of persuading a people, and cajoling or frightening their prince.’

Mr. James represents the character of Bernadotte in a very favourable light. It seems that what contributed as much as his acknowledged military talents, to recommend him to the unanimous choice of the four Houses of Diet, were his lenity and humanity in the administration of the district entrusted to his charge by Bonaparte, which had led to his removal. He had, moreover, become acquainted with Generals Essen and Wrede, and other Swedish officers of distinction, at the capture of Lubec, on which occasion he exerted his influence with Bonaparte to procure an armistice for the troops. It was a French faction, it is true, that introduced him to Sweden; but so far was Bonaparte from having any influence on either the wishes of the party or the decision of the election, that he at one time refused his permission to the Marshal to accept the offer of the Swedes, because Bernadotte was unwilling to pledge himself on the subject of the continental system; and he consented at last with reluctance. The Marshal had incurred his displeasure at Wagram, and had ever since been left unemployed; he was therefore, as Mr. James remarks, the last person on whom ‘the king-maker’ would have wished to confer this dignity.

Bernadotte solicited, and with some difficulty obtained the

introduction of the French Conscription, esteeming it a measure of essential importance in establishing the independence of Sweden; but Mr. James asserts, that its operation in that country is by no means oppressive; the law being in fact a constitutional victory over the higher privileged orders on the part of the commonalty, rather than an infraction on the rights of the lower, as the nobility were not previously liable to serve. And this concession was followed by another act of the Diet, abolishing a second exemption not less iniquitous in its principle; the nobles, yielding to public feeling, subjected themselves to the burden of taxation. If Bernadotte should pursue his apparent intention of raising the power of the merchants and peasants,* so as to form a counterpoise to the overbearing weight of the nobles, he will, as our traveller remarks, 'follow the wisest course which historical experience can point out for imitation.' His foreign policy has been equally marked by sagacity. Finland, the object of contention between Sweden and Russia for the last century, being lost, the occasion for mutual jealousy and enmity between the two nations ceased, and with that, the necessity of seeking protection from the alliance of France. The acquisition of Norway, which presented the only compensation for the loss of Finland, and which had long been the favourite object of Swedish ambition, became therefore the great point on which the mind of the Crown Prince was resolutely bent. An alliance with Russia secured its accomplishment, and he balanced but for an instant in accepting the proposals of the confederate powers. Norway, in a military point of view, is a possession of the highest consequence to Sweden, as increasing her powers of defence, besides adding very considerably to her internal resources, and her commercial advantages. The Crown Prince deserves, in fact, in our Author's estimation, 'every mark of gratitude that the nation can confer upon him for his exertions, his spirit, his activity, and his generosity.' The men who enjoy his confidence, are characterized by acknowledged talents, and the noblest moral qualities. Of his French followers, only four are retained in his suite. Baron Wetterstedt, the chancellor, 'a character of the greatest promise,' enjoys his perfect confidence, and accompanied him during the war, as his diplomatic agent. Mr. James speaks also in very high terms of Count Ergerstrom, the minister for foreign affairs, and Count Gyllenberg, the minister of justice.

Our Author, in his Preface, alludes rather sneeringly to the fashion of presenting us, in books of Travels, instead of

* 'The House of Peasants consists of a selection from a minor class of country gentlemen,' who are called, as proprietors, free peasants!

the simple and interesting stories of our ancient tourists, political theories, historical anecdotes, and essays on the genius and character of a people. With an inconsistency of which the reader will not, however, regret that he has been guilty, Mr. J. has freely indulged in discussions of this nature. After commenting on 'the infinite difficulty' of just discrimination of national character, he proceeds to draw the following not very flattering picture of the Swedes.

'The nation has its singularities; and if, as philosophers tell us, the chill of a northern climate tinges the minds and manners of the inhabitants with an unimpassioned spirit of reserve, it is certain that there exists something of a reciprocity between the moral and physical constitution of Sweden. Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the essentials rather than the forms of life, and seem, in a stranger's eye, a people cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon. Their characteristics, a passive courage not unmingled with indolence; a pride, not free from ignorance; a disposition, that is not ill-humoured from having no humour at all, from indifference—from apathy. But a Swede is never in extremes: even these traits are not deeply marked, and if we review the more favourable side of his character, we shall find in him an undaunted spirit of perseverance, and an honest love of freedom, to which the feelings of every one does homage, and I may truly affirm that no traveller passes from their shores but he quits them with regret, and ever afterwards takes the strongest interest in whatever tidings he may hear that concerns the welfare of the nation.'

This last sentence partakes rather too much of the air of an unmeaning compliment designed to take off the edge of the former remark. Perseverance and a love of liberty, though inestimable qualities, form but a scanty catalogue of virtues. Mr. James, however, bears testimony elsewhere to their proverbial honesty, in which respect, as well as in many other particulars, he considers them as resembling the Highlanders of Scotland. The only additional moral quality, their indisputable claim to which obtains his acknowledgement, is, 'a high degree of that feeling of rude pride (I had almost said sulkiness,) which distinguishes the manners of the lower class of people under a free government.' 'Occasionally, however, higher traits of mind,' adds Mr. J. 'are displayed, and such as reflect the greatest credit on the national character,' of which an interesting instance is subjoined in the person of a free peasant of the province of Blekingen, whose probity and honour had procured his return to eight successive meetings of the Diet, in most of which he was chosen speaker to the House. King Adolphus Frederic, on passing through the district, paid him a visit, and 'condescended to partake of his cottage cheer.'

'During his abode at Stockholm, he was much caressed by the

Court; and the Queen, among others who sent him presents, gave him a very handsome robe of velvet. On the following day her Majesty happened to meet Hokanson in the streets, and seeing him in his usual dress, she asked him with an air of surprise, whether he had received her gift.—“ Yes,” said he, (opening his coat and exhibiting the velvet sown on the lining,) “ I hold it here next my heart, but no shew of splendour or finery shall ever induce me to forego the title in which I glory of a free peasant of Sweden.”

Mr. James considers himself as warranted by historical facts, in imputing to the character of the Swedes, ‘ a cold-blooded obduracy, and a sanguinary turn of mind,’ as manifested in the development of public sentiment on great occasions, and more especially in the foul and frequent assassinations which stain their annals. Plots of this nature he represents as having been beforehand the matter of notoriety, carried on without any regard to secrecy, and put in execution without interruption, and often with absolute impunity. He instances the recent assassination of Count Fersen, and the conspiracy against the late King Gustavus Adolphus, in support of his assertion; and he states that there have been few Swedish kings that were not either killed or forcibly dethroned. The following narrative is exceedingly curious: it is taken from an account written by Charles XI. in his own hand, attested by several ministers of state, and preserved in the royal library.

‘ Charles the Eleventh, it seems, sitting in his chamber between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, was surprised at the appearance of a light in the window of the hall of the diet: he demanded of the grand chancellor, Bjelke, who was present, what it was that he saw, and was answered that it was only the reflection of the moon: with this, however, he was dissatisfied; and the senator, Bjelke, soon after entering the room, he addressed the same question to him, but received the same answer. Looking afterwards again through the window, he thought he observed a crowd of persons in the hall: upon this, said he, Sirs, all is not as it should be—in the confidence that he who fears God need dread nothing, I will go and see what this may be. Ordering the two noblemen before-mentioned, as also Oxenstiern and Brahe, to accompany him, he sent for Grunsten the door-keeper, and descended the staircase leading to the hall.

‘ Here the party seem to have been sensible of a certain degree of repudation, and no one else daring to open the door, the king took the key, unlocked it, and entered first into the anti-chamber: to their infinite surprise, it was fitted up with black cloth: alarmed by this extraordinary circumstance, a second pause occurred; at length the king set his foot within the hall, but fell back in astonishment at what he saw; again, however, taking courage, he made his companions promise to follow him, and advanced. The hall was lighted up and arrayed with the same mournful hangings as the anti-chamber:

in the centre was a round table, where sat sixteen venerable men, each with large volumes lying open before them : above was the king, a young man of sixteen or eighteen years of age, with the crown on his head and sceptre in his hand. On his right hand sat a personage about forty years old, whose face bore the strongest marks of integrity ; on his left an old man of seventy, who seemed very urgent with the young king that he should make a certain sign with his head, which as often as he did, the venerable men struck their hands on their books with violence.

‘ Turning my eyes, says he, a little further, I beheld a scaffold and executioners, and men with their clothes tucked up, cutting off heads one after the other so fast, that the blood formed a deluge on the floor : those who suffered were all young men. Again I looked up and perceived the throne behind the great table almost overturned : near to it stood a man of forty, that seemed the protector of the kingdom. I trembled at the sight of these things, and cried aloud—“ It is the voice of God !—What ought I to understand ?—When shall all this come to pass ? ”—A dead silence prevailed ; but on my crying out a second time, the young king answered me, saying, This shall not happen in your time, but in the days of the sixth sovereign after you. He shall be of the same age as I appear now to have, and this personage sitting beside me gives you the air of him that shall be the regent and protector of the realm. During the last year of the regency, the country shall be sold by certain young men, but he shall then take up the cause, and, acting in conjunction with the young king, shall establish the throne on a sure footing ; and this in such a way, that never was before or ever afterwards shall be seen in Sweden so great a king. All the Swedes shall be happy under him ; the public debts shall be paid ; he shall leave many millions in the treasury, and shall not die but at a very advanced age : yet before he is firmly seated on his throne shall an effusion of blood take place unparalleled in history. You, added he, who are king of this nation, see that he is advertised of these matters : you have seen all ; act according to your wisdom.

‘ Having thus said, the whole vanished, and (adds he) we saw nothing but ourselves and our flambeaus, while the anti-chamber through which we passed on returning was no longer clothed in black.—“ *Nous entrâmes dans mes appartemens, et je me mis aussitôt à écrire ce que j’avois vu : ainsi que les avertissements aussi bien que je le puis. Que le tout est vrai, je le jure sur ma vie & mon honneur, autant que le Dieu m’aide le corps & l’ame.*

“ *Charles XI. aujourd’hui Roi de Suède.* ”

“ *L’an 1691, 17 Dec.*

“ *Comme temoins & presents sur les lieux nous avons vu tout ce que S. M. a rapporté, & nous l’affirmons par notre serment, autant que Dieu nous aide pour le corps & l’ame. H. L. Bjelke, Gr. Chancelier du Royaume,—Bjelke, Sénateur,—Brahe, Sénateur,—Ax. Oxenstierna, Sénateur,—Petrus Grunsten, Huissier.* ”

‘ The whole story is curious, and well worth attention ; but unless the young king’s ghostly representative made an error in his chrono-

logical calculation, it will be difficult to reconcile the time specified with that which is yet to come. I can offer no explanation, and bequeath the whole, like the hieroglyphic in Moore's Almanack, to the better ingenuity of my readers.' pp. 160—163.

'The development of public sentiment on great occasions,' would nevertheless seem to present a very ambiguous criterion of the national character; and we must profess ourselves rather dissatisfied with the slight evidence on which Mr. James builds his opinion as to the 'sanguinary turn of mind' discoverable in the Swede. To say nothing of the vagueness of the expression, cruelty is, under different modifications, too characteristic of human nature under every climate. Mr. James terms it in the Swede, cold-blooded obduracy! What better name would he give to the subtle fiendish jealousy of the Italian, or to the dark passions of the Spaniard? Or what will he say to 'the sanguinary turn' of mind exhibited by the French in their cool-blooded massacres? It is perfectly ridiculous to adduce this as a national characteristic. The Swedes, Mr. J. tells us, are sluggish and phlegmatic, and contemplate scenes of assassination and cruelty with indifference. A foreigner who should witness the conduct of an English mob at an execution, and who should take his ideas of the national character from the sanguinary outrages recorded in our domestic history, might draw a similar inference respecting this nation, that they are obdurate and sanguinary. The English national character has been compared to that of their bull-dog in point of ferocity; that of the French has been described as partaking equally of the monkey and the tiger. The fact is, that the *organ of destructiveness*, as Dr. Spurzheim would say, is to be found pretty equally among all nations, in a state of development proportioned to their moral cultivation and to the enlightened character of their social institutions.

'As to religion,' continues Mr. James, 'the Roman Catholic and reformed churches may be called those of the south and north of Europe respectively, and the established church of Sweden is the Lutheran; but the spirit of piety is quiet and dormant; unfomented by the fostering warmth of jarring sectarists, it sinks to a state of tranquillity and almost indifference, rarely becoming the foundation of moral conduct or principle.'

A traveller demands too much of his readers, if he expects that a passing remark of this kind can be accepted as information; but the sentiment which Mr. James throws out, whether *en voyageur*, or *en philosophe*, may be just worth the attention of that class of persons in this country, to whom such a remedy for the indifference generated by an Establishment, appears fraught only with mischief. It is not, however, necessary to go

so far as Sweden, in order to find room for the remark, that the spirit of piety rarely becomes the foundation of human conduct. As to its particular application to Sweden; we suppose, that in common with other Lutheran countries, a lamentable degree of religious apathy has prevailed with regard to the dissemination of religious knowledge; but the example and influence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the Religious Tract Society in London, have already communicated an impulse to the corresponding societies at Stockholm, which cannot fail of producing the most beneficial results throughout that kingdom.

"A singular moral anomaly in the biographical history of Sweden, occurs in the fanciful tenets of Emanuel Swedenborg. Mr. James asserts, however, that he never obtained numerous disciples in his own country; that his scheme is looked upon there as having been a speculation of a pecuniary nature, at least on the part of his chief followers; and that before he fled to England, he had on one ground or another, quarrelled with all his friends.

We must now take leave of Sweden, and accompany Mr. James to scenes which seem to have taken much stronger hold upon his imagination. "It is not possible," he says, "to give 'an account capable of portraying faithfully the surprise and 'astonishment' of the traveller on entering the city of Petersburg: the effect is stupendous. 'Whatever beauties may 'have been shadowed out by imaginary anticipation, every idea 'falls short of the excellence of the original, and every former 'relation one has heard seems to describe it in terms of admiration far too cold. It is a city of new built palaces.' Again, he speaks of it as 'the fairest city in the world,' and multiplying his epithets rather too fast, describes the scene as 'at once 'gay, lively, and sublime: 'uniting in the same view all the 'elegant symmetries of Grecian and Roman art, with the gorgeous pride of the East.'

We pass over our Author's florid description of this magnificent capital, his very unnecessary references to the calumnious estimates of the Russian people given by former writers, and his somewhat pompous expatiation on the difficulty of referring the national character in its present state, 'to any scheme' of 'analytical rule; 'preferring to lay before our readers such information as we can collect, relative to the present moral and political aspect of the Russian Empire.

Mr. James is not disposed to think that the independence of Europe is in any danger from the preponderating strength of this enormous despotism.

'Oppressed as Russia is, by an autocratical government, with an all-powerful nobility, with an half-digested feudal system, with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration,

with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit; it is not too much to say that Russia has reached, in the present reign, the highest pinnacle of rank and power which her (present) circumstances can ever admit her to attain, and should an alteration in her system be contemplated, it is hardly possible, from such a melange of incongruities, to augur that any change should be lasting or productive in the end of consequences beneficial to herself. The imperial authority, now all-powerful, will hereafter find itself unable to check the influence of knowledge and sense of partial liberty that daily diffuse themselves more and more throughout the nation. It requires no great foresight to predict the divisions and factions that must ultimately arise from the irregular distribution of wealth and power over so enormous an extent of territory; and wheresoever accident shall cast the balance, it will be an easy task of ambition to throw off all dependance on the semi-Russian capital: the storm is now preparing, and every fresh act of aggrandisement brings nearer the hour of dissolution.'—'The dissolution of so mighty a mass is not, however, to be viewed with unconcern, but its fall may involve many others also in destruction, and encumber all Europe with the ruins.'

Mr. James here again lays himself open to the charge of having performed the part of an auto-critic, in satirizing, in his Preface, the ambitious style of political theorizing adopted by modern travellers; his remarks will, however, serve to occupy the speculations of our readers, and to allay, perhaps, some of those apprehensions which may have been awakened by the portents of periodical journalists, with respect to this new source of danger to Europe. The physical resources of a country do not assuredly consist in extent of territory, or in its mass of population: these do not render a nation formidable. It is not by mere force of numbers that Europe is in any danger of again becoming the conquest of barbarians, and of having her social institutions swept away to make room for the autocracy of despotism. Yet, in no other point of view, we conceive, can the armies of Russia be regarded with alarm. What constitute an army, and fit it for achievements of conquest, are discipline, compactness, a common mind, a simultaneous energy pervading, like a pulse, the whole of the moral machine, and giving regularity and certainty to its operations. But such an army cannot be called into existence at the will of a despot. Circumstances adequate to produce a change on the national character, some glorious necessity, some patriot cause, or some national idol, working upon the imagination and the passions, could alone form the shapeless materials of a half-civilized population into such a mighty engine. And when the spell had succeeded, and the demon was raised, the imperial magician might become the victim of his own sorcery. Such an army would inevitably become, in its turn, the monarch of the state. In Russia, however, we behold not a military, but a civil despotism, one of a

strictly oriental character, administered by the police, and resting its security on the degradation and literal enslavement of the people. The Emperor is the sole depositary of the national will; 'his word is law.' According to what he is, the sovereign for the time being, 'voluptuous, impotent, ambitious, 'mad,' the country he governs rises and falls in the scale of nations,—is contemned for its brute bulk, or regarded with politic apprehension, on account of its colossal nature. But still it is an empire, not a nation, with which, whether in the field or in the cabinet, its rivals or its enemies have to contend; and the internal state of Russia, therefore, prevents her from becoming formidable, owing to the moral disability she lies under of bringing into action all her mighty means. Before she could be capable of bringing about extensive changes in other nations, she must inevitably become the subject of intestine revolutions, or of a considerable political transformation. Some such internal changes seem inevitable. Under the mild government of the present enlightened and benevolent autocrat, the seeds of knowledge and of liberty are being silently disseminated, which possibly it may require blood and tears to mature, but they will at length pierce the soil. It will probably be reserved for some infuriated despot to consummate the work of melioration, by rousing them into freemen.

The present state of the population of this vast empire, is, even according to Mr. James's statement, which does not fall essentially short of what he has thought proper to stigmatize as the exaggerated and hasty generalizations of preceding travellers, degraded in the extreme. There exist but two distinct orders, the nobles and the slaves; the interval between these classes being, for the most part, filled up by foreign residents, or by the small number of liberated slaves, to whom manumission is incapable of becoming of any advantage, since no rights, no protection, no place in society, are allotted to them. The slave is represented as suffering in his moral nature all the deteriorating effects of his condition, as stubborn, artful, brutish.

'The sulky obstinacy with which he withholds from his superior whatever it is in his power to secrete, is almost the only case wherein he is able to gratify his mind by the exhibition of his natural rights, and his determined spirit of concealment is carried to a length inconceivable to those who have never experienced their obstinacy. In England, pay a man, he will do whatever you require: in Germany, it is necessary to add, that he must; and in Russia to give a blow.'

Mr. James adds, however, some softening epithets to this statement; he allows them the merit of an untamable passive courage, and a species of cunning truly surprising; a characteristic cheerfulness and good humour in their conduct to one another, and 'at least a feeling of superstition *for their God,*'

who is, and probably the idea may sometimes present itself to their minds, the God of their masters also.

‘The arbitrary dominion of their masters, their power of taxing the industry of the peasants, is productive of as much debauchery and fatal extravagance in the higher orders, by the temptations it holds out, as of wretchedness and poverty in the lower, by the calamities it creates. This iniquitous system does not fail to operate in a mode highly prejudicial to the accumulation of national wealth.’—‘The slaves have no existence in the eye of the law; their property (even their wives) belong to their lords; they cannot marry, or leave their village, without his consent; they are imprisoned, and suffer corporal punishment by his order; and it is only lately that a law has been promulgated for the purpose of bringing the master to justice, in case the slave should die within twenty-four hours after receiving chastisement.’

‘The generosity of the present Emperor, who has been brought up by his preceptor in the principles of Swiss independence, would gladly set free the class of peasantry in general: and even forget, in the zeal of his wishes, that tedious accompaniment of necessary conditions which alone can make any great innovation really beneficial to his country. A plan was suggested, no long time since, for the manumission of a certain number of villagers, granting them each a portion of land, on condition of their being bound to pay the fee-simple within the space of ten years; but their moral state is such as not to admit of the application of the principle laid down in this project. It was wisely alleged in objection, that the habitual indolence of the Russian peasant militated strongly against the adoption of such a scheme: he has not been accustomed to exert himself uncompelled, and no doubt the greater part of the body placed in these circumstances would revert to their former state of indigence and slavery, from inability to fulfil their compact.

‘Two ukases have been promulgated in the reign of the present Emperor, to limit the costs and charges for the necessary agreement between the master and the slave, and its conditions are ordered to be communicated to his Majesty; but encouragement alone is insufficient to promote the great work of emancipation, and it is thought that some farther steps are in contemplation by the government. Whatever measure shall be proposed, it will necessarily meet with much opposition from the nobility, who are, for the most part, attached to the *good old* course of things, and wish to see affairs in no other than their present state.’

Much has been done, and more is still doing under the constant vigilant attention of the Emperor to the moral improvement of his dominions, to remove, by the establishment of schools, the great obstacle to their emancipation, their general ignorance. Let them learn the use of their minds, and taste of intellectual freedom, and then, political liberty must, sooner or later, be within their reach.

An evil nearly as injurious as the feudal tyranny to the public weal and to the national character, remains to be mentioned.

The systematic bribery and corruption which pervade every department of the administration, are almost incredible, and unparalleled in any European country. The police is described as having infinite sources of gain: 'They sell the liberty of the press, defraud the stranger, plunder robbers of their stolen goods, and receive fees alike of the accuser and the accused.' A system of fee, and compromise, and bribery, is, in fact, the principle and common basis of every branch of the government, not excluding the courts of justice, and all the departments of law.

'An American merchant sought redress by law for some unfair dealings on the part of a Russian trader; the lawyer whom he retained, came to him on the second day after his application—"I have," said he, "opened the prosecution, and will fairly relate the present state of your case: the judge says your cause seems fair and equitable, and you offer 5,000 R. to the court; he would, he admits, wish to incline to your side, but, on the other hand, the defendant offers 10,000. What can he do?" The American laid down immediately 10,000 R. it was taken to the *Tribunal of Justice*, and he triumphed over his opponent.

'Another gentleman instituted a suit for the recovery of a debt, but offering no bribe, the case was of course held to be perfectly clear, and he was nonsuited; the defendant, in the plenitude of victory, then commenced a process against him for defamation, and damages were found to the amount of 300,000 R. with a farther punishment of a sentence to clean the sewers, because, forsooth, it was a Russian magistrate whose fair name had been thus brought into question by the object of the action. Upon this the gentleman appealed to a superior court, but with ill success; they confirmed the verdict, and still farther added to its iniquity by sentencing him to undergo flagellation. The matter now grew serious, and he made application through an high quarter to one of the presidents of the senate; the cause was heard again, but the result was of another nature: the sentences of the former tribunals were instantly reversed, the debt recovered, and the officers that had sat in judgment on him came in a body submissively to beg his forgiveness, and entreat him to pursue the enquiry into their conduct no farther.

'These acts of injustice were not, however, committed merely because the appellants were foreigners: for the ordinary conduct of the courts towards the native Russians is of a stamp precisely similar. A few years since a relation of Prince ——— came from Moscow to claim his patrimonial inheritance, that was withheld from him by his guardian. Arrived at Petersburg, he met by accident with one of the highest officers of the law on a visit at the house of a relation, and after some conversation on indifferent matters, ventured to open his case to him; he received for answer, that his suit might probably occupy eight or ten years consideration, but, added he, follow my advice, sacrifice a part of your property to save the rest, and you shall be put in possession in the course of as many days. He then wrote down a list of fees to be paid to the several members of the

court (himself included) and gave it to the young nobleman, who, on his part, obeying this friendly monitor, came on the following day as plaintiff to the senate with his petition, and presented each of these functionaries with the sum specified, wrapped up in the body of his papers. The event exceeded his expectation; in four days' time an award was given in his favour.' pp. 257—259.

Two other topics must be noticed before we take our departure from Petersburg; they are the Russian ladies, and the Emperor. Of the former our traveller speaks in terms not of mere courtesy, but of admiration. 'The attention paid to their education is,' (he says) 'proportioned to the neglect with which the other sex is treated.' At the two principal seminaries at Petersburg, the '*Convent des Desmoiselles nobles*, and the Institute of Catherine, (both flourishing under the patronage and constant inspection of the Empress Dowager,) a public examination is held every three years, at which all the grand officers of the court are invited to attend, and the Empress's cipher in diamonds is the reward of proficiency. The period of education is about nine years, during which they receive instruction in the French, German, and Russian languages, in the Russian history, in natural philosophy, in music, singing, dancing, embroidery, writing, arithmetic, and geometry. Moreover, the system they go through, is said to place them above the wish of making any ostentatious display of their attainments; and their claim to every other qualification that may adorn the character of women, is summed up in 'the elegant manners and unaffected graces' by which the Russian ladies never fail to impress every stranger who visits Petersburg, with admiration.

Of the personal character of the reigning Emperor, our Author speaks in rather ambiguous terms;—he is indeed a little too fond of the oracular. '*Whatever blame some may attach to his caprice, his artfulness, his inflexibility, his vanity, or his gallantry, he nevertheless has great merit.* Considering the disadvantages of his early life, he must be regarded as one who has, as far as possible, overcome by natural goodness of temper, those evil habits which circumstances seemed to form for him. His affability and condescension are carried to such a degree as would be wholly incompatible with his situation, if the government were of any other form than an absolute monarchy.' With this scanty and superficial information, which throws no new light whatever on the Emperor's character, Mr. James's readers must rest satisfied. 'Of the Empress it is sufficient to say, she is adored by all classes.'

Our traveller dwells with considerable complacency on the pomp and magnificence of the Greek churches, which, he says, 'would ill assort with any structure, other than the temple of religion.' Of course Mr. James must regret that Protestant

countries are so much behind these semi-barbarians, in respect to the *appropriate* decorations of a Christian temple.

‘ The columns of the aisles are of purple granite highly polished; their capitals of brass and gold; rich paintings line the walls, and a dim mysterious gloom pervades the whole fabric.—On a sudden the doors of the sanctuary were thrown open, and the bearded bishop appeared, clad in raiment of purple and gold: the clouds of incense floated in the air, and the manly sonorous voices of priests echoed through the dome. It was a striking and impressive sight; but far beyond all this shew of parade, one’s feelings were moved by the earnestness and enthusiasm that reigned over the face of the people: at one time the whole crowd were prostrated on the floor; at another they were seen scattered in different parts of the church, some paying their devotions to the picture of the Virgin, others carrying the lighted taper to fix it before the shrine of their patron saint, others kissing the hands, face, and feet of the holy paintings, others bowing their heads to the pavement, with an aspect of humility that seemed to shun the light of heaven. All alike equally careless of one another, wholly wrapt up in their several acts of piety and adoration.’

The reader will doubtless anticipate from this extract, that our traveller proceeds to point out the beneficial influence of superstition, as tending to excite so much more devout earnestness in religious worship, than is exhibited in the thinly peopled churches of the reformed faith. On the contrary, he goes on to inform us, in regard to the effect of ‘ *the Russian religion*’ upon the mass of the people, that though it ‘ impresses them with a solemn awe of the Supreme Being, and in other respects is not without its use with regard to doctrines of obedience and self-denial, it has yet *very little influence on their moral conduct*. It may be questioned whether it is in its nature well calculated for this end: the chief character of the church consists in observance of punctilio.’ Now, we apprehend that the nature of the Russian religion, that religion being no other than Christianity, though disguised beneath a mass of pompous corruptions, cannot with any propriety be denied to be well calculated to influence the moral conduct of the people. That it has so little influence, is referrible to other causes than the nature of the religion, which must consist in its doctrines. So far as that religion has an existence in the minds of the people, its effects must correspond to its Divine nature, nor can we persuade ourselves, that sunk as the people are in ignorance, religion has no existence in the Greek church. It is evident that this is a subject on which our traveller had not attained ‘ the just habit of conducting inquiry;’ otherwise, in the spectacle which he describes as so striking and magnificent, he could not have failed to perceive the symptoms of the true cause of the morally degraded state of the mass of the people, and of the prevailing irreligion; and instead of coolly giving to that exhibition of

pagan rites the name of the Russian religion, and, arguing, that the superstition was not without its use, though it had no influence on the moral conduct, he would have escaped from the mysterious gloom so emblematic of the pervading moral darkness; as from the foul cavern of a Hindoo idol, with feelings of horror, if not of pity. This became him as a man; in a Christian the scene must have called forth all the energies of prayer.

The account which our traveller gives of the incompetence and vicious lives of the priests, is such as might be expected. The way in which the nation was transformed from pagans into Christians, in the tenth century, may be thought to account for the imperfect nature of the change.

All idolaters were declared enemies of Jesus Christ and the grand duke. On a stated morning, the inhabitants of the capital were commanded to assemble on the river side, and, without further preparation, submit to baptism. Not a murmur occurred: "If it were not good for us," they cried, "our prince and the boiars would not have decreed it so." It was in vain that the angry god Peroun was said to have started in the dead of the night from the waves of the Volkoff, and to have thrown his club against the bridge at Novogorod, accompanied with heavy denunciations of vengeance against the apostates. He, the mighty Jupiter of the slaves, so lately the object of their prayers, was now almost every where neglected. The grand duke had spoken, and his voice must be obeyed.

From Petersburg our Author proceeded to Moscow and Smolensko, passing through Waldai, where Peter I. carried into execution his grand scheme of a canal for opening a communication between the north and south of his empire. The means which he devised for overcoming the apparent impracticability of rendering it navigable, on account of the fall of ground towards the Msta, was a truly unique and original conception.

An immense reservoir was constructed, which, by collecting the water from the small lakes in the neighbourhood, supplies a stream sufficient to carry the boats down these steeps: this necessarily flows off rapidly, and therefore is husbanded with care; vessels being only permitted to pass once in eight or ten days, in caravans of 15 or 20 at a time.

The nature of this voyage is curious enough: when they are all assembled, which is done by beat of drum, the sluices are opened, and they follow one another with the flush of water down the precipitous passage called the Borovitsky falls. Sundry provisions are made for their safety. In the most difficult windings of the river are moored large buoys which throw round the head of the boat when it strikes against them, if their sweeps have failed of their purpose; and in case any accident should occur, the Cossacks who are stationed at certain intervals instantly give notice above, when the sluices are closed and the supply of the current cut off. This dangerous course continues for near 33 versts: and with a view to

ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.

The Rev. G. Redford, A.M. and T. H. Riches, Esq. have for some time past been engaged in preparing a History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Uxbridge. The work will be comprised in one volume, 8vo. with plates: the price to subscribers not to exceed 15s. It will contain copies of several very ancient documents, and full details of all charitable funds and donations left for the benefit of the town. Gentlemen who may be in possession of papers or documents relating to the Town or its History, will greatly oblige the Authors by allowing them access to such papers, on any condition it may be thought fit to prescribe.

On the 1st of Jan. next, will be published in one volume, royal 8vo. embellished with vignette engravings, an Historical Account of the City and Environs of Winchester, with descriptive walks. By Charles Ball.

The Committee of the Society for the Promotion of permanent and universal Peace, established June 1816, have just published their first annual Report, to which are annexed the Rules of the Society. The Committee have published four Tracts within the past year, of which, with very limited resources, they have been enabled to print 32,000 copies, viz. No. 1, a Solemn Review of the Custom of War. No. 2, War inconsistent with the Doctrine and Example of Jesus Christ. By John Scott, Esq. No. 3, an Essay on the Doctrines and Practice of the early Christians as relates to War. By Thomas Clarkson, Esq. No. 4, Extracts from Erasmus. Subscriptions are received by the Members of the Committee, or by the Treasurer, John Clarkson, Esq. No. 16, Earl Street, Blackfriars.

In the Press, "The City of Refuge," a Poem, in four Books. By Thomas Quin.

Proposals are issued for printing by subscription, in one volume, 8vo. Select Works of Plotinus, accompanied by Ex-

tracts from the Treatise of Synesius on Providence; translated from the Greek, By Thomas Taylor. 250 only to be printed: price to Subscribers, 15s.

A new edition of the Rev. James Small's Sermons to young people, with additions, printed uniform with James's Sunday School Teacher's Guide, will be ready in a few days. Also, a 4th edition of his Sermon addressed to the Children of a Sunday School.

Dr. Robertson, who has resided some years in the Ionian Islands, is printing a concise Grammar of the Romaic or Modern Greek Language, with phrases and dialogues on familiar subjects.

The Rev. F. Kild, of Cambridge, is preparing an edition of the complete Works of Demosthenes, Greek and Latin, from the text of Reiske, with collations and various readings.

In the Press, in two vols. 4to. illustrated by numerous Views of the principal Buildings, ancient and modern, maps of the City, &c. and dedicated, by permission, to his Excellency, Lord Whitworth, The History of the City of Dublin, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military, from the earliest Accounts to the present period; its charters, grants, privileges, extent, population, public buildings, societies, charities, &c. &c. extracted from the National Records, approved Historians, many curious and valuable Manuscripts, and other authentic materials. By the late John Warburton, Esq. deputy keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower, the late Rev. James Whitlaw, and the Rev. R. Walsh, M.R.I.A.

In the press, a Journal of the Proceedings of the Embassy to China. By Henry Ellis, Esq. Third Commissioner of the Embassy. In 4to. with plates, maps, &c.

Also, The official Journal of the late Captain Tuckey, on a Voyage of Discovery in the Interior of Africa, 4to.

Soon will be published, in 4to. illustrated by maps and other engravings, under the sanction of the Hon. East In-

‘The women,’ he says, ‘were remarkably handsome, their persons large and full made, their faces very regularly formed, with black eyes and hair, set off with delicate complexions of white and red. The men tall and straight, but rather of a spare habit, their features small, and very much fashioned like that meek and placid countenance which the Italian painters have invariably given to the picture of our Saviour. The peculiar style of visage, however, was gradually lost as we approached the confines of Germany, nor did it any where seem so prevalent as in this province.’ (Volhynia.)

At Cracow, there is a quarter termed the Casimir town, wholly inhabited by Jews, having been originally built for them by Casimir the Great, who, ‘instigated by his beautiful Jewish concubine, Esther, granted them so many immunities and privileges, as attracted settlers from all parts of Germany to his dominions.’ By their present governors, however, they are viewed in no other light than as profitable subjects of taxation. They are represented as appearing to a stranger, to be an industrious, persevering, thriving people: some of them having attained considerable opulence, live in a state of luxury.

We have not room to advert to the present state of Poland. Mr. James, formed the opinion, that the creation of the Dutchy of Warsaw, under the vice-royalty of Russia, would not be ill received on the part of the people, since it would hold out the semblance of independence.

We have noticed an occasional incorrectness in the composition of this volume, which must be attributed to inadvertency. Our Author would have done well, moreover, to have been a little more simple and explicit in his statements, and to have kept closer to the main business of his Journal, which would have reduced his volume to a more convenient size. We have derived, however, so much entertainment from his pages, that we shall not enter upon the invidious task of criticism. Some of the plates which adorn the work are excellent.

The Dauphin Virgil, with Dr. Carey's *Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana*, prefixed.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are much obliged to our Dundee Correspondent for his friendly proposal, but we hope that he will not think it necessary, by withholding his name, to impose on the alternative either of declining his offer, or of deviating from one of the rules which we have laid down for the conducting of the work.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1817.

Art. I. *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses.* By the late Sir John David Michaelis, K.P.S. F.R.S. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Gottingen. Translated from the German. By Alexander Smith, D.D. Minister of Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. 4 Vols. 8vo. pp. 2160. Price 2l. 8s. Rivingtons. 1814.

JOHAN DAVID MICHAELIS, the only son of Christian Benedict Michaelis, Professor of Theology, and of the Oriental Languages, in the University of Halle, was born at Halle, in Saxony, February 27th, 1717. The early part of his education was conducted by masters under the roof of his father. For his proficiency in Latin he was indebted to Zurlinden. In geography and history he made great progress, but the study of the Greek grammar was deferred till nearly the close of his domestic education. In his twelfth year (1729), he was admitted into the public school of the Orphan-house, where he attended the lectures of his father on Hebrew literature; and he received the instructions of Baumgaertner in Theology, to whom he also owed his initiation in philosophical studies. In 1733, he entered the University, where he improved himself in the Greek and Latin Classics, and continued to attend his father's lectures on the Bible, and on the Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic languages. Ecclesiastical history he studied under Knapp. To historical studies he was most warmly attached through life. After reading lectures as a professor, on the recommendation of his father, during the last year of his residence at the University, he left Halle in 1741, and passing through Holland, arrived in England, where he continued nearly two years. During the greater part of this time he was employed as German preacher at St. James's. He visited Oxford, and heard Lowth deliver two of his Prelections on Hebrew poetry. The Bodleian library presented him an opportunity of examining Hebrew manuscripts, which he did not fail to improve. In September, 1742, he returned to Halle, and resumed

his lectures on the Bible, and on the Chaldee and Syriac languages.

Under the patronage of Münchausen, he removed to Gottingen, in 1745. In 1746, he became Extraordinary, and in 1750, Ordinary Professor of Philosophy. It may not be unnecessary to notice, that he never was a professor of Oriental Literature, his duties as a reader having been improperly associated with his name in that character. In 1761, he was nominated a Counsellor of State, and in the course of the following year, drew up his celebrated "*Recueil de Questions*," at the request of Frederick the Fifth, King of Denmark. Of Michaelis's various publications, it would far exceed all allowable limits, to give any account; the very titles of them would occupy no inconsiderable space, and so extensive and multifarious are the subjects which they include, that a uniform edition of them would require scarcely a less number of fairly printed octavo volumes, than one hundred. And this will appear still more surprising, when it is considered that Michaelis never worked late at night, or early in the morning. He thought the hours of the night were intended for repose, and that the proper daily business of men might easily be performed in the course of a regular day. Uncommon mental activity and extraordinary diligence, must have distinguished a man whose occupations were so numerous, whose acquirements were so various and profound, and whose published works are of such magnitude. Michaelis died on the 22d of August, 1791, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

At the period of Michaelis's appointment to a professorship in the University of Gottingen, the study of political economy was introduced as a regular branch of university education. Leaving to others the consideration of the spirit and objects of European legislation, Michaelis directed his attention to the institutes of Eastern nations; a pursuit for which he was admirably qualified by his great acquirements in Oriental literature, and his intimate acquaintance with Eastern manners. He delivered lectures on detached parts of the Mosaic polity, which he illustrated by the application of his profound learning, in a more satisfactory manner than could have resulted from the discussion of the subject in the hands of a professor who would treat it as a purely theological question. These lectures were afterwards committed to the press, and made their appearance before the public, in the form of Dissertations on the Mosaic Marriage Laws, the Punishment of Homicide, the Laws of Usury, the Nomads of Palestine, the Hebrew Census, the Hebrew Months, the Troglodytes of Mount Seir, the Oriental mode of sheep-breeding, the Levirate Law, the Sabbatical Year, the Law of Polygamy, &c. &c. These several dissertations were not merely the precursors of the large and consolidated work which Michaelis afterwards published on the Mosaic jurisprudence; they con-

and also the materials of which it was in part composed: on these partial discussions he proceeded to the most comprehensive consideration of the whole constitution of the ancient Jews, the results of which he communicated to the public in "*Mosaisches Recht*," originally published at Frankfort on Mayn, in six vols. 8vo. between the years, 1770 and 1775. This work, the "Commentaries on the Laws of Moses," now under notice, is a translation.

The title of a book is sometimes a matter of some moment. It should distinctly indicate the nature of its contents, and convey to the reader a correct notion of its object. The title which the Translator has affixed to these volumes, is sufficiently plain, as it will lead the reader to expect a work on Hebrew legislation, similar to the celebrated Commentaries of Blackstone. We should have preferred the '*Spirit of the Mosaic Laws*,' as a more appropriate designation, the design and execution of the work bearing closer resemblance to the distinguished production of Montesquieu. Indeed, the Translator himself seems disposed to consider this as the more suitable title. To discuss any branch of the ancient Hebrew law theoretically, is no part of the Author's object in these volumes; in questions of pure divinity he never meddles. And, though the course of these discussions meet with passages fully decisive of his persuasion of the truth, yet it is not within the arrangement of his plan, to conduct a formal demonstration of the true legislation of Moses. The character which he assumes, which he supports throughout, is that of a philosophical inquirer into the ancient laws of a people formerly inhabiting a remote country. These he endeavours to trace to their sources, discriminating the original enactments from the adopted regulations; to illustrate them, by comparing them with the laws and government of other nations; to ascertain the design and scope of their several statutes, their local and temporary efficacy; and in every particular which has reference to the character and condition of the Hebrew nation, to elucidate and establish the legislative wisdom of their great legislator.

The entire work, in the original, is comprised in a series of volumes amounting to CCCVII. with only general divisions and a review of the principal subjects. On this plan, the Translator has very judiciously improved, by prefixing to each volume a minute analysis of the articles which it includes, and distributing the contents of the whole work into chapters and sections. Honourable is the Analysis which the Translator has furnished, that would occupy considerably more space than we can allow to the present Article. That our readers may, however, have some notion of the nature and extent of the design which is

416 Michaelis's *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*:

executed in the "*Commentaries*," we shall provide them a table of the principal articles.

Book I. is Introductory, and comprises observations on the importance of a knowledge of the Mosaic Laws; their origin, nature, and design; and the view taken of them in the present work.

Book II. Of the *Public Law* of the Israelites. Chap. I. The Geography of Palestine. Chap. II. The Population of Palestine. Chap. III. Of the Right of the Israelites to Palestine. Chap. IV. Of the first of the two fundamental principles of the Mosaic Legislation; viz. The maintenance of the worship of One God, and the proscription of Polytheism. Chap. V. Of the second Fundamental principle of the Mosaic Legislation, viz. the prevention of intercourse between the Israelites and Foreign Nations. Chap. VI. Of the Form of the Republic. Chap. VII. Of the Laws concerning the King. Chap. VIII. Foreign Relations.

Book III. *Private Law*. Chap. I. Introductory particulars relative to this part of the Mosaic Law. Chap. II. Laws concerning property. Chap. III. Revolutions in property, by Inheritance, Exchange, Bequest, Cession, Donation, and Sale. Chap. IV. Laws relative to Persons. Chap. V. Of Polygamy. Chap. VI. Certain peculiarities relative to Marriage among the Israelites. Chap. VII. Of Marriages betwixt near relations. Chap. VIII. Of Cohabitation, Divorce, and Provision for Widows. Chap. IX. Laws respecting Slaves and Servants. Chap. X. Of the Laws respecting the *Goël*, or Blood-avenger. Chap. XI. Laws respecting Strangers, Aged, Deaf, Blind, and Poor Persons. Chap. XII. Of Personal Rights and Obligations, Vows, Debts, Pledges, Usury, Injuries done to the property of others, and general conduct in regard to it. Chap. XIII. Obligations and Laws respecting Animals. To this chapter there is added, in the form of an Appendix, a Dissertation on the most ancient history of Horses and Horse-breeding, in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, especially Egypt and Arabia.

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against Parents and Rulers. Chap. VIII. Of Judicial Procedure. To this Book is appended, An Essay on the Nature and End of Punishments.

The importance of an acquaintance with the Mosaic Laws, is exhibited in a very strong and interesting manner, in the introductory remarks of the Author. Although these laws are not obligatory on us, having been instituted for the use of a people in other and very different circumstances from those which belong to the modern nations of Europe, the study of them is evidently of great moment, not only to the Hebrew philologist and antiquary, but to the theologian, the lawyer, and the philosopher, who speculate on legislative policy for the purpose of elucidating the history of man.

‘ The mere barrister may rest satisfied with knowing the laws that are of authority in his own country ; but the man who would consider laws philosophically, or (to say more in one single word than a tedious circumlocution would serve to explain,) who wishes to survey them with the eye of a Montesquieu, will deem it his indispensable duty to become acquainted with the laws of other nations ; and the more so, the more remote they are in point of time and climate. To him who knows nothing beyond the limits of his own country, or of the nations contiguous to it in time and situation, many things in law will seem necessary, which yet, in other circumstances, must be otherwise. He will not perceive the arbitrary nature of law, and the variations of legislative policy, which difference of climate and a hundred other circumstances occasion. Then only will he become sensible of these things, and begin without much perplexity to philosophise, like Montesquieu, on the laws of his country, when he compares a variety of laws that are strange, and seem at first sight absurd. But what system of laws offers to our consideration a greater number of new views, in this respect, than those of Moses? The people whose government he settled, lived in a climate very different from ours. No law of such high antiquity has, in one connected body, reached our times ; and on this account alone, it is very remarkable. In his day, many things still retained much of their original character, which afterwards underwent alterations, from the multifarious (whether successful or unsuccessful) artifices of policy ; from the introduction of new customs ; from abuses ; and even from their very antiquity. But between his laws, and the ancient laws of other nations, on their first establishment, we find, in those things wherein they differ from ours, such a remarkable similarity, as would seem to authorise the conclusion, that mankind at first, and during the infancy of nations, naturally light on certain uniform principles of legislation ; which, however, must afterwards be altered, when luxury, and commerce, and chicane, have arrived at maturity among any people. While, therefore, this most ancient law of nations in their infant state remains unknown, the genealogy of our laws may be said to be incomplete : and though the mere lawyer may comfort himself under the defect, the philosopher will always desire to see it repaired.’ pp. 1—3, Vol. 1.

Considerable importance attaches to the question, Are the civil laws of Moses still obligatory, or were they abrogated in the destruction of the Jewish State? Are they binding on us as a part of the will of God declared in the Scriptures, or were they limited to the members of the Israelitish commonwealth? That the adoption of parts of them has been inculcated, is certain. Nor is it less true, that the consciences of many good persons have been agitated with scruples respecting the permanent validity of some of their enactments. How frequently have the persons who propose the substitution of some other mode of punishment in the place of death, as the penalty of murder, been opposed with the authority of the Mosaic law, which declares that the life of the murderer shall not be spared. Or, if this example be thought irrelevant, since it is one of the Noachic precepts, which circumstance, however, is of little moment, as a law in the Mosaic code is the same in authority whether it be original or adopted, how often have the cases of adultery and usury, proved a source of disquietude to the tender consciences of some most worthy men, who have contemplated the different practices of their own country and times, from those of Moses. Michaelis has very satisfactorily shewn, that God intended the Mosaic laws only for the Israelites; that he never meant them to bind other nations; and that a survey of them in their connexion and causes, is sufficient to satisfy our inquiries, as to the extent of their obligation. Moses, he remarks, frequently presupposes a more ancient law, founded on established usage, which he sometimes confirms, sometimes improves, and sometimes annuls. This ancient traditionary law was principally *Nomadic*, suited to the state of free, wandering herdsmen; and hence it is capable of receiving illustration from the manners of the wandering Arabs, who retain much of the ancient usages of their ancestors. Besides this ancient consuetudinary law, traces are found in the writings of the Jewish lawgiver, of legislative policy founded on the results of long experience, and indicating an Egyptian origin. 1. The foundation of the government on a system of agriculture which was quite unpractised by the wandering herdsmen; 2. (which is one of the most difficult problems in politics,) The formation of a great and powerful state, independently on foreign commerce, which the Egyptians abhorred; 3. The measures resorted to for keeping the Israelites distinct from other nations. These are, he thinks, examples of the influence of Egyptian legislation, in the primitive code of the Hebrews. The force of the consuetudinary law on the minds of the people, was the occasion of Moses's allowing them many things which he could have considered only as expedient in a political view; as in the case of divorce, which, according to our Lord's expression, "Moses suffered because of 'the hardness of their hearts;' i. e. their ancient and invete-

rate customs ; and hence it follows, that the Mosaic laws, though the best that the Israelites could bear, are not absolutely and universally the best, nor yet to be imitated by every people.

‘ Because these laws proceeded from God, it has been inferred, that they must be absolutely the best possible laws : and one writer on dogmatics has thence copied this conclusion from another, that, although Christian sovereigns are not absolutely obliged to abide by the civil laws of Moses, yet since they undoubtedly are the best and wisest of laws, every prince, as in duty bound to chuse what is best for his subjects, ought, in reason, to imitate them as far as possible, and always adopt them in preference to heathen laws.

‘ Now, what is this, in fact, but to insist, that the civil law of Moses, which our theology has expelled, should be again privately introduced, as by a back door? The Apostle Paul declares, without any exception, that the Mosaic laws do not bind us ; but how can we, with a good conscience, have other laws, if they are the best, and we are bound to follow this best of models? They may not, it is true, immediately bind us, but they do so *mediately*, through the intervention of the moral precept, “ Chuse what is best.”

‘ But can, then, those divines who have this precept in their creed, understand it rightly, and hold it for true in all its extent? Certainly not. For, can they believe that a Christian ruler is bound to follow the example of Moses, in allowing polygamy and divorce, without all restraint? Put this question to them, and the probability is, that they will go too far to the other extreme, and maintain, that a ruler were guilty of a sin, in even tolerating such things, although God, by Moses, allowed them ; just as if among Christian subjects, no example of Israelitish hardness of heart could ever be found.

‘ From this example we clearly perceive, that the Mosaic laws are not always the best in *this* sense, that laws more holy, and more consonant to morality, could never be introduced among any people. But it will be said, How will I obviate the difficulty, that as the laws of God they must still be the best? The answer is easy : they are not absolutely so, but only the best suited to the then circumstances of the people ; not the best for a Platonic, but for an Israelitish republic.” pp. 17—19.

In illustration of this point, the Author proceeds with much pertinency and force of application, to notice the circumstances which are of primary consideration in civil legislation, and which, as they are so very different in different nations, require a policy corresponding to them. These are, *Climate*—(in a warm climate drunkenness is far more to be dreaded than with us, and therefore merits severer punishment :—Moses prohibited the kindling of fire on the sabbath, would he have done so in Norway?) *The fertility of the soil*—*The situation of the country*—*The power and political relations of neighbouring states*—*The mode of life*—*The fundamental principle of the state*—*The notions of the people, as to honour and disgrace*—*The prevalent notions and feelings as to the nature*

and severity of punishment—Difference of customs—The forms, kinds, and sources of crimes, and the chicane which defends them—The peculiar diseases which prevail among the people. Even where all these things do not occur, the system of jurisprudence may yet require other laws, of which we cannot well adopt one, without also introducing others connected with it. The excellence of the Mosaic laws in not punishing theft with death, has been extolled, and the imitation of them in this particular, recommended to modern legislators, whose enactments relative to property have been thought excessively rigorous. On this question, Michaelis leans to the side of the modern statutes; and with rather too much of the appearance of a sharp and flippant partisan of controverted opinion, instead of the grave and philosophic temper which is required by the seriousness and importance of the subject, he asks, What can be done at last with the enormous multitude of thieves where there is no slavery? remarking in the subsequent sentence, that houses of discipline and industry are very expensive to a state. There is more sobriety in the following passage.

‘Such zealots would also wish, that adultery should, as by the law of Moses, be punished with death. But as, in reason, the evidence ought to be very complete, before a person forfeit his life, these rigid legislators must then, for the benefit of husbands, who may not be able to adduce such proof as a capital offence requires, be obliged also to retain that law of Moses, which, without judicial evidence, allows a man to separate from his wife, if *he* only knows that she has been unfaithful to him.

‘How many fathers of the church, in their zeal for the Mosaic law, condemned the taking of interest, which is also reprobated by the canon law? But these foes of interest, should have previously prohibited the sale of land; for when I can lay out my money on landed property, which yields me interest for it, nothing is more just, than that my debtor should also pay me interest, if he wishes me to lend him my money, and not buy land with it.—These remarks I think sufficient to show, that our legislators are not obliged to adopt the laws of Moses, as universally the best. If they would wisely imitate his example, let them regulate their laws by the circumstances of the country where they are meant to operate, and depart the farther from *his* laws, the more the situation of their subjects differs from that of the Israelites.’ pp. 27, 28.

In civil legislation it may be possible to prescribe laws, the leading principles of them possessing a permanent character, which may maintain their place in a national code as perpetual ordinances; but as laws must be adapted to the circumstances of the people for whom they are made, and as these are constantly changing, the rules of civil polity must necessarily be variable. Some laws will become obsolete, and new statutes must be promulgated as the relations and manners of a people

become different. Hence arises a question respecting the ancient Hebrew code : Did Moses publish his civil laws with a view to their remaining unalterable during the subsistence of the Jewish state ? Michaelis admits that Moses nowhere explicitly declares whether his people, when circumstances changed, were to be at liberty to alter certain civil laws, or who was to exercise that right ; though he argues that the Jewish law-giver never meant to prohibit the thing itself, and endeavours to support his opinion by examples of actual alteration. The phrase which occurs as an addition to many of the Mosaic statutes, *an ordinance to your generations for ever*, he explains as denoting nothing more than an opposition to more temporary ordinances. Most readers, we apprehend, will agree with the learned Author, in the opinion that the entire code of the Mosaic law was not either calculated, or intended, to remain in an unalterable state, but they will not, it is probable, acknowledge the force of every argument which he has adduced in its support. It is, we think, rather unfortunate, that the passage to which he refers (Lev. xvii. 4 to 7, not xxvii. as it is erroneously put down) as an example of the application of the terms *חוקת עולם* a *perpetual statute*, to a law which was afterwards repealed (Deut. xii. 15—20, 21, 22) receives such an explication by the admission of the various reading of the Sam. Pent. and the Sept. as makes it perfectly consistent with the passage in Deut. and precludes the necessity of construing the latter as the declaration of the repeal of a former law.

In the first chapter of the second book, many interesting remarks occur on the Geography of Palestine, and an attempt is made to assign its boundaries as the country intended for the residence of the Israelites. Michaelis thinks that the maps of Palestine are in general defective, not only as they are inaccurate in the position of places, but as they represent the territories of that people as less extensive than they really were ; and he certainly adduces many considerations in this part of his work, and the chapter immediately following, which are deserving of attention both as evidences of the legislative wisdom of Moses, and as furnishing us with very ample ground on which to resist the allegations of those writers who would impeach the authority of the scriptural records, by representing the population of Palestine as too great for the tract of country assigned to it. The promised land, strictly so called, was more extensive than our maps make it. A great part of Lebanon, with the fruitful vales that intersect it, ought to be included in it ; and the ten tribes and a half, on this side of the Jordan, extended their settlements southward a great way into Arabia. The country in general was remarkably fertile ; and the land in the occupation of every Israelite being his own, he could make the best possible

422 Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses.

use of his vineyards and corn fields. Besides these considerations, the following are adduced by the Author.

‘ In the *last* place, a country of equal fertility in the 32d degree of latitude, will support more inhabitants than in the 51st. Our colder countries require extensive spaces for woods; and if, for each man able to bear arms, I reckon only four cords of wood yearly, (each 216 cubic feet) how much space will be necessarily occupied with timber, where 2,000,000 of cords must be annually felled? In a warm climate, very little wood is required for fuel, and in Palestine that article was actually very scarce. Again, how much more wool and linen do we require for our clothing than the inhabitants of Palestine? These wants occasion the occupation of a great deal of land, in raising flax and sheep. The Israelites most probably had more wool than they could consume; and of course had it in their power to manufacture and sell it to strangers, and with the money thence arising, purchase articles which their own country did not produce in sufficient abundance.—Farther, a country lying in a climate somewhat better than ours, admits the planting of vineyards, and finds drink to its inhabitants on the hills, which with us are barren, or at best adapted only for wood. We, on the contrary, must employ a part of our best land in raising barley, which furnishes our principal drink.—Once more, in the 32d degree of latitude, the same ground treated as a garden, may be cropped oftener within the year, than with us; an advantage for which Moses expressly celebrates Palestine in Deut. xxxiii. 14.

‘ It will perhaps appear somewhat trifling to observe, that people in southern climates are satisfied with less food than in northern: but it is nevertheless very certain and well known from Church history, (see Mosheim's *Institutiones Hist. Eccl.* p. 169) that on the introduction of the Asiatic fasts the stomachs of the French were very differently affected from those of Egyptians. But it is more important to remark, that the industry of husbandmen in countries where rain rarely falls, and where the fields must be artificially watered, far surpasses any thing that our farmers exhibit. There they learn to make use of every foot of land: they cover the naked rocks with earth, and raise walls to prevent showers from washing it away. In those parts of Switzerland where vines can be reared, we see numberless examples of this most laudable economy; and that Palestine was anciently cultivated in the same manner, Maundrell discovered many traces in the course of his travels.—This is sufficient to justify the law of Moses, who designed to provide at least 480,000 men able to bear arms, with land on this side Jordan. When in process of time, the population increased, they had it in their power to settle colonies in those parts of Arabia, till then only used for pasturage, where water was somewhat abundant, (for in such a climate the very sand is fertile, where water is found) or else in the valleys of mount Lebanon; and that this was actually done, we learn from i. Chron. iv. 39—42. and from Judges ch. xviii. pp. 104—106. Vol. 1.

The right of the Israelites to Palestine, is the subject of the third chapter. The extirpation of the Canaanites, the Professor

asserts, was nothing more than the natural consequence of a war carried on, not by a sovereign for the sake of acquiring new subjects, but by a people to obtain lands; and who, in order to secure their acquisitions, have no alternative but to despatch those who obstinately stand in their way, and who will not resign what they hold. The vices and idolatries too of the Canaanites, which were so dangerous from their tendency to subvert the very ground of the Mosaic policy, and to corrupt the people for whom he legislated, furnish other and special reasons for carrying on the Canaanitish war, on principles of merely natural law, provided the war itself was just. This, he imagines, is by no means clear. The inhabitants of Palestine had not hitherto conducted themselves as enemies to the Israelites. How Moses therefore should have declared war against a nation that had never attacked the Israelites, and, in the name of God, have made a gift of their country to his people, present a difficulty of no slight moment, in the attempt to reconcile the command of the Hebrew legislator with the spirit and principles of a Divine law, to which his authority is attributed.

In the whole inquiry on this subject, justice demands that allowance should be made for the remoteness of the period to which it relates, and for the style and manner of the Hebrew, and other ancient historians, who relate wars without ever mentioning the causes that gave rise to them. It ought not, however, to be concluded, that because Moses has not assigned the causes of *this* war, that there was not a real cause for it; nor in the absence of necessary documents to prove its justice, or the contrary, should it be assumed that we can assure ourselves of the precise ideas of right and wrong, that lodged in men's minds in those early times. With these previous remarks, the learned Author proceeds to examine the reasons which have been offered in vindication of the exterminating hostilities against the Canaanites, which were prescribed to the Israelites by the authority of Moses. The criminality of the nations inhabiting Palestine, and the Divine donation of their country to the Israelites, cannot, he contends, be looked upon in the light of an *intimation to the Israelites of their right* to invade the Canaanitish territories. The hypothesis of Dr. Nonne of Bremen, who, in a Dissertation published in 1755, endeavoured to found the justice of this war on the right of the Israelites to Palestine, by virtue of a partition treaty among the three sons of Noah, and the testamentary donation of their father, is then reviewed by the Author, and its pretensions are very satisfactorily refuted. The question, whether the Canaanites, by their injuries to the Israelites, provoked them to the war, and were themselves the aggressors,

is next examined. Michaelis declares his dissatisfaction with the sentiments maintained by Professor Stiebritz and Mr. Oepke, in support of the affirmative, in a dissertation, *De Justitiæ Causæ Israelitarum in bello adversus Canaanita susceptæ*, published in 1759; and after noticing a part of Professor Faber's *Archæology of the Hebrews*, on which he comments with great, but apparently just severity, he proposes his own sentiments on the question of right, and labours with considerable ingenuity, but with more confidence in his statements and arguments than they really ought to challenge, to establish the conclusion, that Palestine had from time immemorial been a land of Hebrew herdsmen, and the Israelites, who had never abandoned their right to it, claimed it again of the Canaanites, as unlawful possessors. This hypothesis we shall state more copiously in the words of the learned proposer.

From time immemorial, it (Palestine) had been a land occupied by wandering Hebrew herdsmen, in which even Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had exercised the right of proprietorship, traversing it with herds, without being in subjection to any one, or acknowledging the Canaanites as their masters. The Phœnicians, or Canaanites, were certainly not the original possessors of this land, but had at first dwelt on the Red Sea, as Herodotus relates; with whom Justin and Abulfeda in so far coincide, as that the *former* says, that they had another country before they came to dwell on the lake of Gennezareth, or Dead Sea; and the *latter*, that they first dwelt in Arabia. Moses is so far from contradicting Herodotus here, as has been commonly believed, that he rather expressly confirms his account, by twice saying in the history of Abraham, *The Canaanites were then in the land*, Gen. xii. 6, and xiii. 7. The word *then*, cannot imply that the contrary was the case in his own time; for *then* the Canaanites still dwelt in Palestine, and their expulsion only began under his successor Joshua: so that he gives us clearly to understand, that there had formerly been a time when they dwelt *not in that land*, but somewhere else. But another relation which he gives in Gen. xxxvi. 20—30, compared with Deut. ii. 12—22, is still more decisive. He there describes an ancient people, that before the time of Edom, had dwelt in Seir, or as we now call it, Idumea, and whom, from their living in subterraneous caverns, he denominates Horites, or Troglydytes. Of this nation, was that one of Esau's wives, mentioned Gen. xxxvi. 2, 24; and as Moses elsewhere relates that Esau had *three* wives, two of Canaanitish descent, and the third a granddaughter of Abraham, (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, and xxviii. 8, 9) it evidently follows, that the Horites, who of old inhabited Idumea, must have been Canaanites. Consequently the Canaanites originally dwelt in the region afterwards called Idumea, and on the Red Sea; but when they began to carry on the commerce of the world, for which they became so renowned in history, they migrated into Palestine, the situation of which was peculiarly advantageous for that purpose. It would appear, that at first they only established trading marts and

factories, which could not but be very acceptable to the wandering hordes, because they gave them an opportunity of converting their superfluous produce into money, and of purchasing foreign commodities. By degrees, they spread themselves farther into the country, improved the lands, planted vineyards, and at last dispossessed the ancient inhabitants, just exactly as their descendants did at Carthage, who first asked for a hide-breadth of ground whereon to sit, and then by an artful explanation got a bargain of as much room as was sufficient to build a city on, and in the end made themselves masters of the whole country. As early as Abraham's time, complaints were made of the herds not having sufficient room, from the Canaanites being then in the land, and crowding it. But this always went on farther and farther; and when the Israelites had for a time gone down to Egypt, the Canaanites at last appropriated to themselves the whole country. This land of their forefathers, and their nation, the Israelites had never given up to the Canaanites; and therefore they had a right to reclaim it and to conquer it, by force. If they solicited from other nations a passage into Palestine, it was merely to come at their own property again; and when they passed the Jordan, and found the Canaanites in arms against them, the latter had no longer a legitimate cause to maintain, for they wanted to keep possession of the property of another people by force.' Vol. I. pp. 155—160.

This hypothesis is as much wanting in the necessary proofs of its being the true one, as is any one of those which the Professor has attempted to refute. He, in the first place, assumes, that the appellation of Hebrews, applied to Abraham and his descendants, was derived as an *Appellatio Patronymica*, from Eber; and, secondly, that the posterity of Eber, in the line of Abraham, had their proper country beyond the Euphrates, but had at a very early period sent colonies into Palestine, then unoccupied by any other people: both these are, however, gratuitous assertions. The Canaanites were residents in Palestine at the time of Abram's going thither; but, says Michaelis, as Abram appears to have proceeded into those extensive districts independently of the permission of the Canaanites, it must be evident that Palestine could not be the peculiar property of that people, who he states had a country of their own on the Red Sea. For the same reason it would seem, that it could not be the peculiar property of the Hebrews, who had, according to our Author, a country of their own beyond the Euphrates. Considerable stress is also laid, in support of the hypothesis, on the last command of Jacob to his sons, to bury him in his own hereditary sepulchre in Palestine, and on the desire of Joseph to be interred in the same cemetery, as proofs that the Israelites had not by their descent into Egypt, abandoned their right to Canaan. Their right to it not having been proved, renders it very unnecessary to inquire whether they had lost it by prescription; but if the solution offered, be

examined, what could be inferred from the interment of Jacob and Joseph in the field of Hebron, but that it was an ancient family possession, the right to which was obtained by purchase. It would not follow that the whole land was Hebrew property. Abraham was a stranger and a sojourner in the land; so he describes himself: so it is said of Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 1.) that he dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan; and the whole history is opposed to the notion, that the Hebrews were the real proprietors of the country, by the right of inheritance vested in Abraham from his ancestors.

The Mosaic legislation included two fundamental principles, viz. the maintenance of the worship of one God, and the proscription of Polytheism, and prevention of intercourse between the Israelites and foreign nations.

‘The first of these principles had a reference to religion, though not to all and every article thereof; for to give one great proof of this, I find in the Mosaic system nothing that could have been designed to maintain in its purity, the doctrine of a Messiah, or even to preserve it at all. A person might have disbelieved in a Messiah, and have publicly professed as much, without being amenable to any of the Mosaic laws which we know, or even being excluded from the rights of citizenship. Moses framed no *symbolic books* for the people to subscribe, nor did he publish any doctrine, of which the belief was enjoined under pain of punishment. For instance, although he describes God as all-wise, almighty, good, &c. yet if any man doubted of this, or of the coming of a Messiah, he did not thereby become liable to any punishment by the law. *The worship of one only God*, in so far as it stands opposed to idolatry, was the sole point which Moses made it the grand object of his polity to establish and maintain to the latest period.’ pp. 180—181.

These remarks may be of some assistance to Theologians, in their examination of the Pentateuch.

From the Sixth Chapter, ‘On the Form of the Republic,’ we extract the Author’s account of the Levites.

‘I now proceed to take notice of the priests, and of the tribe of Levi in general, which enjoyed very great rights in the commonwealth of Israel, and whose influence was intended to serve as a means of counteracting the adoption of those hasty measures which were naturally to be expected from the democratic character of the government. I have already ventured to represent this tribe in the light of a learned noblesse.

‘If we would duly understand the genius of the Mosaic polity, and be able, without idle wonder, to account for the rich revenues of the Priests and Levites, we must learn to entertain of these two descriptions of persons whom I shall frequently class together under the name of the sacerdotal body, ideas completely opposite to those which commonly prevail. For if we look upon them in no other point of view than that of ministers of religion, their revenues cannot but ap-

ear exorbitant beyond all bounds. A tribe, including no more than 12,000 males, and, of course, not above 12,000 arrived at man's state, received the tithes of 600,000 Israelites; consequently each individual Levite, without having to deduct seed, and the charges of husbandry, had as much as five Israelites reaped from their fields, or gained on their cattle. To the priests, moreover, belonged the first-fruits, which were, no doubt, more of the nature of a free gift, than a tax; but which, from the xxxvi. chapter of Ezekiel, ver. 11, 13, we must regard as having been established by ancient usage, and which amounted to about the sixtieth part of the crop. Of every sacrifice, of which the blood came not into the holy of holies, the priest had a portion fixed by law; Lev. vi. 9—12. vii. 6—10, 31; and as long as the Israelites continued in the wilderness, this was a very considerable source of revenue, from its being forbidden, as a precaution against idolatry, to kill a sheep, goat, or ox, without presenting it, at the same time, as an offering, Lev. xvii. 1—9; a law which, by the way, served to create a revenue to the priests, at a time when there were yet no tithes from the land. From every slaughtered beast that came not to the altar, a farther portion was also afterwards appropriated to the priests, Deut. xviii. 3, 4. And finally, to him came every thing devoted, (*cherem*), and all matters of vow, not to mention the ransom of the first-born, concerning which, and other sources of income, Numb. xviii. 5—32, may be consulted.

‘In regard to these revenues, which may with justice be deemed immoderate, if we consider the Levites only as ministers of the altar, and holy persons, various controversies have arisen. *Morgan* wished never to discover a government of priests, who had no other object in view than the exorbitant enrichment of their order, and occupied themselves entirely with religious matters, without being of any farther use to the community; and he moreover called falsehood to his aid, with a view to exaggerate the amount of the already too great income of his supposed spirituality. *Lowman*, who, in his *Essay on the Civil Government of the Hebrews*, answered him without sufficient knowledge of that government, makes the income of the Levites less than it really was. For it cannot be denied that this tribe, which did not make the *fifteenth* part of the people, enjoyed one *tenth* of the whole produce of the lands, and many other privileges besides. For mere ministers at the altar, mere clergymen, this would undoubtedly have been far too much. Guides to happiness we certainly should have cheaper; nor are they requisite in so great a multitude.

‘It will, however, probably be granted me, that for the whole body of *literati*, that is, for the ministers of religion, the physicians, the judges, the scribes, and keepers of the genealogical registers, and the mathematicians, employed in the service of the police, (a class of men whose importance is at present too little attended to,) the revenues of the Levites, considerable as they may appear, were by no means too great. Let us only calculate how much of the produce of the land is now paid to those who live by the learned professions, in name of salaries, casualties, fees, &c.; and let us farther consider of how much consequence to the community it is, that judges at least, and those men of law to whose attention and fidelity

430 *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli.*

in the perusal of many parts of the Old Testament narratives; though it is not strictly involved in the philosophic and political discussions of these "Commentaries."

(*To be continued.*)

Art. II. *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli, in Africa.* From the Original Correspondence in the possession of the Family of the late Richard Tully, Esq. the British Consul. 4to. pp. 376. London. Colburn. 1817.

EVERY work which is interesting in its contents, requires its authenticity and genuineness to be clearly proved, in order that the satisfaction derived from it may be complete. It would seem that there is no reason to doubt the truth of the assertion made in the preface to the volume before us, that the letters which it contains, were actually written by the Sister-in-law of the late Richard Tully, Esq. his Britannic Majesty's consul at the court of Tripoli; between whose family and that of the Bashaw, it is shewn that a close intimacy existed for many years. And with this conviction of their truth impressed on the mind of the reader, he cannot fail to be highly interested in the minuteness of their details respecting the private life of a people, known to us only by their systematic practice of rapine and cruelty, which makes them the terror of civilized Europe. Pictures of manners, to what nation soever they may belong, when they are exhibited by those who have had an opportunity of viewing them in all their nicer shades and varieties, will always attract the attention of the philosophic inquirer, who loves to contemplate the differences in the moral and intellectual habits of human beings. Manners are at once cause and effect, acting alternately upon each other. Particular modes of thinking induce particular habits of living; and that habits of living influence modes of thinking, we may be convinced, without having recourse to distant countries for examples. The attention of the public has lately been directed towards the coast of Barbary, with such peculiar interest, that every thing relative to the Moors appears worthy of notice. The barbarous splendour of Moorish habits, realizing all that is related of them in the fictions of the East, the chivalrous nature of the exercises of the young men, their romantic bravery, and we had almost said their romantic cruelty, the pitiable condition of their women, the affecting histories which are continually afforded in the capture of Georgian and Circassian females, by whom the seraglios of the despots are chiefly supplied, and whose persons form a regular article of commerce to a band of Turkish traders, together with innumerable minor traits, which illustrate the force of habit and power of education, as warring against the dictates of nature, give to these pages an interest perpetually varying and new. The style in which they are written, is free, and

Relying upon the fidelity and minuteness of her description, the Author never has recourse to flippancy or bombast, in order to add to their effect. Like Lady Mary Wortley Montague's, they have the merit of bringing every thing immediately before the eye; but they far exceed hers in the importance of their statements, and at the same time, never awaken in the mind of the reader a suspicion that the Author has been more anxious to say a good thing than a true one. The period of time comprised in these letters, is from 1783 to 1793. The manners which they describe, have not of course suffered the slightest change during the subsequent years; and the fierce and barbarous character of Sidy Useph, the present Bashaw of Tripoli, and the youngest son of Alli Cozomali, the late Bashaw, is delineated with a fidelity which time has fully confirmed. Some account of the relatives of this despot, as described by our Author, who was in habits of the most friendly intimacy with the female part of his family, will not be unacceptable to our readers. After giving a minute and interesting description of the castle where the Royal family reside, the Author remarks:

‘ On entering the apartment of Lilla Kebbiera, the wife of the Bashaw, we found her seated with three of her daughters. The eldest is married to the diniganeer, who is at the head of the customs: the second to the bey of Bengazi; the youngest is expected to marry the Rais, or admiral of the port. These men are all renegadoes, as here they do not mix the blood royal with that of their subjects. Often the princesses treat their husbands, so provided for them, infinitely worse than their slaves, particularly if their birth has been low, which happens sometimes. The husband consoles himself for the little notice his wife takes of him, by the liberty he enjoys, and the daily increase of his wealth and consequence, from his high station and connection with the sovereign's family.

‘ The countenance of Lilla Kebbiera bespoke the character given of her. She is extremely affable, and has the most insinuating manner imaginable. She is not more than forty; but her age is not exactly spoken of, as it is against the Moorish religion to keep registries of births. She is still very handsome, a fair beauty with light blue eyes, and flaxen hair. Her complexion is perfectly delicate, but has evidently suffered from grief, and heavy fasts imposed by herself, owing to the loss of some of her favourite children, and the present unhappy disputes constantly arising among her three sons, fed by the demon of jealousy. On visiting this sovereign the consuls' wives are permitted to kiss her head; other ladies in their company, or their daughters, her right hand; her left she offers only to dependants. If any of her blacks, or any of the attendants of the castle are near her, they frequently seize the opportunity of kneeling down to kiss the end of her taracan or upper garment. She is adored by her subjects, which is natural, as she is extremely benevolent; her greatest fault is, not in spending, but in giving away more than her revenues afford. Halluma is the name given her by her parents,

and Lilla means, in Moorish, Lady. She is called in her family Lilla Halluma, but by her subjects she is styled Lilla Kebbiera, the great or greatest lady. The Bey her eldest son has been married several years. He married at seven years old.' p. 31.

After a minute account of the splendid style of Lilla Halluma's dress, and the decorations of her apartments, we have some further descriptions of the royal family, among whom the bashaw's eldest son, Hassau Bey, makes a grand and interesting figure. This man, worthy from his courage and generosity of a better fate, fell by the hand of his younger brother, Sidy Useph, for whose conduct he had often made excuses to all around him, attributing it to the impetuosity of his age, and terming him the 'beautiful rash youth.' The dreadful spectacle of a father trembling for his safety among his children, of brother armed against brother, so often to be seen in countries where despotism and treachery invariably go together, cannot be contemplated without a painful degree of interest, particularly as the Author has the happy art of introducing to her readers the personages concerned, with all the effect of life. During the Feast of Beiram, which commences immediately after the termination of the Fast of Ramadan, and continues three days, it is the laudable custom of the Mahometans, well worthy the imitation of other nations, to endeavour to make up whatsoever quarrels and injuries may have disturbed the peace of their families during the preceding year. To this time Lilla Halluma had anxiously looked, in hopes of being then enabled to put an end to the dissensions among her sons, which filled her with grief and apprehension. On the first day of the feast, the Bashaw always holds a numerous court, and generally in a particular chamber, built for that purpose. But owing to a prophecy, of some years standing, that he should end his days in this chamber, by being stabbed on the throne by an unknown hand, the late Bashaw did not on this occasion follow his inclination of resuming the custom, alarmed at the serious misunderstandings which had taken place among his sons, during the Ramadan.

'The drawing-room, in honour of the day, was uncommonly crowded, when all the courtiers were in a moment struck with a sight which seemed to congeal their blood: they appeared to expect nothing less than the slaughter of their sovereign at the foot of his throne, and themselves to be sacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies. The three princes entered with their chief officers, guards, and blacks, armed in an extraordinary manner, and with their sabres drawn. Each of the sons, surrounded by his own officers and guards, went separately up to kiss the Bashaw's hand. He received them with trembling; his extreme surprise and agitation were visible to every eye; and the doubtful issue of the moment appeared to all present. The princes formed three divisions, kept apart, and conversed with the consuls and different

court as freely as usual, but did not suffer a glance to escape to each other. They stayed but a short time in the drawing-room, each party retiring in the same order they had entered; and it became apparent, that their rage was levelled against each other, and not against their father, though the Bashaw seemed to recover breath only on their departure. The next morning, the second day of the feast, the Bey went to his mother's apartments to pay his compliments to her on the Beiram. She was very anxious to see him shake hands with his brother, Sidy Hamet, the second son; at least to make up the last breach between them. She began by insisting, therefore, that the Bey should not touch her hand, till he consented to stay with her, while she sent to Sidy Hamet's wife to kiss his hand, a token of respect never omitted by any of the women of the family to the Bey, on this occasion, unless their husbands are at variance with him. Lilla Halluma hoped by this mark of respect from Sidy Hamet's wife, to begin the work of a reconciliation between the Bey and his brother, as this would have been the means of disarming the anger of Sidy Useph, the youngest son. The Bey at length consented to his mother's entreaties, and a message was instantly sent to Sidy Hamet's wife, who most unfortunately was, at that moment, attending on her husband at dinner. The message was delivered in his hearing, and it is thought with design, as there are so many intermeddlers at the castle. Sidy Hamet immediately ordered his wife to send a very severe answer back to the Bey. His wife was so alarmed and hurt at this new misfortune, which must occasion a further breach, that her women were obliged to support her. When she recovered, being willing to soften the matter as much as possible, she only sent word to the Bashaw's wife, that she could not come because her husband was eating, and begged her to make as light of it as possible to the Bey; but the answer was delivered in the worst words Sidy Hamet had delivered it, and the Bey left his mother's presence, too much enraged for her to pacify him, while Lilla Halluma remained agonized, meditating on the scenes of blood that would, in all probability, be soon perpetrated in the castle.

On returning to his apartment, the Bey found that one of his servants had been laid down at his youngest brother, Sidy Useph's feet, and almost hastinadoed to death, for a dispute with one of Sidy Useph's servants. Had the brothers met at that moment, it would have proved fatal to one or both of them. The next morning, (the third and last day of Beiram,) the Bey went again to court, and in the presence of his father, Sidy Hamet, and Sidy Useph, and a very numerous assemblage of courtiers, he warned both his brothers of putting his prudence any further to the trial; he said he scorned to take an unfair measure, though in his power to silence both of them; but that if either of them wished to call him out, he would condescend (for they had no right to demand it of him) to meet them on the Pianura, where he did not fear the zeal, or numbers of his people, and where, if they irritated him too much, he would shortly summon them to feel his power. The Bey's suite seemed hardly able to abstain from confirming with their actions what their master had said, who upon saluting his father, retired from the court.

434 *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli.*

‘ Thus finished the great feast of Beiram, and with it all the hopes of the Bashaw’s wife, who had reckoned so much on obliterating the dissensions of the castle. She is most sincerely to be pitied. When they speak of her, they say she is an ornament to the throne, an affectionate mother, and a friend to the human race: her actions, public and private, are constantly guided by humanity and benevolence.’ pp. 128—130.

These dissensions daily increasing, soon assume an appearance completely dramatic, and the impression which the relation of them is calculated to make, is heightened by the gorgeous costume and oriental grandeur of every thing connected with the actors in them, which give to the slightest incident an air highly romantic. The doting father weakly sustaining the cause of his idol son, by whom finally he is dethroned, against his awful heir, whose virtues more justly render him the favourite of his amiable mother, the weak and vacillating Sidy Hamet, whose treachery to his eldest brother is punished by the cruelty of his youngest, with whom he leagues against him, the various intrigues and cabals of the females in the castle, the undaunted courage and unsuspecting generosity of the unfortunate Hassan Bey, the attachment of his attendants to his person, the horrors of siege and famine into which the daring ambition of Sidy Useph plunges his subjects, all afford a picture highly striking in itself, and particularly interesting, as it could be presented only by one who possessed advantages similar to those of our Author, in the particular situation in which she was placed with respect to the appointment Mr. Tully held, and the personal intimacy and actual attachment, which from a variety of causes existed between the ladies in his family, and the royal inhabitants of the castle. Passing over various contentions and feuds among the brothers, in all of which the moderation, forgiveness, and equanimity of Hassan Bey appear conspicuous, we cannot refrain from laying before our readers, the tragical end of a prince, whose talents and virtues would have graced any of the ‘legitimate monarchies’ of Europe, and whose miserable fate it was, even in death, to have apparent cause of reproach against those who most loved him, while he fell by the hand of him whom he had so often endeavoured to exonerate from the suspicion of harbouring evil designs against him.

‘ Sidy Useph’s success in a plot so diabolically laid against the Bey, is amongst those wonders which cannot be accounted for. Tired of waiting longer for the annihilation of the Bey, he came to the town, more determined and better prepared to complete the dreadful act than he had been before. He brought with him his chosen blacks, whom he had well instructed. The moment he entered the castle, he proceeded to his mother Lilla Halluma’s apartments, to whom he declared his fixed intention of “making peace” with his

eldest brother, and entreated her to forward his wishes, by sending for the Bey, to complete their reconciliation in her presence. Lilla Halluma transported with the idea of seeing her sons again united, as she flattered herself, in the bonds of friendship, sent instantly to the Bey, who was in Lilla Aisher's (his wife) apartment, a confidential message, informing him that his brother, Sidy Useph, was with her without arms, and waiting to make peace with him, that she would herself join their hands together, and that by 'the Bashaw's head the Bey, if he loved her, would come to her directly unarmed.' The Bey, actuated by the first impulse, armed himself with his pistol and sabre, to obey the summons.

'Lilla Aisher knowing the impartial tenderness of Lilla Halluma for all her children, was sure no open danger could threaten his life: her only apprehensions were from secret plots, but this the Bey would never listen to. At the present moment Lilla Aisher trembled for fear a report of the Bey's passing through the haram, to Lilla Halluma, with so hostile an appearance, so contrary to the rules of it, might give a pretext for the Bey's being treacherously assaulted by Sidy Useph's people. She therefore observed to him that as he was going to his mother's apartment, where it was at all times sacrilege, (according to the laws of Mahomet,) to carry arms, his going there armed, after the message Lilla Halluma had sent him, would seem as if he meant to assassinate his brother, and thereby draw the vengeance of the castle upon him. The Bey, after hesitating a moment, unarmed himself, embraced Lilla Aisher, and was departing, when she threw herself at his feet, and presenting him his sabre, entreated him not, however, to depart wholly defenceless, and she would not let him go till he had yielded to her supplications. When the Bey came to his mother's room, she perceiving his sabre, begged of him, (assuring him his brother had no arms) to lay it aside, before they entered into conversation. The Bey, to whom there could not appear the smallest reason for suspicion, willingly delivered his sabre to his mother, who placed it upon a window near which they stood, and she, feeling convinced of the integrity of the Bey's intentions, and being completely deceived in those of Sidy Useph, led the two princes to the sofa, and seating herself between them, held a hand of each in hers, and, as she afterwards declared to us, "looking at them alternately, she prided herself on having thus at last, brought them together to make peace at her side."

'The Bey, as soon as they were seated, endeavoured to convince his brother, that though he came to go through the ceremony of making peace, yet there was not the least occasion for it on his part; for that as he had no longer sons of his own, he considered Sidy Useph and his brother as such, and would always treat them as a father, whenever he succeeded to the throne. Sidy Useph declared himself satisfied, but observed, that, to make Lilla Halluma completely happy, there could be no objection, after such professions of friendship from the Bey, to seal their peace with sacred oaths upon the Koran. The Bey replied, "With all his heart," that "he was ready." Upon which, Sidy Useph rose quickly from his seat, and loudly called for the Koran—the word he had given to his eunuchs

for his pistols, two of which were brought and put into his hands; when he instantly discharged one of them at his brother, seated by his mother's side. The pistol burst, and Lilla Halluma extending her hand to save the Bey, had her fingers shattered by the splinters of it. The ball entered the Bey in the side: he arose, however, and seizing his sabre from the window, made a stroke at his brother, but only wounded him slightly in the face; upon which Sidy Useph discharged the second pistol, and shot the Bey through the body.

‘What added to the affliction of Lilla Halluma, at this tragical event, was, that the Bey, erroneously supposing that she had betrayed him, exclaimed, after being wounded, “Oh! madam, is this the last present you have reserved for your eldest son?” From her favourite son, what must these words have produced in the heart of the mother! Sidy Useph, upon seeing his brother fall, instantly called to his blacks, saying, “There lies the Bey—finish him!” In a moment, they dragged him from the spot where he was yet breathing, and discharged their pieces into him. Lilla Aisher, hearing the sudden dreadful sound, broke from her women who endeavoured to keep her from the sight, and springing into the room, clasped her bleeding husband in her arms; while Lilla Halluma, in endeavouring to prevent Sidy Useph from disfiguring the body, fainted over it, from agony of mind. Five of Sidy Useph's blacks were at the same moment stabbing it as it lay on the floor, after which miserable triumph of their master they fled with him.

‘This wanton barbarity in thus mangling the Bey's remains, produced the most distressing spectacle. Lilla Aisher, at this sight of horror, stripped off all her jewels and rich apparel, and throwing them into the Bey's blood, took from the blacks the worst baracan among them, making that serve for her whole covering; thus habiting herself as a common slave, and ordering those around her to cover her with ashes. She went in that state directly to the Bashaw, and said to him, “that if he did not wish to see her poison herself and her children, he must give immediate orders that she might quit the castle, for that she would not live to look on the walls of it, nor to walk over the stones that could no longer be seen for the Bey's blood with which they were covered.”’ pp. 231. 233.

The misery and confusion occasioned by this deed of treacherous and most unnatural cruelty, is described with all the fervour of one personally interested for the sufferers, and almost as if she were an eye witness of the facts. But we turn from scenes so revolting to human nature. The perpetrator of these atrocities, we have already said, is the present Bashaw of Tripoli; and when we consider how great a resemblance the generality of the Moorish princes bear to one another, as it respects both education and habits, we can have but very slight confidence in the probability of a treaty or promise being kept by any one of them, longer than it may suit his interest, or indeed his inclination.

Sidy Hamet had studied in a very bad school; his intimate and model was Muley Yeried, emperor of Morocco,

in 1792, whose crimes could scarcely be detailed in a cumbrous volume, while his actions, divested of their cruelties, would not add a single page to the annals of history. This legitimate monarch, by way of making some atonement for the sins of his youth, before he attained the throne, undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, accompanied with seven wives to solace him on the road. Among the various amusements with which he enlivened his penitential journey to the tomb of the Prophet, we find him shaving a venerable Moor, of a hundred and twenty years of age, to shew his taste for humour; taking aim with ball at the brims of the Christians' hats, to prove himself a correct marksman, robbing the officers in his train, of the money solemnly entrusted to them by his father, for an expiatory offering at the shrines of Mecca and Medina, bastinadoing his slaves to death; thus tracking his way to the Holy Cities, in blood and desolation.

In countries where the stronger sex are so unbridled in their passions, and the weaker are placed, by education and a barbarous policy, so entirely at their mercy, or rather under their tyranny, it may easily be imagined that dreadful instances of the abuse of power frequently occur. There are, however, among them, some of a contrary nature, and which appear brighter from the gloom of contrast. Of this kind, is the conduct of Hadgi Abderrahman, who, many of our readers may recollect, was in England in 1787, as ambassador from the Bashaw, by whom he was highly and justly respected. His deportment towards Lilla Amnam, his Greek Slave, a female, whose history cannot be read without exciting admiration for her virtues, is highly advantageous to his character. Indeed, the fate of many of the Georgian and Circassian women, cannot be contemplated without the strongest feelings of compassion. Educated from their cradles by their parents, for the avowed purpose of being sold as slaves, or living in the continual dread of the incursions of Turkish robbers making them so, their attractions are only so many snares against their liberty and their happiness; their fate is continually at the disposal of caprice, and the most favourable fortune that awaits them is luxurious indolence, gorgeous apparel, and the obsequious attendance of sisters in affliction, still more unfortunate than themselves. A history of the capture and recovery of two Georgian ladies, related at page 61, is a complete romance; though no doubt, there are many similar histories to be found in the annals of female misfortune in that country. The story of the cruel separation of a betrothed pair, at page 160, will recall to many of our readers an incident of a similar nature most touchingly portrayed two years since, at the Exhibition of Somerset-House, by the faithful and spirited pencil of Allen,

in his picture of the sale of Circassian captives. To the female part of our readers, this volume presents abundance of matter that must at once amuse them, and awaken a strong sense of the advantages which they possess under the blessed influence of a religion, which assigns to their sex an importance in society equally favourable to the cultivation of their virtues, and the happiness of those towards whom they are directed. When they see the frivolities, the intrigues, the petty cares, the distracting jealousies, to which the unfortunate women we have been describing, have recourse, to fill up their time, the ignorance in which their minds are kept, the tyranny to which they are subjected, surely they must reflect with gratitude upon the elegance of mental pursuit, the endearing confidence of domestic intercourse, and the equality of treatment by which their own condition is distinguished.

Nor is it merely to the minute description of the interior of the castle, rare and curious as it is, that these pages owe their interest. Many other particulars relative to the Moors are related with equal precision. The progress of a destructive plague, the manner of treating the sick and mourning over the dead, the state of the harvests and causes of famine, with many particulars relative to the manner of crossing the deserts, are all highly worthy of notice; as well as a number of remarks on the disposition of the Moors in general, and the treatment of the Christians at Tripoli, as compared with that to which they are subjected at Algiers.

The dreadful plague which raged during the time of Mr. Tully's embassy to Tripoli, appears to have been greatly augmented by the horrors of famine, to which the country has been subject of late years, owing to the failure of the rains, which has caused such an alteration in the harvests, that instead of the abundance which formerly distinguished this country, and enabled it to supply many parts of the world with its overplus, the magnificent granaries, which were dug so deep in the earth that it was said corn would keep good in them a hundred years, are now entirely empty; and even with the aid of importation, the inhabitants can seldom depend upon having fully sufficient for their wants. These physical changes in the constitution of nature, are always highly deserving of inquiry. The alterations in our own climate come on gradually, and almost imperceptibly; yet, that they do take place, our own experience must begin to convince us, even were it unaided by the recollections of our grandsires.

The desolation and misery which our Author describes, as resulting from the conjoined afflictions of plague and famine, the great scourges of the human race, are pleasingly relieved by occasional instances of that tenderness and compassion, which

it is one design of suffering to call forth in us towards each other.

‘ Eight people in the last seven days, who were employed as providers for the house, have taken the plague and died. He, who was too ill to return with what he had brought, consigned the articles to his next neighbour, who, faithfully finishing his commission, as has always been done, of course succeeded his unfortunate friend in the same employment, if he wished it, or recommended another. It has happened that Moors, quite above such employment, have, with an earnest charity, delivered the provisions to the Christians who had sent for them. The Moors perform acts of kindness at present, which, if attended by such dreadful circumstances, would be very rarely met with in most parts of Christendom. An instance very lately occurred of their philanthropy. A Christian lay an object of misery, neglected and forsaken; self preservation having taught every friend to fly from her pestilential bed, even her mother! But she found in the barbarian a paternal hand: passing by, he heard her moans, and concluded she was the last of the family; and finding that not the case, he beheld her with sentiments of compassion, mixed with horror. He sought for assistance, and till the plague had completed its ravages, and put an end to her sufferings, he did not lose sight of her, disdaining her Christian friends, who left her to his benevolent care.’ p. 89.

It is but justice, however, to remark, somewhat in extenuation of the Christians, that the Mahomedan doctrine, which declares that fate ‘ is inevitable, and to oppose destiny, is sacrilege,’ must give to Moorish benevolence a degree of intrepidity of which more intimate acquaintance with physical nature, and a more enlarged notion of free will, might probably deprive it. A rich Moorish merchant, who had fled from the city to a solitary rock, to avoid the danger of infection, struck with the enormity of his crime in thus fleeing from his fate, returned, and faced every peril, by way of making expiation for the distrust he had manifested towards Heaven; and even in the death of the unfortunate Bey, the doctrine of necessity seemed to acquire additional strength; for all around him saw his danger, and endeavoured to warn him of it; he alone appeared wrapped in fatal security.

It is certain, however, that the Christians are treated with much more kindness and consideration at Tripoli, than in any other of the Mahometan states; and it should always be borne in his mind, that it is not merely the difference of religion, which renders the Christians in general objects of hatred to the Mahometans, but the remembrance of the manner in which that difference was manifested in the Holy Wars, as they were most unholily termed.

‘ They have not lost sight of the cause which produced that hatred in their predecessors, who were provoked by the injustice and cruelty

of the Crusades, when the blood of their countrymen was indiscriminately shed for following the standard of Mahomet, and since which the name of a Christian is held in abhorrence in the different countries of the Levant. The uncivilized communities throughout Africa and Asia, have confirmed, with their latest breath, this hatred to their children. Seven hundred years have not obliterated from the unlettered mind of the Arab, that agriculture, commerce, and the fine arts, were buried by the Christians under the wreck of the Saracenic Empire.' p. 353.

Such are the fruits of persecutions upon the plea falsely called religious! Surely, if there be really the progress of advancement in the human intellect, which is boasted of under the various aids to knowledge and science possessed in the present day, it will be manifested in the extension of religious freedom, progressing towards complete emancipation; in keeping a distinct difference between things temporal and things eternal, as far as human interference may be concerned.

We now conclude our remarks on a work, every page of which abounds with the most curious and interesting manners; but we cannot close without stating, that the publication of it forms an honourable testimony to the merits and abilities of Mr. Tully, which enabled him continually not only to extricate himself and his family from the most trying situations, but also to extend his protection at all times to the distressed, and which commanded from the inhabitants of Tripoli, during the time of its greatest troubles, a respect which was manifested in guarding his house from the slightest inconvenience.

Art. III. *The Life of William Hutton, F.A.S.S.* including a particular Account of the Riots at Birmingham in 1791. To which is subjoined, the History of his Family, written by Himself, and published by his Daughter, Catherine Hutton, 8vo. London. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

AN auto-biographer treads on slippery ground, and requires no small share either of modesty or wisdom, to make his venture safe. Men have usually much to say of themselves, and to very little purpose. To themselves they are an exceedingly delightful theme; and they are somewhat apt to suppose that what they find so perfectly agreeable, cannot fail to be equally interesting to others. Mr. Hutton, it would seem, has formed a very sufficient estimate of his own importance; and his daughter, with a right feeling, and which claims respect and forbearance, even in its exaggerations, seems fully to assent to the correctness of her father's opinion. Something, however, must be allowed for the honest exultation of a man who had raised himself from the lowest order of society, and from a corresponding deficiency of education, to a respectable station, to compe-

tent wealth, and to the dignities of authorship. In this last allotment of earthly blessings he was not quite so eminent as in the two former. He was rich, and he deserved his wealth, for he was diligent and dexterous. He was respected by his fellow-citizens, for he was honourable in his dealings, fair in his general character, and actively employed in his humble sphere of usefulness. But as an author, his claims are of a somewhat lower description. He was an antiquary, without that large and enlightened knowledge of antiquities, which is an indispensable pre-requisite to antiquarian research. He was a writer without style, a poet without the slightest infection of the poetic character, and a humourist without humour. He seems not to have been without some lurking suspicions that this might be the case, and yet to have dallied with a hope that he ranked high in the admiration of his contemporaries, and that his literary name might go down with honour to after-times. These remarks appear to us to be fairly called for by the present work. Though a posthumous publication demands the utmost measure of forbearance, still, when a writer describes himself, and indirectly at least, challenges our approbation of the closeness of the resemblance, and the felicity of the execution, we are bound to truth in our decision. At the same time, it should be remarked, that in his writings Mr. Hutton generally had some useful object in view, and that, if he is never very profound, he sometimes affords information, and frequently entertainment. Though he has nothing of wit in its higher sense, nor of humour in its richer qualities, he has an oddity and quaintness, and, when talking of himself, a kind of prattling simplicity, that carry the reader pleasantly through what would be otherwise insipid and unreadable.

‘ I was born September 30, 1723, which will bear the name of the last day in summer, on Wednesday, at a quarter before five in the evening, at the bottom of Full-street, in Derby, upon premises on the banks of the Derwent, now occupied by Mr. Upton, an attorney.” p. 1.

The following picture, affecting as truth and simplicity can make it, may give some notion of the condition to which thousands of children have been reduced, when thus converted into human machinery. At the age of seven,

‘ my days of play were now drawing to an end. The Silk-mill was proposed. One of the clerks remarked to the person who took me there, that the offer was needless, I was too young. However, the offer was made; and, as hands were wanted, in the infant state of this work, I was accepted. It was found, upon trial, that nature had not given me length sufficient to reach the engine, for, out of three hundred persons employed in the mill, I was by far the least and the youngest.

‘It is happy for man that invention supplies the place of wit. The superintendents wisely thought, if they could lengthen out our life it would affect both. A pair of high pattens were therefore fabricated, and tied fast about my feet, to make them steady companions. They were clumsy companions, which I dragged about one year, and with pleasure delivered up.’

‘I had now to rise at five every morning during seven years; submit to the cane whenever convenient to the master; be the constant companion of the most rude and vulgar of the human race, never taught by nature, nor ever wishing to be taught. A lad, let his mind be in what state it would, must be as impudent as they, or be beaten down. I could not consider this place in any other light than that of a complete bear-garden.’ pp. 11—12.

He elsewhere calls the time he spent in this wretched place, ‘a seven years’ heart-ache.’ In the year 1733, he entered upon his apprenticeship to his uncle, and sat down for another seven years, to the stocking-frame. ‘He found,’ he says, ‘a generous friendly uncle, a mean sneaking aunt; he seriously religious; she as serious a hypocrite; two apprentices; one a rogue, the other a greater.’ The year 1741, was an eventful year. During the race-week he neglected his work, and received, in payment of his negligence, a severe castigation from his uncle; and the instrument which this ‘seriously religious’ savage made use of, was ‘a birch-broom handle.’ In consequence of this treatment Hutton ran away; but unable to procure employment, he was compelled to return. After the expiration of his seven years’ service, he was compelled to follow his trade for a mere maintenance; but as he always felt the utmost disgust for his ill-paid drudgery, and was beside of an aspiring, and at the same time, of a firm and persevering spirit, he was both mentally and corporally active in devising means of deliverance from his bondage. By careful observation, aided by considerable skill and industry, he made himself practically acquainted with the art of bookbinding. In 1740, he took a pedestrian journey to London, to purchase the necessary apparatus, and at Michaelmas commenced business as bookseller at Southwell, fourteen miles from his settled residence.

‘During this rainy winter, I set out at five every Saturday morning, carried a burthen of from three pounds weight to thirty, opened shop at ten, starved in it all day upon bread, cheese, and half a pint of ale, took from one to six shillings, shut up at four, and, by trudging through the solitary night and the deep roads five hours more, I arrived at Nottingham by nine; where I always found a mess of milk porridge by the fire, prepared by my valuable sister.’ p. 76.

In 1750, he took a journey to Birmingham, with a view to ascertain the probability of success as a dealer in a larger scale, and in a wider sphere. On his return, he met with the follow-

ing well-described adventure, which faintly reminds us of the inimitable forest-scene in *Count Fathom*.

‘ Passing through a village in the dusk of the evening, I determined to stop at the next public house ; but, to my surprise, I instantly found myself upon Charnwood Forest. It began to rain ; it was dark ; I was in no road, nor was any dwelling near. I was among hills, rocks, and precipices, and so bewildered I could not retreat. I considered my situation as desperate, and must confess I lost the fortitude of a man.

‘ I wandered slowly, though in the rain, for fear of destruction, and hollowed with all my powers, but met with no return. I was about two hours in this cruel state, when I thought the indistinct form of a roof appeared against the sky. My vociferations continued, but to no purpose. I concluded it must be a lonely barn ; but, had it been the receptacle of ghosts, it would have been desirable.

‘ At length I heard the sound of a man’s voice, which, though one of the most terrific, gave me pleasure. I continued advancing, perhaps, thirty yards, using the soft persuasives of distress, for admission, even under any roof, but could not prevail. The man replied, that all his out-buildings had been destroyed by a mob of freeholders, as standing upon the waste. He seemed to be six feet high, strong built, and, by the sound of his voice, upwards of fifty.

‘ I could not, as my life was at stake, give up the contest ; but thought, if I could once get under his roof, I should not easily be discharged. Though his manner was repelling as the rain, and his appearance horrid as the night, yet I would not part from him, but insensibly, at length, wormed myself in.

‘ I was now in a small room, dignified with the name of a house, totally dark, except a glow of fire, which would barely have roasted a potatoe, had it been deposited in the centre. In this dismal abode heard two female voices, one that of an old aunt, the other, of a young wife.

‘ We all sat close to this handful of fire, as every one must who sat in the room. We soon became familiarized by conversation, and I found my host agreeable. He apologized for not having treated me with more civility ; he pitied my case, but had not conveniences for accommodation.

‘ Hints were now given for retiring to rest. “ I will thank you,” said I, “ for something to eat ; I have had nothing since morning when at Birmingham.” “ We should have asked you, but we have nothing in the house.” “ I shall be satisfied with any thing.” “ We have no eatables whatever, except some pease porridge, which is rather thin, only pease and water, and which we are ashamed to offer.” “ It will be acceptable to a hungry man.”

‘ He gave me to understand that he had buried a wife, by whom he had children grown up. Being inclined to marry again, he did not choose to venture upon a widow, for fear of marrying her debts, he therefore had married a girl thirty years younger than himself, by whom he had two small children, then in bed. This I considered as an excuse for misconduct.

‘ While supper was *warming*, for *hot* it could not be, a light was necessary; but alas the premises afforded no candle. To supply the place, a leaf was torn from a shattered book, twisted round, kindled, and shook in the hand to improve the blaze. By this momentary light, I perceived the aunt, who sat opposite, had a hair-shorn lip, which, in the action of eating, so affected me, that I was obliged to give up my supper.

‘ By another lighted leaf, we marched up to bed. I could perceive the whole premises consisted of two rooms, house, and chamber. In the latter was one bed, and two pair of bedsteads. The husband, wife, aunt, and two children, occupied the first; and the bedstead, whose head butted against their bedside, was appropriated for me. But now another difficulty arose. There were no bed clothes to cover me. Upon diligent inquiry, nothing could be procured but the wife’s petticoat; and I could learn that she robbed her own bed to supply mine. I heard the rain patter upon the thatch during the night, and rejoiced it did not patter upon me.

‘ By the light of the next morning, I had a view of all the family faces, except the aunt’s, which was covered with a slouched hat. The husband seemed to have been formed in one of Nature’s largest and coarsest moulds. His hands retained the accumulated filth of the last three months, garnished with half a dozen scabs; both, perhaps, the result of idleness. The wife was young, handsome, ragged, and good-natured.

‘ The whole household, I apprehend, could have cast a willing eye upon breakfast; but there seemed a small embarrassment in the expectants. The wife, however, went to her next neighbour’s, about a mile, and in an hour returned with a jug of skimmed milk and a piece of a loaf, perhaps two pounds, both of which, I have reason to think, were begged; for money, I believe, was as scarce as candle. Having no fire, we ate it cold, and with a relish.

‘ When I left the house, I saw the devastations made by the rioters, a horde of monsters I have since had reason to dread.

‘ My host went with me half a mile, to bring me into something like a track; when I gave him a shake of the hand, a sixpence, and my sincere good wishes. We parted upon the most friendly terms.’
pp. 77—81.

In April of the same year, he established himself at Birmingham, and seems to have very soon realized a respectable share of trade by his assiduity and prudence. He was moreover noticed by ‘ a few young men of elevated character and sense.’ In 1755, he married a woman of great worth, with whom he spent upwards of forty years of increasing attachment. The following year he opened a ‘ paper warehouse,’ which was the foundation of his fortune. The scheme was suggested to him by his friend Robert Bage, the author of a series of novels, some of which we recollect to have seen in our younger days. They were very singular productions; occasionally licentious, always clever, pervaded by a sort of *Voltairean* vivacity, and altogether such as to excite a warm regret, that a mind capable

of better things, should thus waste its powers upon injurious trifles. Hutton's mind, though acute and tenacious, had a weak part; he was fond of speculation, and had a most irritable propensity to bargaining in land. Some of his purchases succeeded, but others were ill judged, and he appears to have involved himself occasionally in great embarrassment by his inconsiderate ventures. We ought not, however, to omit the remark, that when he found that he injured his business by entangling his capital, he mastered his restlessness, and 'for twelve years desisted from buying land.' In 1772, he was made Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and he congratulates himself, with restrained but not concealed self-complacency, though, we doubt not with perfect truth, on the diligence of his attendance, the impartiality of his decisions, and the importance of his services. In 1782, he published his *History of Birmingham*, on which bright event he expatiates as follows :

'A man may live half a century, and not be acquainted with his own character. I did not know I was an antiquary till the world informed me, from having read my *History*; but when told, *I could see it myself!* The antiquarian Society at Edinburgh chose me a member, and sent me an authority to splice to my name F.A.S.S. *Fellow of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland.*'

In 1761, took place those disgraceful acts of riot and devastation, in Birmingham and its vicinity, which reflect infamy on more individuals than those who were ostensibly engaged in them. Mr. Hutton, though a most valuable member of society, an active magistrate, and a peaceable citizen, was a material sufferer. In this volume we have a plain and clear statement of the facts, written at the time, but not then published: and among the circumstances related, there are some of such atrocity, that we trust their publication, even at the present period, will not be without its use. We shall not enter into a detail of the affair, but we strongly urge the perusal of it as stated here. We shall make but one extract, and mention but one fact. Mr. Hutton's loss was upwards of £8,200, and his share of the expenses of the trial £. 884 15s. 9d. For this he was allowed by 'a Birmingham jury,' £ 5390 17s. It was two years before he could obtain payment, and then only on the interference of Lord Aylesford and some of the county gentlemen.' With respect to the clergy,

'If I were asked,' observed Mr. Hutton, 'the difference between a bigoted and a moderate clergyman, I should explain both in two instances. The Sunday subsequent to the riots, a sermon was preached in one of our churches, from the words of St. Paul, "Let every soul be obedient to the higher powers." Here these absurd doctrines of the Stuarts, passive obedience and non-resistance,

flamed as warmly as our buildings had done a few days before. Scarcely having a coat to my back, it could not be expected that I should attend this sermon. But a constant hearer declared, "That he went to church with a happy disposition to improve by social worship; but, had he followed the dictates of the preacher, he must have come back a ruffian."

'In the evening another clergyman took the pulpit, and harangued from the words of the same Apostle, "Let your moderation be known unto all men?" And now the fatal doctrines of the morning were hoisted overboard, and in their stead was placed that mild and Christian temper which ought to adorn every hearer, and be cultivated in every pulpit.' pp. 212, 213.

At page 229, we find a series of aphorisms, designed, no doubt, to be very pithy and very profound, which are intended to comprize the writer's religious and political creed. They are very common-place and very shallow, though they are ushered in with an indirect assurance that they are exceedingly original. In July, 1801, he twice walked, at the age of 78, the whole length of the *Roman Wall*, of which tour he afterwards published an amusing narrative. In 1807, a cancerous ulcer on his thigh, was completely extirpated by a surgical operation. His narrative closes as follows, in 1812 :

'This day, October 11, is my birth-day. I enter upon my ninetyeth year, and have walked ten miles.'

The additions made by Miss Hutton, are interesting both in their various descriptions of the habits, efforts, and gradual extinction of extreme old age, and in their exhibition of her own character, as that of an affectionate and devoted daughter. Her minute statement of the circumstances connected with her father's death, derives a melancholy and peculiar interest from the comparative rarity of the occurrence—an individual dying, without disease, at the advanced age of 92; exhausted nature maintaining, even in the midst of her exhaustion, with all her broken strength, the struggle against her last enemy. 'It seldom happened,' said Mr. Blount, his medical attendant, 'to a practitioner, to witness such a case; a human being quitting the world from the natural and total wearing out of the structure, without any mixture of disease.' We regret to add, that there is nothing more than this, nothing from at least a professor, as we suppose of Christianity, in attestation of its consolatory influences in a dying hour. Mr. Hutton appears to have been a latitudinarian in religion, and to have taken his chance for eternity.

Art. IV. *France*. By Lady Morgan. Second Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 830, clxxx. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. Colburn. 1817.

THIS is a work got up confessedly for a London bookseller; written against time, and sent off chapter by chapter, in order that the whole might be ready by the stipulated period. Lady Morgan owns, with singular ingenuousness, that her object was, to distance, if possible, all competitors by time, if she could not rival them in skill; and she expresses her apprehension that 'in the effort to clear the ground, and to arrive first at 'the goal,' she has attained her end 'with more celerity than 'grace.' Her Ladyship started last year, among the thousands of our fellow-countrymen, for Paris, and having obtained the advantage of letters of Introduction, which gave her access to the first circles, she commenced, pen in hand, her tour of observation, under the powerful stimulus of the engagement with her bookseller. All that was to be seen, or to be heard, she saw and heard; not with the idle stare of curiosity, but with the intentness of a person whose trade was observation, and to whom traits of character, *bon-mots*, opinions, and anecdotes, were commodities of merchandize. It is said, that the best way to become acquainted with a foreign language, is to be placed under the absolute necessity of catching by observation the import of its sounds, for the purpose of carrying on with the natives, the intercourse requisite to obtain subsistence. It is in some such way, that we should account for the success with which Lady Morgan has certainly caught the character of the French people. She has trusted to her ear, for discovering what others seek for in reflection or books; and her faculties being sharpened by the eagerness inspired by her object, she has contrived to bring home a mass of most entertaining information, not indeed altogether of the most important kind, nor yet capable of being made of much use as data for grave opinion, being deficient in point of selection and sometimes in point of authenticity; but, nevertheless, highly illustrative of the subject she has undertaken. The means to which she resorted for filling her pages, were not, it must be confessed, uniformly in character with that respectability which is understood to attach to Lady Morgan's private station. She has been accused of uniting with the unscrupulous spirit of *trade*, the treachery of the spy; and while on the one hand, she has not hesitated to lay herself under obligations for materials, to the very jest books retailed in the Palais Royale, on the other hand, she has abused the confidence reposed in her, thus bringing the national character under a degree of obloquy, by publishing to the world sentiments whispered in boudoirs, and details of private history, regardless of whatever inconvenience, or sus-

picion, or disgrace, such disclosures might entail on those to whose society she had gained admission. 'Lady Morgan has 'made a book out of us,' is the angry complaint that is heard in the fashionable circles of Paris, and all the praise she lavishes on the French nation, will not atone for the petty scandal with which it is intermingled. Lady Morgan avows, that anxious to give impressions with all the warmth and vigour with which she received them, she has transferred to her tablets, 'as she caught 'and took them down *de vive voix*, the jargon of the court, or 'the cottage, the well-turned point of the dutchess, or the *patois* 'of the peasant.'

This, however, is not the heaviest charge, for we do not consider it as a light one, that lies against the present volumes. Of Lady Morgan's personal character we know nothing from private sources: we presume it to be such as obtains her reception in circles in which licentiousness, at least in a female, would not fail to disgust. She, long since, made herself known to the public, under the name of Miss Owenson, as the author of some silly novels, which discovered, amid every possible vice of style, and much that was grossly pernicious in sentiment, some gleams of feeling and of fancy, which shewed a mind of native energy, capable of better things, but uncultivated, undisciplined, and uninformed. She now comes forth again, under a name that bespeaks her a wife and 'a happy mistress of a family.' Her mind and her taste, have evidently undergone no small advancement, for we have in the present volumes but few deviations from rationality. In one respect, however, they exhibit no improvement. One is pained to find that she has not yet learned to discriminate between impiety and wit, and that her ideas of feminine delicacy are so much more suited to the meridian of Paris, than, as we really do hope, that of Dublin. In the present volumes, books are cited and authors praised with enthusiasm, respecting which, the most charitable supposition is, that Lady Morgan quotes upon hearsay, and praises at random. No such excuse, however, can be offered for the unwomanly and disgusting levity with which she retails a gross joke, or adverts to libertine conduct. Instances are not indeed frequent, wherein propriety is thus flagrantly violated, but there are sufficient to lead the reader to conclude, that from Lady Morgan, who appears to be so much at home at Paris, he is not to expect any very severe estimate of the state of morals in that capital, or any remarks that can be much depended upon, as to subjects connected with the best interests of society. He will not wonder if the one should be judged of according to the standard of the novelist, and the other often adverted to with too much of the flippancy of the infidel.

We speak of these volumes as we find them, with no wish to

make them an occasion of insulting the personal character of the Author. There is too much in them to justify the stern reprobation of the moralist, but it is not our inclination to trench upon the province of the satirist, by blazoning her faults with the keen gust of invective. We shall not even occupy our pages with the offensive passages that it might seem necessary to adduce in proof of the preceding statement. As to the political opinions these volumes contain, be they right or wrong, good or bad, we can neither accept them in extenuation of her faults, nor suffer them to operate as an aggravating medium through which every mark of carelessness or of levity of sentiment shall be shewn in tenfold enormity. Our readers may, however, suspect it to be a possible case, that in the view of some persons, the political partialities discovered in these volumes, constitute the Author's prime offence, the most unpardonable feature of her delinquency, and that these form the true reason that they have been characterized as a compound of atheism, ignorance, and licentiousness, when, otherwise, her sex and her talents, together with other peculiar circumstances, adverted to in the Preface to these volumes, might have obtained a more lenient judgement, and secured the recognition of what certainly more prominently distinguish their contents,—vivacity of remark, accuracy of observation, and a very extensive acquaintance with both the body and the spirit of society in France. However this may be, having discharged our duty by pointing out the exceptionable character of Lady Morgan's writings, we shall not feel restrained from giving an impartial account of the contents of the present volumes. It is certainly a proof that this work possesses, from some cause or other, a more than ordinary degree of *interest*, that even in Paris, in spite of the anger which, by the publication of personal anecdotes, Lady Morgan has justly excited, the English edition* is sought for with the greatest eagerness, and its contents are devoured with avidity. Notwithstanding the blunders, some of them egregious, which the Author has committed, in history, language, and anecdote, still, the work undoubtedly presents a picture upon the whole as faithful as it is lively, and furnishes information which is not to be found in the journals of preceding tourists and absentees.

The First Book is on 'the Peasantry' of France, whose present condition, as contrasted with their degraded and overburdened state of vassalage, prior to the Revolution, is, according to her representation, exceedingly enviable.

'The sale of the national domains produced incalculable benefit to the lower and agricultural classes, while the mode in which this mea-

* An edition of the work has appeared in French, but it has undergone the sweeping retrenchments of the Censor.

sure was executed was eminently constituted to attach the peasantry to the revolutionary cause, and to induce them to give their aid and sanction to a political change, which, in emancipating them from slavery, added property to freedom, and converted five hundred thousand labouring serfs into independent proprietors. In the public sale of the national domains, the government became the agent of the peasantry: a certain portion of land, ordinarily contiguous to his dwelling, was given to each peasant who presented himself as a purchaser; time was granted him to pay the purchase-money, and a small sum was advanced, to enable the new proprietor to commence the cultivation of his little farm. "Give a man secure possession of a bleak rock," says a celebrated agriculturalist, "and he will convert it into a garden; give him a few years' lease of a garden, and he will turn it into a desert." The truth of this position was strongly illustrated in the peasant proprietors of France; and notwithstanding the evil influence which the spirit of foreign conquest in their late ruler must have had upon the resources and industry of the people, yet when the allies first approached the frontiers of the French territory, they invaded a country whose peasantry were the best conditioned, and most prosperous of any nation in Europe. In visiting the extensive farm of a person of rank and fortune, in the Isle of France, and remarking to him the apparent opulence of his tenantry, and the general prosperity of the country, he made the following observations, which spoke equally in favour of the moral and physical condition of the people: "It is impossible to foresee what may be the consequences of the enormous depredations committed by the foreign troops, when added to the losses already sustained by the military systems of Napoleon. The contributions already levied are beyond the resources of the nation; but with respect to our peasantry, it is quite certain, that, besides the improvement of their general condition by the revolution, they have also made a provision of energy and good sense, which strengthens and enlightens them to meet every attack of adversity, and which they did not possess thirty years back." pp. 14—16.

The agricultural surface of France is divided into what is called, in the language of the country, "*le pays de grande, et de petite culture*." In the former, the size of the farms has been little affected by the revolution: the only difference that has occurred is, that several farms belonging to one landlord may have been purchased by the farmers who formerly cultivated them, or by a small proprietor, whose exertions are confined to the ground he has bought. The possession of small plots of ground by the day-labourers, has become very frequent; and it is sometimes usual in these countries to let them to the great farmers who are desirous of having them, to complete the quantity of land which the size of their establishment demands.

The *pays de petite culture* is composed of small farms, for the cultivation of which the landlord finds the tenant in horses and ploughs, and shares with him the profits. Upon the large farms the condition of the tenant is very much like that of our own English farmers; and in the *pays de petite culture* there exists a race, long disappeared from England, of poor but independent yeomen, who rear their fami-

lies in a degree of comfort as perfect, as it is remote from luxury.' pp. 24—25.

' " C'est un avantage multiplié partout, depuis la révolution," said a French farmer to us, speaking of the improved state of the labourers, " que les domestiques des fermes et les journaliers possèdent une maison et quelques morceaux de terre, en addition aux gages." ' p. 25.

France is far behind this country in agricultural science, but its principles are beginning to be better understood, and a taste for the country has been rekindled, the encouragement of which must be considered as the best means of ensuring the national prosperity, and would be the noblest policy an enlightened minister could pursue. Lady Morgan's remarks on this subject are intelligent, and the anecdotes by which she illustrates the improved state of the French peasantry, merit attention. Most of the accounts which we have had of the present state of France, have related almost exclusively to the manners of the capital.

' When Arthur Young travelled through France, in 1789, he observed that not only cottages, but well-built houses, were without glass windows, and had no other light than what the door admitted. This true model of an Irish cabin would now, I believe, scarcely be found in any part of France, not even in the north, where the peasantry are in a less prosperous condition than elsewhere. There is, in the whole appearance of an excellent English cottage, an air of indescribable comfort, a sort of picturesque neatness that goes beyond the line of mere cleanliness and accommodation, and which speaks as much to the eye of taste, as to the feelings of philanthropy. To this character the French habitations, as far as my observation extends, do not attain; although I heard much of the flat-roofed cottages of Quercy, and of the exterior neatness and interior comfort of the peasant residence in the south. The nearest approach to English comfort, which we saw, was in Normandy, where the compact buildings, composed of brick, interspersed with transverse beams painted black, and deeply buried in their "*bouquet d'arbres*," or knots of fruit and forest trees, strongly resemble the farming tenements of Staffordshire and Shropshire.

' The modern French cottages, however, are strong, and well built; and are covered with a thatch peculiarly excellent, and perfectly adapted to render their lofts warm, and to repel the inclemency of their severe winters. Their chimnies are well constructed, their windows neatly sashed, and their doors well hung: the latter, I observed, were generally kept shut. The floor is almost universally of clay, beaten down to the consistency of stone. In the "*grande chambre*," or interior room, on which the prosperous owner displays his refinement and taste, there is occasionally to be found a *plancher*, or boarded floor. The ordinary cottage is, for the most part, divided into two apartments: the common room, which serves as kitchen, and a better apartment, in which the best bed and best furniture are placed. The lofts afford good sleeping rooms for the

servants and younger part of the family. Every cottage has its little *basse-cour*, its piggery, and cow-shed ; and too many exhibit their high estimation of a good *fumier*, by accumulating the manure, which is to enrich their little demesne, nearly opposite to their doors.

‘ One of the first objects with a French peasant, when he becomes master of a cottage, is to furnish it with an excellent bed. This luxury is carried to such an excess, that in many provinces, and in the west particularly, they ascend their beds by steps. Not to have a lofty bed is a sign of poverty, both in taste and in circumstances, which all are anxious to avoid ; and to meet the “ *qu’en dira-t-on ?* ” of the *commune*, on this subject, the sumptuousness of this piece of furniture is procured at the expense of other comforts, or sometimes even of necessities. In this article, at least, the peasantry are wonderfully improved, since the “ *beau siècle* of Louis XIV.” that golden age, which all “ *royalistes purs* ” wish to see restored. In the best era of that prosperous reign, when Madame de Sevigné arrived at an inn, kept by a peasant, near the town of Nantes, she found only straw to lie on ; and she describes it as a place “ *plus pauvre, plus misérable qu’on ne peut le représenter ; nous n’y avons trouvé que de la paille fraîche, sur quoi nous avons tous couché, sans nous déshabiller ;* ” and this was in the most splendid reign that France ever witnessed ; and this was in the very provinces, in which the peasant is now such a coxcomb, that he ascends his bed by steps.’ pp. 56—59.

‘ One of our most liberal and most recent English travellers in France, Mr. Birkbeck, describes in his brief journal a French peasant, eating with a silver fork ; and I observed that we never stopped even at the poorest *hôtellerie*, on the cross roads, or in the smallest village (which we frequently did, as much to talk to the host as to obtain refreshment), that we had not our fruit and *fromage de cochon* served with massy silver forks and spoons. Indeed, with those few exceptions, which must be every where found to arise out of the peculiar circumstances of individual misfortune, the French cottage always indicates the dwelling of a thriving and prosperous population.’ Vol. I. pp. 61—62.

Our Author affirms, with regard to the moral condition of the French peasantry, that she has heard it allowed by ‘ the most ‘ exaggerated royalists,’ that the lower classes, both in the towns and in the country, are infinitely improved. ‘ The rarity of executions in France for crimes of dishonesty, forms a singular ‘ contrast to their melancholy frequency in England.’ Such an assertion might seem incredible to those who attribute to the Revolution alone the demoralization of France. Lady Morgan, however, justly remarks, that ‘ morals are inevitably bettered ‘ by the competency which excludes temptation ;’ a position which, without running the hazard of being numbered among the disciples of the New Lanark Reformer, we may safely concede as a general truth. Before the Revolution the peasantry were, it is stated, as dishonest as they were necessitous. Now, the more general diffusion of property begets a respect for

property, which is enforced by the law of self-interest. One grand source of temptation and crime, which fills the prisons of this country, has in France a very confined operation. 'Sobriety' is a constitutional virtue with the French, and drunkenness 'a vice strictly confined to the very refuse of the very lowest orders, which always infest great and populous cities.' The military, it is admitted, drink freely, and the introduction of this practice may be numbered among the supplemental benefits conferred by war. But, in general, the thin light *vin du pays* is the table drink of the peasantry, and that vice, the perpetuation of which in this country, pours money into the exchequer, is there comparatively unknown. No clamorous crowds surrounding the unopened gin-shop, there meet the eye of the citizen who shall be passing by at day-break; nor does he witness at night, let out in constant succession, a train of miserable beings drugged for debauchery and crime.

As to the religious condition of the peasantry, Lady Morgan is pleased to state, 'that the peasantry submit with difficulty to the *ennui* of idleness imposed on them by the new regulations, which enforce the strict observance of the Sabbath;—an observance,' she adds, 'unknown in most Catholic countries.' The remark is of course unaccompanied with any expression of regret that this reluctance, supposing it to be a fact, should exist; or that the people should be sunk into such a state of irreligion as to pass the Sabbath in utter idleness. Lady Morgan seems rather to regret that the French people should be subject to the hardships from which even the Protestants of this country are making such advances in ridding themselves,—the interruption of one day in seven, of the labours of the poor, and the follies of the dissipated. In the very next paragraph, she describes the book-shelves in the cottage of a little proprietor, as consisting of some odd volumes of Voltaire, Molière, Rousseau, and la Bruyère! She asked the young woman, whether her husband read much. 'Always when he has time,' was the reply. It is thus, that while the Bible is almost unknown, the infidel literature of France still continues to circulate its poison through all the veins of society. No wonder that the Sabbath should be thought a hardship!

It is not, however, without reason that our Author asks, referring to the allegation that religion has declined in France, since the Revolution, 'What *was* the religion, whose decline is thus lamented? What was its influence on a people, buried in the grossest superstition and darkest ignorance?' Let these be the questions of an infidel, still, they have force. Admitting that the Roman Catholic religion imbodyes a sufficient portion of sacred truth, to have, under certain circumstances, a beneficial influence on society; admitting that almost any conceivable

modification of Christianity, is better than unrestrained and open infidelity, yet, with regard to France, we must recollect, that not only was that religion exhibited in connexion with the grossest ignorance and profligacy, but that it must be regarded as itself one of the principal causes of the atheism by which its reign was succeeded.

‘ It belonged to the immediate descendants of those who declared *God and the Virgin to be one and the same person*, to pronounce in their impious folly, that there was *no God to day*, and to *vote him into existence to-morrow*. For impiety thus daring and extravagant was the natural re-action of superstition thus dark and ludicrous.’

On reading that some odd volumes of Voltaire, Molière, and Rousseau, were the contents of a cottage library, the reflection occurs in all its force—How vast is the importance of the general character of the national literature ! The literature of France was, it is generally admitted, one grand engine of effecting the mighty changes which, in the language of legitimacy, issued in the overthrow of the Altar and the Throne. These then are the classics of France, which have taken possession of the peasant's cottage, where, in England, one meets with *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, *The Cheap Repository Tracts*, and the Bible ; or if any thing like literature finds its way so low, the *Night Thoughts*, the *Seasons*, and *Paradise Lost* ! With regard, however, to such works as Voltaire, and Rousseau, what better furniture, it may be asked, have they displaced ? What were before the contents of the cottage shelves ? Would these ever have gained so extensively admittance, had the people been provided with other sources of intelligent pleasure, and had their minds been pre-occupied with religious truth ? It may be confidently presumed, they would not. What then is the remedy, when the spring head of opinion is thus poisoned ? Not the cutting off of the streams, for that is impossible. Nor can the incantations of Popery mediate the waters. There is but one way of healing the fountain. Till another race of literary men succeed, in France, the wits of the golden age of Louis XIV. and the *Encyclopædic philosophers*, who, by equal talents consecrated to better purposes, shall give a different tone to public taste and morals, the press will still continue to act as an organ of pollution and mischief, in counteraction of every other means of improving the moral character of the people. There is, however, one book which might singly be opposed to the thousand *petits tomes* of the infidel phalanx. But France is not a land of Bibles.

The following is our Author's account of the present state of Catholicism in France.

‘ Amidst all the absurdities, however, which during the Revolution attended the temporary abolition of catholicism, it

tain that it then received a shock, which in France can never, and will never be repaired. Among the peasant class, this shock has been more or less resisted, according to the force on which it had to act. In the *west* it was remotely felt. In *La Vendée*, where the three thousand nuns and priests, in their pontificals, had been seen in the rear of the royal army, raising the crucifix with the bayonet, and lighting the torch of civil contention, at the lamp of faith, catholicism still finds her altars unimpaired. In many parts of the *south* a simple, and primitive people, who have always substituted *habits* for *principles*, and presented a rich soil to fanaticism in the ardor of temperament, still cling to the religion, and superstition of their fathers. After the abolition of the priesthood, and when in these provinces there were no ministers to officiate, the peasantry were seen assembling in the dilapidated churches, and chaunted the office, and celebrated the mass, with as much faith and unction, as if they had been paid for their services, or looked to being rewarded with the produce of the *dîme*. It is however a singular fact, universally known, that while they thus devoutly clung to the *cross*, they professed abhorrence to its *ministers*, and dreaded the return of the *curés*, or *vicars*, who long before the revolution had forfeited all claim to their respect, by the undisguised profligacy of their lives, and had rendered themselves eminently obnoxious by their increasing exactions, under the sanction of the *dîme*.

‘ “As long as I can remember,”—said a gentleman to me in Paris, who was a native of the south of France,—“as long as I can remember, *enfant de prêtre* was a term of reprobation among us, given only to the most abject and degraded.” In the midland provinces, in the north, and north-east of the kingdom, the catholic religion still retains its forms; and its rites, now severely enforced, are duly performed, though, generally speaking, coldly and partially attended to, while the increase of the priesthood, both in number and influence, is universally looked on with fear and horror.’ pp. 84—86.

As revived by Bonaparte, the Roman Catholic religion, she remarks, was a state religion, which lent its seal to civil forms, but left every one to the dictates of his own conscience.

‘ It had still power to console, but it was no longer capable of persecution. It opened its consecrated temples for the orisons of the devout; but it presented no pageant shows for the amusement of the idle; nor was it taught to recall, to the generation of the nineteenth century, all that was ludicrous and profane in the barbarous superstitions of the fourteenth. The restoration of the many religious processions which have taken place since the return of Louis XVIII. is a subject of universal disgust and derision to all classes in his dominions, with the exception of those, whose interest it is to countenance them.’

We forbear to transcribe Lady Morgan's vivacious description of the *fête-dieu* in Paris, which she witnessed. It is sufficiently amusing, and the speeches she ascribes to the spectators,

eternally set off by his repartee, of "*mon ami, j'ai la vue basse ;*"—and the Duc de Berri, who affords no *prise* in wit or sentiment for loyal admiration, is extolled for a *brusquerie*, that recalls the charming frankness of the founder of his family ; and "being blessed with the set phrase of peace," is usually mentioned as a martial prince, bred in camps, and endowed with a certain degree of "*esprit de garnison, qui lui sied à merveille*." Terms hyperbolically ardent are applied to every member of the royal family : "*les princes chéris*" are adored by the *ultras*, and the "*roi paternel*" is "*idolâtré*" by all the *modérés*. With the sentiments and intellectual condition of the nation, both parties are equally unacquainted ; and the population of the land is again divided into the *menu peuple*, and the *gens, comme il faut*.' pp. 193—194.

' I was one evening waiting in the anti-room of the Dutchess d'Angouleme, until my turn came for the honour of a presentation to her royal highness, when the Princess de la T——, who stood near me, was called by one of the ladies in waiting, to look at a group, dancing under the windows of the apartment. This circle, which was performing *la ronde* to the air of "*gai, gai, marions-nous,*" sung by themselves, was composed of a few soldiers, and some women of no very equivocal appearance ; while the feeble cries of "*vive le roi,*" so often heard from childish voices, were rarely strengthened by deeper tones of loyal exclamation. To the *dame d'honneur*, however, all this appeared a rapturous symptom of universal loyalty, such as never had been witnessed in the best days of royal France. "*Voyez donc, princesse,*" (she observed to Mad. de la T.) "*quelle allégresse du cœur ! voilà la franche loyauté de nos bons vieux-tems ! A-t-on jamais vu une pareille joie, pendant l'usurpation du tyran ?*"

' There appears, indeed, among these ardent royalists a resolute determination to see every object, through the medium of their wishes : It is vain to talk to them of the past, or to lead them to the future ; they exist but for the present, in the persuasion, that change can never come ; almost forgetting that it ever did occur ; and believing that the *beau siècle de Louis XIV.* is about to be restored in all its splendour, and extent of despotism.' pp. 198—199:

On the subject of any evidences of social degradation arising from the old system of things, the royalists will hear no reasoning. ' Unable to deny, what it is impossible to defend,—they cut short all argument with "*cependant je voudrais que tout cela fusse, comme dans le bon vieux tems ;*" ' thus evincing that they have learned nothing in adversity, and forgotten nothing.

' A very clever and intimate friend of mine at Paris, with considerable talent and some wit, had gotten deeply entangled with the *royalistes enragés* ; and was herself indeed *enragée*, to a point that was sometimes extremely amusing. We were chatting one morning, when a royalist acquaintance joined us, and mentioned an ordinance of the king's, which directed the formation of a new military school, after the model of that instituted in 1750, for the education of the

young nobility. I could not help remarking, that I doubted whether this new school, upon old rules, would assimilate in its systems with the tactics of the military and polytechnic seminaries, formed during the revolution. My little *enragée* flew into a paroxysm of loyal indignation, and interrupted me with: "*Mais, ma chère, ne me parlez pas de vos écoles polytechniques, those hot-beds of jacobinism and brigandage. It is our wish (nous autres) that the rising generation should be shut up, and educated in a profound ignorance of all that has happened for these last thirty years; and that on coming forth into the world, they might find every thing in statu quo, as it was in the beau siècle de Louis XIV.*"

“ And the Bastile?” I asked.

“ *Eh, mais oui, ma chère; et la Bastille aussi.*”

The Bastile, she added, was a sort of *maison de plaisance*, when men of rank were sent to it, for having incurred the displeasure of the king; as in the instance of the Duke de Richlieu, who was visited there by all the beautiful princesses of that day, who were *éperduement* in love with him. That for the *lie du peuple*, it was, if any thing, too stately and too noble a place of confinement; and as for the *iron cages and subterraneous dungeons*, they were only for state criminals, who spoke against the king and his government—“*et tout cela, c'étoit très juste.*” But I insisted on the facility with which a *lettre de cachet* might be procured, to shut up such suspected criminals, before any form of justice had pronounced them guilty.”

She shrugged her shoulders and replied: “*Pour les lettres de cachet, on en peut dire autant de bien que de mal! tenez, ma chère! Suppose I had a brother whose conduct disgraced our family; would you have us expose his shame, and throw an odium on our house, by suffering him to come into a court of justice? No, there was a time, when under such circumstances, the honour and dignity of a noble family was saved; and a lettre de cachet got rid of the mauvais sujet, and buried together the criminal and the crime—Eh bien, il faut toujours espérer que le bon tems reviendra!!*”

I quote these sentiments, uttered by a woman of rank, talent, and education, as being (I believe very generally) those of the party to which she belonged.’ pp. 212—214.

Lady Morgan asserts, ‘ that even the Buonapartists and constitutionalists, though protesting against the policy and falsehood of the English government, express themselves more favourably towards this nation than the royalists, who, though pleased with the restoration, cannot altogether brook the discreditable manner of their return, nor cease to feel that they have been too much obliged.’

‘ They (the Royalists) accuse England of all their misfortunes; of originating the revolution; of sending the emigrants to be slaughtered at Quiberon; and of letting loose Buonaparte from Elba. Even still they consider the ex-emperor as a sort of *bag fox*, to be let loose, whenever the English ministry may be inclined to show sport to Europe.’

Of the general truth of the remark, that the English are increasingly unpopular in France, even among those who owe every thing to England, there is no room to doubt; but that those who attribute mainly to our interference what they consider the disgrace of their country, the forcing of the Bourbon government upon them, and the occupation of their territory with a standing army, should express themselves more favourably towards the English nation, than the royalists, is, if true, explicable only from their having learned to discriminate between the people and the administration by which they are governed. Our Author inserts a song, '*ça ne tiendra pas,*' which, she says, was received with rapturous plaudits, one verse of which speaks decisively the feeling of the Bonapartist faction.

' Il voudroit régner sur la France
Ce Roi, qui parmi des Français,
Osa dire avec insolence :
Je dois ma couronne aux Anglais.'

It is impossible for an Englishman to travel through France, without meeting perpetually with indications of a disposition in the lower classes to insult our countrymen. This exists more especially perhaps among the military, but it is by no means confined to them. The Prussians are the objects of the greatest dread and of the most vindictive malignancy. '*Sacre,*' said a peasant proprietor, grinding his teeth, '*les coquins de Prussiens !*' They came as the allies of our king, as our friends; and they plundered, they ravaged, they destroyed. *Allez, monsieur, allez dans la Perche,*—go to Sevres, to St. Cloud, hear what husbands and fathers have to say there. *Ah, seigneur Dieu, cela fait dresser les cheveux sur la tête ! cela fait frémir.*' It is, however, upon the English, generally, as ever present objects of envy or jealousy, and national dislike, that the indefinite discontent which pervades France, seems principally to seek to vent itself. It is the English that, as the originators, either of the Revolution or of the Restoration, engross the chief portion of the displeasure of all parties. A similar feeling of animosity is but too general throughout the Continent. In Flanders it amounts to a still higher degree of irritation. To English influence is attributed the subjection of the Netherlands to the detested Dutch dynasty, and their disruption from the *Great Nation*. In Switzerland also, as well as in the Netherlands, the manufacturing and trading interests are exceedingly jealous of British rivalship, and 'there is no imputation,' to use the words of a recent traveller, 'of commercial and political injustice, too gross or extravagant for their prejudice to circulate.' 'I heard it maintained,' says the same gentleman, 'in both countries, that our government are supporting British manufacturers by paying the losses which

‘ they incur, in a systematic attempt to ruin those of the Cōnti-
 ‘ nent ; that the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de Medici are in
 ‘ London ; and that Buonaparte is now detained at St. Helena
 ‘ with the express design of loosing him (like a bag fox) when it
 ‘ becomes expedient for England to create new troubles on the
 ‘ Continent.’ The coincidence of actual expression between
 this account and that of Lady Morgan, may be considered as
 affording a verification of the accuracy of her statement : but
 indeed the general fact is sufficiently notorious.

The Third Book treats of the social character of the women in
 France, which our Author represents as having undergone great
 improvement in a moral respect, since the avenues to female
 ambition have been closed.

‘ Married life has always been most respectable and most sacred
 under free governments ; while under the influence of political des-
 potism, women, treated either as *slaves* or as *sultanas*, are never *wives*.
 It is thus that they once reigned in France, by an *undue* influence,
 subversive of all their natural virtues. It is thus that they still serve
 in the East, with that corrupt depravation both of morals and intellect,
 which inevitably re-acts upon their tyrants, and vindicates insulted
 nature.’

Lady Morgan asserts, that the fidelity of the French women
 to their husbands, has not only been evinced in some splendid
 instances of conjugal virtue, but forms a general characteristic
 of the present state of society, in contrast with the days of ‘ the
 Richelieus and des Beaugées.’ ‘ It would be difficult,’ she
 says, ‘ to draw a scale of comparison between the stock of con-
 jugal affection which exists in that country, and in England.
 England, has, however, some *good old habits* in her favour,
 invariably connected with the laws and government of a free
 nation.’ On both sides, according to our Author’s statement,
 there exists a great degree of misapprehension founded on na-
 tional prejudice. On the one hand, British travellers, whose ex-
 perience is limited by the extreme difficulty of obtaining admit-
 tance into the interior of private society and domestic life in
 France, ‘ have drawn their pictures of the *actual* state of
 French society, and their character of its women, from such
 originals as were presented to their observation in the courts
 of the *Palais Royale*, or in the bad novels of the days of
 Louis XV.’ On the other hand, the French women are per-
 petually alluding to the custom of selling wives with halters
 round their necks, as if it were a national characteristic.

‘ In England, all French husbands are considered as *des messieurs*
ommodés. In France, all English husbands are frequently distin-
 guished by the epithet *des brutals*. “ Voila,” said a French lady, with
 whom I was driving in the Champs Elysées, “ voila, *Miladi* * * * *
 et son brutal,” pointing to an English couple not celebrated for their

conjugal felicity. Of the frequency of divorces in England; their publicity, which reflects the mother's shame on her innocent offspring; the indecent exposure of the trials, where every respect for manners is brutally violated, and the *pecuniary* remuneration, accepted by the injured husband, the French speak with horror and contempt; particularly as women, whose character is no longer equivocal, are received in the English circles of Paris, by persons of the highest rank.

‘ “Your divorces,” said a French lady to me, “seem not to proceed, in general, from any very fine or delicate sense of honour; but to be as much a matter *de convenance* between the parties, as marriages formerly were among us.” Legal divorces are rare in France: formal and eternal separations, made privately by the parties, are more general; and when love survives, in one object, the honour and fidelity of the other, measures of greater violence are sometimes adopted, more consonant to the impetuous character of a people, whose passions are rather *quick*, than *deep-seated*, and who frequently act upon impulse, in a manner which even a momentary reflection would disclaim.” pp. 304—305.

‘ While married life, in France, has evidently gained by the change, which has been effected in the manners and habits of the country, *gallantry*, in the modern acceptation of the term, is, in its influence and extent, much the same as in England. The result of idleness and vanity, it is inevitably more prevalent in those elevated circles, where rank and opulence exclude occupation, and leave the imagination and the passions open to any engagement that comes as a resource, affords an obstacle, or awakens an emotion.

‘ As long as the frailties of a French woman of fashion are “*peccate celate* ;” as long as she lives upon good terms with her husband, and does the honours of his house, she has the same latitude, and the same reception in society, as is obtained by women similarly situated in England, where, like the Spartan boy, she is punished, not for her *crime*, but *for its discovery*. There, a divorce only marks the line between *reputation*, and its *loss*: society will not *take hints*, and a woman must *publicly advertise her fault*, before she can obtain credit for having committed it.

‘ The high circles of Paris are to the full as indulgent, as those of London. *Lovers understood*, are not *paramours convicted*; and as long as a woman does not make an *esclandre*; as long as she is decent and circumspect, and “assumes the virtue which she has not,” she holds her place in society, and continues to be, not indeed *respected*, but *received*. Gallantry, however, in France, is no longer that cold system of heartless egotism and profligacy, which avowedly took as its governing maxim, that

“L’objet quitté, n’a été que *prévenu*.” pp. 308—309.

It must be remarked, that it is the interior of French society of which Lady Morgan is speaking, and to which she professes to have had the singular good fortune of obtaining access. Her testimony will serve, according to the degree of credibility attaching to it in the minds of our readers, and

their opinions of her competency as a witness, considerably to modify the notions generally entertained on this subject. What not a little detracts from the value of Lady Morgan's representation, however, as bringing into question not her veracity, but her judgement and feelings on the topic of feminine virtues, is the *broad* style in which she dilates on some forgotten intrigues, and the enthusiasm she expresses relative to St. Lambert's mistress, Madame d'Houtetot, in 'delightedly tracking 'the print of her steps !' We must confess that Lady Morgan's testimony requires with us to be substantiated by collateral proofs of the progress she attributes to the French people in moral virtue, notwithstanding the general absence of religious restraints, and the licentious habits induced by War. The following remarks, however, convey a just satire on some of our fashionables.

' The public attentions paid by Englishmen, of the most distinguished rank, to women of public and notorious characters in Paris, and their introduction of such persons into the private circles of society, excited universal indignation and contempt. It was in vain to talk to the French of English morality, while English women were seen to associate with, and even to pay respectful homage to some modern *Lais* of the day, whose fashion rather than her talent had become her passport into society.

' No public women whatever are admitted into good French company. Once "*sur le plancher*," once upon the boards, whether as actress or as singer, they can never be received by women of character and condition, except in their professional capacity when they are engaged and paid, "*pour donner une scène*." on some particular evening, to sing their *bravura* on the night of a private concert. The *prima Dorna* of the opera is there never the *prima Donna* of private society. The well-known anecdote of some English duchesses holding the shawl of the late presiding deity of the opera house in London, till she was at leisure to put it on, excited infinite mirth in an assembly of French ladies, where it was related in my presence.' pp. 318, 319.

The character of the French woman still retains, however, its national peculiarity ; a peculiarity not inaptly expressed by Lady Morgan, in the remark, that ' she makes a much better *heroine* than a *housewife*.'

Paris is the title of the following three books ; another is devoted to the French theatre, and the last to notices of eminent and literary characters. We have already suffered this Article to extend to a length disproportionate perhaps to the claims of the work. This last chapter would otherwise supply some interesting anecdotes. We shall make room for the account of an interview with the venerable *ex-bishop* of Blois.

' The Abbe Gregoire shewed us with great pride a glass case,

fitted with the literary works of *negro authors*; many of whom he had himself redeemed and brought forward. "I look upon this little book-case," he observed, "as a refutation of all that has been said against the intellect of the blacks; that unhappy race, like the wild plants of some neglected soil, want only care and culture to bear in due time both flowers and fruit." We talked to him of a work he was then engaged in, on the *moral education of servants*.* "The French press," he said, "is unwearied in issuing forth calumnies against me: I shall only reply to my enemies by doing all the little good I can for my fellow-creatures. I have done with public life; the few days that may be spared me, shall be devoted to domestic amelioration and to the cause of humanity."

* From the period of this first visit, our intercourse with the bishop of Blois was frequent. There was in his appearance, his manner, his very mode of expression, an originality, a something out of the ordinary rule of character, irresistibly attractive to a mind somewhat wearied with the common places of society. He speaks with great rapidity, as if thought came too fast for utterance; and there is a freshness, a simplicity in his manner, that mingles the eager curiosity of a recluse with the profound reflection of a philosopher; and leaves it difficult to understand how such a character could have passed through the world's hands, and yet have retained the original gloss of nature in its first lustre. A sort of restless benevolence, always anxious to relieve or to save, to alleviate or to improve, is extremely obvious in his conversation, as it is illustrated in his life; and I found it so difficult to reconcile the profound humanity of his character, with his supposed vote when the life of the unfortunate Louis XVI. was at stake, that I one day ventured to touch upon the subject:—"I never instigated the death of any human being;" was his reply. "I voted that Louis XVI. should be the first to benefit by the law, which abolished capital punishment; in a word—I condemned him to live." ' pp. 333—335.

* The bishop of Blois, however, as he himself assured me, was not the only catholic prelate who had advocated the cause of liberty, and drawn his arguments in its favour from the same source where he had sought them (his own heart and the Scriptures.) "Here," he said, one morning, taking a pamphlet from the drawer of his writing desk, "here is a singular and interesting sermon, in favour of civil liberty, as intimately united with Christian faith, composed by citizen Cardinal Chiaramonti, bishop of Imola; and addressed to the people of his diocese, in the Cisalpine Government in the year 1797. Speaking, however, of the union of Christianity and civil liberty, I allow that he goes beyond the line of mere constitutional principles, when he observes—"oui, mes chers frères, soyez tous Chrétiens, & vous serez d'excellens démocrates." It was impossible not to smile

* This must be a mistake. The work to which we presume Lady Morgan alludes, appeared in 1814. It is entitled, *De la Domesticité chez les Peuples anciens et modernes. Par M. Grégoire, ancien Evêque de Blois, &c. &c. Paris, à Egron, 1814.* It is worthy of its benevolent author.

at the simplicity and gravity with which this was uttered; and I observed, "your citizen Cardinal has, I suppose, long since paid the forfeit of this imprudent profession of faith." "No," replied the bishop gravely; "the sentiments of Christian faith and paternal tenderness, which breathe through the whole of this excellent homily, (some exaggeration in terms and principles which belonged inevitably to that day of exaltation excepted) have been carried by the excellent bishop of Imola, from his see in Cisalpine Gaul, to the throne of the Christian world; and the present successor of St. Peter is worthy of the high place he fills. The citizen Cardinal Chiaramonti is now the venerable Pope Pius VII." ' 336—337.

' This most curious homily is now in my possession. It has for its title page:—"*Homélie de citoyen Cardinal Chiaramonti, Evêque d'Imola, actuellement Souverain Pontife, Pie VII.; adressée au peuple de son Diocèse, dans la République Cisalpine, le jour de la naissance de Jesus Christ, l'an 1797.—Imola, de l'imprimerie de la nation, an 6 de la liberté. Ré-imprimée à Come, chez Charles Antoine Ostinelli, an 8. Et à Paris, chez Adrian Egron, Imprimeur, 1814.*" The following passages are fair specimens of the style in which this sermon is composed.

' "*Je ne vous parlerai, ni de Sparte, ni d'Athènes. Je garderai le silence sur la fameuse législation de Lycurgue & de Solon—et même sur cette Carthage, la rivale de Rome, nos réflexions et nos souvenirs se reportent plus convenablement sur l'antique république Romaine. Considérez, mes frères, les illustres citoyens, dont elle s'honora & les moyens par lesquels ils s'assurèrent des droits à l'admiration. Rappellerai-je le courage de Mutius Scévola? de Curtius? des deux Scipions? de Torquatus? de Camille? et de tant d'autres, qui fleurirent à ces époques mémorables? Leurs éloges, tracés par un foule d'écrivains, sont encore l'instruction de la postérité. Caton d'Utique dont on a dit, que la gloire le poursuivoit d'autant plus qu'il s'obstinoit à la fuir; Caton, vous apprendra comment Rome étendit sa renommée, & recula les limites de sa république," &c. &c. &c.*

' *Que la Religion Catholique soit l'objet le plus cher de votre cœur, de votre piété, de toutes vos affections. Ne croyez pas qu'elle choque la forme du gouvernement démocratique. En y vivant unis à votre divin Sauveur, vous pourrez concevoir une juste espérance de votre salut éternel; vous pourrez, en opérant votre bonheur temporel & celui de vos frères, opérer la gloire de la république et des autorités qui la régissent."*

And so this is the same Pius VIIth that is now waging war against the Bible and religious liberty!!

Four Appendices are subjoined, 'On the State of Law, Finance, Medicine, and Political Opinion in France,' by the Author's husband, Sir Charles T. Morgan, M.D.

Art. V. *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in Connexion with the Modern Astronomy.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. 8vo. pp. 276. Price 8s. Longman and Co., &c. 1817.

(*Concluded from page 366.*)

IN drawing towards an end of our analysis of these Discourses, we think it may not be amiss to repeat that Dr. C. uniformly recognises the complete sufficiency of the evidences for Christianity, independently, altogether, of the questions which he is discussing: insomuch that that evidence would remain invincible if his whole argument were judged or proved to have failed;—that is to say, if it were judged or proved, in the first place, that the astonishing expenditure, shall we call it, of the exercise of the Divine Attributes upon the individuals of an inconceivable multitude of the most diminutive beings, and upon an inconceivable number of minute particulars and circumstances relating to man, (beings and circumstances so stupendously small as parts of the universal system,) is not enough to furnish any argument against the improbability of such an expedient for human happiness as that which revelation declares;—and if it could be proved, in the next place, that this revealed economy of redemption disclaims any extension, or, at least, is silent as to any extension, of its relations and utilities to any other portion of the great system extraneous to the sphere of human existence.

Supposing the matter to be acknowledged to be thus, and supposing it to be then acknowledged, that we cannot understand how it can consist with the rules of proportion in the government of so vast a whole, for the Governor to do so great a thing for a most inconsiderable part,—this leaves the positive evidence in undiminished authority. This acknowledgement of ignorance amounts to this and no more,—that we cannot advance a certain philosophic argument, *a priori*, in corroboration of that evidence. The absence of that argument detracts not a particle from the arguments which are present, and on which alone the cause ever professed to rest its demonstration. This acknowledgement of ignorance is simply a confession that there is utter *mystery* on a side of the subject where it would have been gratifying to be able to find the means of raising a philosophic argument in favour of Christianity. And, verily, mystery, as relative to the human understanding, forms a marvellously pertinent allegation against an asserted and strongly evidenced fact in the Divine Government of the Universe!

The case is quite changed if a man, instead of this acknowledgement of ignorance of the rule of proportion in that govern-

ment, makes an avowal of knowledge ; if he says he *can* judge of that rule, and can see that the asserted fact in question is incompatible with it, and therefore must disbelieve that assertion in contempt of all the alleged positive evidence. But we have then ' a short method' with him. We have to tell him that he is to take the consequences of a flagrantly irreligious, not to add unphilosophical presumption ; for that he *cannot* judge of that rule, and therefore it must be at his peril that in the strength of his ignorant assumption to do so he dares make light of that evidence.

Perhaps it was not strictly necessary to make these remarks at this length ; Dr. C. has several times used expressions to preserve it clearly in the reader's recollection, that the Christian evidence is not to be implicated in any way of dependence, in the smallest degree, in a course of argument which is purely subsidiary ; but it may not be impertinent to have marked the distinction in a somewhat more formal manner in the above sentences. That Christianity is in no possible degree committed to hazard upon the force or failure of the pleading, is the more necessary to be kept in view in reading the latter discourses in the series, because in them, the Author indulges in a train of speculation supported in a great degree upon conjectures and a looser kind of analogies than those which have served him so well in the preceding part of the course ; conjectures, however, and analogies, which he does not mistake for certainties and direct proofs.

It might have been a sufficient service to Christianity, to make good the negative argument in its favour,—to shew the futility of attempting to support against it a charge of being absurd and incredible, even though it did, by the necessary constitution of such an economy, and by avowals in its own professed revelation, confine itself exclusively to the interests of man. But the Preacher concludes his Third Discourse, with the assertion, that the vindication may be carried forward to a positive argument, confronting the infidel objection ; for that revelation avows, what reason might well surmise of such an economy, that it extends, in very important relations, to a much wider sphere, than that of the exclusive human interests. Accordingly, the Fourth Discourse proceeds to ' The knowledge of man's moral history ' in the distant places of the Creation ;' and it is followed by another on ' The sympathy that is felt for man in the distant ' places of creation.' The wide sweep of reasoning and imagination over the distant regions of the moral world, terminates in the Sixth Discourse, ' On the contest for an ascendancy over ' man, amongst the higher orders of intelligence.'

With regard to the general object pursued through this latter part of the course, we shall acknowledge at once that we are

extremely sceptical, while we do most willing justice to the ingenious argumentation, and picturesque illustration, and buoyant and soaring fancy, which the Preacher has so largely displayed in his progress. On a cool consideration of the subject, it would seem that the scriptural grounds for supporting the speculation, are very slight; and it may perhaps be suspected that in the weight which our Author rests on these, and in the degree of confidence with which he adduces arguments from analogy, and surmises of general probability, he may have a little transgressed the rigid rules of speculation so justly applauded in the earlier discourses.

The Fourth and Fifth Discourses have for their texts—‘ Which things angels desire to look into;’ and, ‘ I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance.’—No fact beyond the limits of our world, is more prominent in the declarations of the Bible, than the existence of a high order of intelligences denominated angels. The equivocal and the lower application of the term in a number of instances, can deduct nothing from the palpable evidence of that fact. But who and what are angels? The effect of an assemblage of the passages relating to them in the Bible, the descriptions, narratives, and allusions, would seem to give an idea widely different from that of stationary residents in particular parts of the creation,—an idea, rather, of perpetual ministerial agency, in a diversified distribution of appointments, many of them occasional and temporary, in the fulfilment of which numbers of them visit or sojourn in this world. On the ground of analogy we may be allowed to surmise, that there may be spiritual ministers of this sublime order appointed to all other worlds in the creation. Now, as to the angels, that portion of them at least whose appointments have a relation to this world, there cannot be a moment’s question whether they are acquainted with the condition of man, and take an interest in the economy of God’s moral government over him. The Scriptures directly affirm it, and in many ways imply it. But this proves nothing as to the knowledge or interest concerning man among the respective inhabitants of the distant parts of the creation. It is conceivable that there may be an indefinite reciprocation of intelligence among some of the angels commissioned to many regions of the Universe, and they may, for any thing we can know, impart in the scenes of their ministry, some portion of the intelligence thus reciprocated: on the contrary, they may maintain an inviolable silence. But, indeed, though this intercommunication of these diversely commissioned agents may be conceived possible to some extent, no notion can be entertained of its approaching to completeness and universality. This would

to be attribute faculties too vast for created intelligences,—too vast, because commensurate, in each individual, with the whole creation of God, if there be such ministerial agents deputed to every part of that creation. And however stupendously capacious their faculties might be, it is not conceivable that such a boundless diversity and multitude of contemplations and interests, could consist with the devoted unremitting attention to the specific objects of their respective appointments.

Next, with regard to the *inhabitants*, properly so denominated, of the unnumbered millions of distinct worlds in the creation, (the truth of that theory being assumed,) there would seem to be insurmountable objections to the notion of their all receiving large information and feeling deep interest concerning the people and transactions of this planet. Let it be considered, that it is beyond all doubt that in every world where the Creator has placed intelligent beings, (we leave out of the account whatever region it may be to which the fallen angels are consigned,) he has made successive, diversified, and wonderful manifestations of his attributes in the peculiar economy of that world itself. It is not conceivable that he should not have made continually such disclosures of himself to them, carried on such a government over them, furnished so many proofs and monitions of their relation to him, summoned their powers so imperiously to the utmost service to him of which they are capable, that they will have, within their own peculiar sphere, copious interest and employment for their faculties during a large portion of their time. It is even reasonable to suppose that, be these distinct inhabited spheres as numerous as the most ambitious conjecture of an angel can make them, there have been, in the history of each one of them, without exception, some extraordinary and stupendous events and moral phænomena, standing in majestic pre-eminence for the contemplation of the inhabitants, and involving, as interventions of the Almighty, such glory, and miracle, and mystery, that ‘angels may desire to look into them.’ Why should it not be so? It plainly gives a loftier idea of that Being, that he should do such great things in all the worlds of his dominion, than that he should do them in only a few instances, or in only one, and that he should do them in an endless diversity of form and mode, than in only one. But if the fact should be so, consider what a countless multitude of things will deserve, perhaps equally deserve, as signal manifestations of the Divinity, to be brought within the view of those tribes of intelligent creatures whose expanded faculties and exalted position render it possible for them to extend their adoring contemplations afar over the dominions of God. It would follow, that their regards cannot be fixed on the economy of this world with so much of a concentration of attention and interest, as our Author seems inclined to represent.

As to the conjecture that many, or that all the worlds of the creation may have a *direct* interest in the economy of redemption, as having, possibly, like our race, incurred the crime and calamity of a moral lapse, the preacher only throws it out as one among a variety of imaginative surmisings, and is evidently not desirous to make it the basis, or a part of any positive theory. We think it cannot be entertained for one moment. The most submissive humility on all subjects relating to the Divine Government, and its mysteries and possibilities, cannot preclude an irresistible impression that the idea of so wide a prevalence of evil in the Universe, is absolutely incompatible with faith in the goodness of its Creator and Governor. Let any devout mind dwell awhile on the thought, and try whether it is not so. The prevalence of evil in only this one world, is an inexpressibly mysterious and awful fact; insomuch, that all attempts to explain *how* it is consistent with the perfect goodness of an Almighty Being, have left us in utter despair of any approach toward comprehending it. A pious spirit, not deluded by any of the vain and presumptuous theories of philosophical or theological explanation, while looking toward this unfathomable subject, can repose only in a general confidence that the dreadful fact, of the prevalence of evil in this planet, is in some unimaginable way combined with such relations, and such a state of the grand whole of the Divine Empire, that it is perfectly consistent with infinite goodness in Him that made and directs all things. But therefore this confidence cannot subsist on any supposition that the other regions of that Empire are also, in any great proportion, ravaged by this direful enemy and destroyer of happiness. On any such supposition, mystery changes into horror.

By the way, this topic supplies a mighty argument for that theory of an ample plurality of worlds of intelligent beings, so probable on philosophic grounds, and so consonant with sublime ideas of the Creator's power and glory. Unless we admit that theory, we assign to evil such a fearful proportion to the good in the condition of the intelligent creation, as to darken into intolerable gloom the collective view of its economy. How vast must the moral system be, to contain such a magnitude of good as to reduce this horrible mass of evil, existing and accumulating through thousands of years, to a mere circumstance, scarcely discernible as an exception to the estimate, that 'all is good,' merged and lost in the glory of the comprehensive whole!—Not, indeed, that by a reference to that unknown whole we can in the smallest degree diminish the mystery of the existence of evil in this one world,—of its existence at all in the creation of an infinitely good and powerful Being; but we do, in this idea of the immensity of that creation, obtain a ground

for the assurance that the proportion of good among the creatures of the Almighty, may all but infinitely transcend that of evil.

While we acknowledge that, for ourselves, we feel it necessary to entertain this idea of the immensity of the intelligent creation, in order to the full and consolatory effect of our faith in the goodness of the Supreme Being, we shall naturally wonder at the happier temperament of those theologians, if such there be, who meet with no very disquieting difficulty on this whole field of speculation; who, while limiting their view of the intelligent creation to this world, (combined with the assemblages of angels and departed human spirits) and seeing in this world, through its whole duration hitherto, such a prevalence of moral evil, that they deem an immense majority of the race consigned to eternal destruction, can yet, by the aid of some superficial theory of human volition, and some lightly assumed and presumptuous maxims respecting penal example in the order of the Divine Government, escape with great apparent facility, into great apparent complacency, from the overwhelming awfulness of the economy.

We should crave excuse for repetition while we try to select terms somewhat more precise, to say, that upon the theory of the immensity of the intelligent creation we may take ground for the presumption that the rectitude and happiness, either absolutely perfect or but slightly defective, of an inconceivable number of rational creatures, constitutes, over the vast general scene, a direct and infinitely clear manifestation of the Creator's goodness, leaving the solemn mystery, in this respect, to rest chiefly on this one small province of the universal dominion; that presumption aiding our adoration, though it does not extenuate the gloom of this mystery as respecting this world considered exclusively.

But to return, for a moment, to the more immediate topics of the Discourses. They glow with eloquent, poetical, striking representations of the earnest impassioned interest with which all the good beings, of even so stupendous a multitude of worlds, may be conceived to regard our race, as a family, lapsed from their allegiance and their felicity, and under a dispensation of recovery. There is no pretending to know how much it is reasonable to conjecture on such a subject. A great deal of generous regard for the human race, may with sobriety of imagination, be attributed to those ministers of the Almighty who are charged with beneficent offices in the economy of this world. But when we think of the inhabitants of the Universe, according to the computation all along maintained, or rather the theory which defies all computation; when we consider that self-love must be the primary law of all created conscious existences, and

that in all their localities and states this self-love will be in *immediate* sphere ; when we seek to imagine a medium of nouncement or representation by which our transactions and concerns should be vividly and protractedly impressed on the intellect and affections of the remotest foreigners of the earth, and when we reflect, according to what we have already suggested, that for the contemplation of those tribes or orders of faculties may be of a capacity to admit, and whose happiness may be made greatly to consist in their receiving, a super-enlarged knowledge of the creation, there will be an infinitely memorable and amazing facts of the Divine Government when we consider all this, we confess we cannot, without being haunted with an invincible sense of very great extravagance, listen to a strain of eloquence which would go the length of presenting all the wise and amiable intelligences of all the systems in the Universe, as employing a large proportion of their energies of their being on the history and destiny of our race.

The grand argument for assuming such a concentrated attention and interest upon this world, is the extraordinary and transcendent nature of the expedient for human redemption. And well may that argument be urged to the extent of an assurance, that if the Blessed and Only Potentate wills to make the most signal facts of his government in one world so celebrated in others, this expedient must stand in the most eminent order of the facts so celebrated. But when that argument is pressed to so extreme a consequence, as in our A. fervid conjectures and assumptions, one or two considerations will suggest themselves.

In the first place ; there seems to be some inadequacy common to him with many divines and pious men, in explaining the mode of apprehending the interposition of Deity as manifested in the person of the Messiah. He sometimes falls into a language which would do little less than imply that the Divine Nature, as subsisting in that mysterious connexion with human, subjected itself to a temporary limitation, and, in consequence, may apply such a term, monopoly, to that one purpose of agency of human redemption ; as if Deity, so combined and constricted and depressed itself from the state of Deity in abstract, sustaining some suspension of the exercise of its infinite attributes which can be limited to no one object or operation, or world, for one instant.—Not that any such limitation is intended to be implied ; but, under the deceptive effect of a language which bears a semblance of such an impossible argument in question (that from the pre-eminent marvellousness and benevolence of the expedient for redemption) is drawn to an exaggerated conclusion. Of this deceptive character I think, is the parallel which begins in page 150, between

eat act of Divine interposition, and the supposed instance of a monarch of an extensive empire, who should for a brief space of time, a few hours, or a day, (which would as the Author remarks, infinitely longer in proportion to the whole time of his reign, and the duration of the mediatorial period on earth as compared with the eternity of the Divine Government,) lay aside the majesty and the concerns of his general government, to make a visit of compassion to the humble cottage of some distressed or guilty wretch. It is obvious that this illustration should imply (or the truth of the parallel is lost) that 'in turning him to our humble habitation,' (page 152), 'the King Eternal, Immortal, and Invisible,' (in these absolute terms of Divinity the Visitant designated,) did in some manner withdraw and descend from the full amplitude of the glory and exercise of the unalienable attributes of Deity. But surely, whatever was the mode of that mysterious combination of the Divine with an inferior nature, we are required religiously to beware of all approach toward such an idea as that of a *modification* of the Supreme nature, and to preserve the solemn idea of a Being absolute, unalterable, and necessarily always in entire possession and exercise of all that constitutes its supremacy and perfection. But the Divine Nature 'manifested' in the human in the person of the Messiah, continued then and ever in such an unlimited state of glory and action, that it might be then, and at every moment of the mediatorial dispensation, making innumerable other manifestations of itself, and performing infinite wonders of grace and power altogether foreign, as the remote scenes of their display, from this world and the interposition for its redemption; an interposition which could in no manner interfere with any other interpositions, of a kind indefinitely dissimilar from it and one another, which the Sovereign Agent might will effect in other regions.

Since, therefore, the inexplicable indwelling in the person of the mediator, could in no manner affect the plenary presence and energy of the Divine Nature, as, while so indwelling, pervading also all the other realms of the Universe; and since, while that mighty presence imparted immeasurable virtue to the mediatorial work and sacrifice, it yet could not sustain any difficulty, degradation, or injury;—as the griefs, the dreadful inflictions for the sin of the world, fell exclusively upon a subordinate being, belonging to our own economy;—there would not seem to be an imperious reason for the universality of the inhabitants of the creation to be occupied with a paramount interest in the transaction, though so illustrious a display of the Almighty's justice and mercy toward one portion of his dominion.

In the next place, we would notice a still more striking inaccuracy in our excellent Author's representations. In main-

taining the probability of the knowledge : d celebration
wonderful expedient for the n _____ an, far throu
numberless abodes of intellectual existence, he indulges but
a strain of descriptive sentiment which would be precis
plicable, if that economy were designed to be, or were in
redeemingly comprehensive of the whole world of men.
then, is it applicable, as the awful truth stands displayed
us? He keeps quite out of view what that Divine interva
was not designed to accomplish, as made evident in the a
state in life, and after death, of a dread proportion of the hu
race ; and forms his conceptions of the manner of interest
which innumerable pure and happy tribes of the Universe
be imagined to contemplate our world, as if this reality of th
should not be apparent to them. It is too obvious how th
this reality affects the ground of his sanguine and exulting
assumptions of such an' immensely extended interest and ga
lation.

We should advert to those passages of Scripture which he
collected in page 147.

‘ And while we, whose prospect reaches not beyond the
limits of the corner we occupy, look on the dealings of God's
world, as carrying in them all the insignificance of a provincial
action ; God himself, whose eye reaches to places which our
hath not seen, nor our ear heard of, neither hath it entered in
imagination to conceive, stamps a universality on the whole and
the Christian salvation, by such revelations as the following—
he is to gather together, in one, all things in Christ, both wh
in heaven, and which are in earth, even in him ;—and that
name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and
in earth, and things under the earth ;—and that by him God
ciled all things unto himself, whether they be things in earth, or
in heaven.’

We do not know where to seek a rule of interpretation
these passages, the most essential expressions of which
‘ things’—and ‘ things in heaven’—are among the most im
portant phrases in the Bible. It cannot be proved that their m
does not comprehend more than such a portion of super
beings as may be placed within a circumscribed economy
pate to our world—as some of the angels evidently are
the circumstance which is fatal to a very ambitious interp
of them in their higher reference, is, the necessity of
an exceedingly restricted one on them in their lower.
greatly less must be intended than the literal import of
pression ‘ all things in earth,’ is shewn in the history
actual and prospective state of the earth's inhabitants.

We must not prolong a course of r _____ ke in which
sensible of having been unpardonably _____ by countenancing

is Discourse 'On the contest for an ascendancy over man, among the higher orders of intelligence.' The first part of it is employed, at rather perhaps too great a length, for a printed work, in repetition and recapitulation; but this might be highly proper in the discourse as delivered, at a considerable distance of time from the former ones in the series. The exhibition of the warfare is in a high tone of martial energy. And what cause we have to wish, as Dr. C. did in an able sermon, published a few years since, that the spirit and splendour of oratory and poetry might, through a heaven-inflicted fatality, desert, henceforward, all attempted celebrations of any other warfare than that between the cause of God and the power of evil, as put forth in infernal or in human agency!

We have no disposition to accompany this portion of our ardent Speculator's career, with exceptions to what we may deem its excesses of sentiment, and imagery, and confident conjecture. What we are most tempted to remark upon, in the description of the great contest carrying on between the intelligent powers of light and darkness, for a domination over the destiny of man, is something too much like an implication that this destiny can really be, in any possible measure, a depending question between created antagonists, or that it can appear to them, on either side, to be so, while both of them must be aware of the absolute certainty that the will of the Almighty is infinitely sovereign over all things. Indeed, this consideration renders it profoundly mysterious that there can be any contest at all. And to say that the existence of the contest is mysterious, is saying, in effect, that it is impossible to attain a probable conception how the parties are actuated. The sense of this has always, with us, interfered with the interest of the former part of the *Paradise Lost*. There appears an enormous absurdity in the presumptions and calculations on which the delinquent spirits adopt and prosecute their enterprise; an absurdity, we mean, on the part of the poet, in making them to act from calculations which it was absolutely impossible their enlarged understandings could entertain.

Nevertheless, we have the testimony, express and by diversified implications, of the holy Scriptures, for the fact of a formidable moral dissension among the higher order of intelligences, in which the condition of the human race has been awfully involved.

The concluding Discourse is on a topic of very serious and melancholy interest,—the possibility, to minds of feeling, and taste, and imagination, of being elated to noble contemplations, and affected by fine emotions, of a nature that shall seem to be intimately related to genuine piety, and may easily be mistaken for it, while yet the heart is destitute of all that is essential in

the experience of religion. Nothing is better judged as the placing of this subject in broadest view as a close of such a train of contemplations. How possible it is to hundreds of readers may have expatiated in thought with emotions of sublime and delightful solemnity, on the scene of astronomical magnificence displayed in the introductory Discourse, and inasmuch as the glory of that scene is the glory of the Almighty Creator, may have deemed their emotions to partake of, or be identical with, religious devotion,—a sentimental state to which there were tests existing to convict them of being strangers. The Preacher has forcibly illustrated, in many other forms, this treacherous semblance of religious vitality. And the feeling awakened at the view of so many interesting errors, still useless, and by their deceptive influence worse than what to the subjects of them, is so mournful, that the reader is almost impelled to relieve himself by seeking cause to think that some of the representations are over-wrought, and some of the decisions too severe; and he is tempted to be gratified at obtaining an alleviation of the painful effect of some of the stern assignments, at the expense of the judge, whose occasional violence, oratory, and negligences of discrimination, afford a hint that the sentence cannot be without appeal. Much important and stirring truth, however, there is in this Discourse. It contains the elements of an eminently useful and warning instruction. If the subject requires a much more elaborate and definitive discussion; and we wish Dr. C. may take another opportunity of treating it formally with the deliberate, best, exertion of his mind.

On the merely literary character of his composition we will content ourselves with a few words. We cannot dissent from that we wish he would subject his style under a strongly attended discipline. No readers can be more sensible to its glow and richness of colouring, and its unfrequent happy combinations of words; but there is no doubt that it is guilty of a rhetorical march, a sonorous pomp, a showy sameness; a want, therefore, of simplicity and flexibility; withal, a perverse and revolting grotesqueness, a frequent descent, strikingly incongruous with the prevailing elatedness of tone, to the lowest colloquialism, and all together an unpardonable licence of string phraseology. The number of uncouth, and fantastic, and may fairly say barbarous phrases, that might be transcribed, is most unconscionable. Such a style needs a strong hand of reform; and the writer may be assured it contains life and energy enough to endure the most unremitting process of correction, and most compulsory trials to change its form, without hazard of extinguishing its spirit.

Art. VI. *The Elements of Experimental Chemistry.* By William Henry, M. D. F. R. S. &c. The Seventh Edition, greatly enlarged. 2 Vols. 8vo. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy. London. 1815.

IT will not be expected that we should enter into any minute criticism, or protracted analysis of these volumes, since the circumstance of their having passed already through six editions, is a conclusive proof of the excellence of the work, and of its merits having been correctly appreciated by the public. Some apology might even be thought necessary on this account, for bringing at all under the notice of our readers, a work which is possibly familiarly known to many, and which, having already received the award of public approbation, can no longer be regarded as a candidate for those honours which are the most gratifying reward of the successful exercise of literary or scientific talent. We consider it indeed as no part of our duty, to offer any extended criticism upon these volumes, as they have already endured the judgement of the public; though a careful examination might possibly detect some errors, yet we are confident they would be acknowledged by the most competent and impartial judges, to be such as might be expected to occur in a work necessarily embracing a very large proportion of the facts and reasonings of this most useful and delightful science. Disclaiming therefore as we do all intention of a laborious search for casual errors, or of detailing the plan of the work, it is requisite that we distinctly state the motives which have induced us to occupy a few of our pages with this brief and general notice of the present edition of Dr. Henry's Elements. There are at all times, a number of young persons, among the well-educated classes of society, who are rising into maturity, and who with minds well cultivated by the usual course of early instruction, must yet be allowed to have their moral and intellectual habits in some degree in a state of oscillation. The avocations to which they may be destined, do not require them to pass through the routine of academic instruction, nor to resort to those places where science is exhibited in her most attractive forms, and taught in the most perfect manner; but their feelings are exquisitely alive to the delightful impressions produced by our first acquaintance with the astonishing phenomena which the material world offers to our contemplation, and their minds are eager for the gratification of that ardent curiosity which the beneficent hand of our Creator has deeply implanted in the human bosom, and which in every period of life is the great stimulus to the increase and extension of our knowledge. Blessed too with intervals of leisure, which if diligently improved, would enable them to drink deep of those sources of pure and refined gratification which the cultivation of moral and physical

science most abundantly supply, we consider it as no unimportant object to allure them to a close and intimate acquaintance with chemical science, by making them acquainted with those sources whence it may be most readily and most pleasantly obtained. It has indeed been too much the prevailing habit of thinking, to regard this and some of the kindred sciences, as almost exclusively the objects of a professional education; but we trust this unfounded prejudice is giving way to more liberal and enlightened views. The requirements of an accomplished and liberal education have been necessarily enlarged by the extraordinary and rapid extension of the boundaries of knowledge in our own times; and it is not unreasonable to hope, that subjects which have been hitherto almost exclusively confined to the associations of literary and scientific bodies of men, may ere long become familiar to so large a circle of society, that they shall become topics of pleasing and animated discussion in the ordinary intercourse of domestic life, and in the general conversation of mixed society. The human intellect will then take a loftier flight, and embrace a wider range, even in its ordinary excursions, more suited to the dignity of its faculties, and to those abundant treasures of knowledge which are accumulated in such rich profusion around us. Some of the important advantages of an acquaintance with this department of human science, are so beautifully and justly portrayed by Dr. Henry, that we cannot hope to place them in a more advantageous light than he has done in his introductory chapter.

“The possession of the general principles of chemistry,” he remarks, “enables us to comprehend the mutual relation of a great variety of events, that form a part of the established course of nature. It unfolds the most sublime views of the beauty and harmony of the universe, and developes a plan of vast extent, and of uninterrupted order, which could have been conceived only by perfect wisdom, and executed by unbounded power. By withdrawing the mind, also, from pursuits and amusements that excite the imagination, its investigations may tend, in common with the rest of the physical sciences, to the improvement of our intellectual and moral habits: to strengthen the faculty of patient and accurate thinking; and to substitute placid trains of feeling for those which are apt to be awakened by the contending interests of men in society, or the imperfect government of our own passions.”

To those persons who may be disposed to enter upon the study of chemistry, whether with views originating in such reflections as these, or the advantageous application of its principles to the useful arts, we know of no work which we can recommend in preference to this of Dr. Henry. It is sufficiently comprehensive in its plan, to embrace all the general principles and doctrines of the science, as well as such as

arrangement of the particular facts as are suited to an elementary treatise. The selection of experiments in illustration of the distinguishing properties of each substance, is judicious, and the directions for their performance, are so minute and perspicuous, that an inexperienced student will have little difficulty in performing them in a satisfactory manner, when he has once made himself a little familiar with the mode of managing the apparatus requisite for the general purposes of the science.

Art. VII. *Short Discourses*, to be read in Families. By William Jay. Vol. IV. pp. 358. 8vo. 1817.

WE have no doubt that this Fourth Volume of Mr. Jay's "Short Discourses," is already so widely circulated, as to need little notice from us, in the way of recommendation. Recommendation we can conscientiously give it, for we have read the book through with attention.

These Discourses have all the ingenuity of plan, all the simple conduct and point of expression, which characterize those previously published; with the excellent addition of a more ample display of the great doctrine of redemption by Christ. On this subject we prefer to cite Mr. J.'s own words, from his Preface, which, without any disparagement to the rest of the book, we deem not the least interesting part of it.

'That there should be more, rather than less of evangelical sentiment in this volume, than in the former ones, is what ought to be expected, from growing years and experience; and he hopes the expectation will not be disappointed in the perusal.' p. iv, v.

The Author proceeds to take notice of the invidious use which certain *religionists*, more famed, it is feared, for censoriousness, than for that charity which "believeth all things," have made of the confession (may we say?) delivered in a charge to Mr. Tidman, of Salisbury, that his earlier sermons were not so imbued with the essential truths of the Gospel, as he now wishes they were. How truly ungenerous, to turn so fair an instance of Christian simplicity and sincerity, into a weapon to wound him who has not feared to exhibit it! Our reflections on this invidious conduct, inclines us to give the whole Mr. Jay has written on the subject.

'Not that he means to court, or wishes to please, an ultra-doctrinal party, who, by a seemingly strange union of terms, has been justly characterized *gospel-pharisees*, "trusting in themselves that they are "righteous, and despising others." When the Author, in a late publication, addressing his younger brethren, allowed, that his earlier preaching, in some instances, had not a sufficient degree of evangelical savour in it; these illuminées, with that delicate regard to reputation, which always distinguishes them in speaking of others, perverted his meaning, by pushing it beyond the bounds, which not only his

intention, but the connection of the passage warranted: and by gentleness and candour, which soften their temper, and bear their conduct, instead of commending a small degree of ingenuum in owning a fault, reflected only on the deficiency acknowledged. But, what he then meant (and he was so understood by all the ministers, who requested the publication of the Sermon, for none of them were among the initiated) and what he means now by *evangelical*, a fuller and richer introduction of those precious truths, which constitute the essence of the gospel, and concerning which, all real Christians, allowing them to speak in their own way, are more agreed, than the censorious imagine. It is too late now, to use words orthodox and evangelical, as synonymous terms. The Author has long been persuaded, that some are too *orthodox* to be *evangelical*. That man is a sinner, guilty, depraved, and helpless in himself. That help is laid on one that is mighty:—That Jesus is not able, but willing to save to the uttermost, all that come unto God him:—That faith is necessary to our deriving advantage from him, and That good works will result from faith, and prove it to be the operation of God:—This is what the Author means by the gospel—“And what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord?” p. 5.

To this honest and candid vindication, we deem it unnecessary to add any remarks of our own.

Every good preacher has his *forte*. We conceive Mr. J. to lie in exhibiting religion as a thing of practical and individual concern, bringing it home (to use a hackneyed phrase) to men's business and bosoms; and in such a way as to render it so impossible that any man should be intellectually gratified with the abstract truth, without perceiving the relation which it bears to his own heart and conscience. That ordinary sermons should be of this character, is a thing of no trifling importance; and humanly speaking, their being more or less effective, will be in proportion to the degree of it which they possess. Some of our divines, men too of real piety, have slid, unhappily, into a habit of long formal statements and nice distinctions, which though very excellent in themselves, are seldom understood by the majority of those who hear them; while they who do understand, hear them with the most undisturbed composure. The auditory depart untouched, serene and satisfied with themselves. The arrows were too blunt to find an entrance. On this account we deprecate the old method of always leaving the application of the subject until the end, as highly injurious in effect, or rather in its producing no effect: for generally, by the time that the application so deferred, arrives, the attention of the audience is become exhausted; all labour to produce impression (if, indeed, there should be labour), consequently of success, and “strength is spent for nothing.” This is the opposite of this, that we believe . . . looking in this aspect we are satisfied that he has the . . . in for an even

and that his own remark is a just one, when, speaking, for instance, of the scriptural method of exhibiting faith, he says,

‘The sacred writers describe faith, rather than define it. They hold it forth, not in the nakedness of abstraction, but in attributes and actings, by which it is more subject to apprehension. It is, in their language, looking to Christ; coming to him; committing the soul into his hands against that day.’ p. 294, 295.

And, with regard to what is called the *improvement* of a discourse, Mr. J. does not hesitate to apply his subject as he goes on, if not always in direct appeal, at least by his practical, *unabstract* method of treating it.

There is a way of preaching, which is any thing but “*holding forth* the word of life.” It is altogether so general in its character, that though the topic be an essential truth of the Gospel, and one in itself awful and alarming, the audience escape untouched. Should the preacher be somewhat of the orator, they will be found, as they go away, loud in his praise, and diffuse in laudatory comment upon the sermon. The truth is, their secret sins have not been detected, their false refuges have not been exposed, their hypocrisy has not been unveiled, nor have their treacherous hearts been pursued through all the windings of self-deceit; in a word, there has not been held up to them that faithful glass, in which they might see themselves as they really are. Sermons which effect this, are but little adapted to excite a busy murmur of thoughtless approbation, after they are done: they produce silence, uneasiness, pondering. It should be a prominent object of every faithful minister, so to preach the truth, as, if possible, to compel men to apply their remarks to themselves, because this is the very last thing they are willing to do. There is a sketching of character, a portrait-painting, a broad outline of certain inconsistencies in a real, and of certain subterfuges in a false profession, which may be made use of without offensive personalities, and which, when so used, are admirably adapted to produce individual application. Of this kind of excellence Mr. Jay’s sermons afford some very excellent examples. We shall select one or two.

‘It was the language not of his lips, but of his feelings—he said *in his heart*, I shall now one day perish by the hand of Saul. He does not seem to have uttered it in words—restrained, probably, by prudence and kindness. It is not necessary or proper to trouble others with all our uneasy feelings; or to curdle their comfort by the sourness of our looks and language. It is a noble and magnanimous mind that can suffer without complaint. Indeed, if a man hawks about his trouble from door to door; if he loves to talk of his trials in every company he meets, we may be assured *his* grief will never kill him. Profound sorrow, like the deeper river, flows noiseless: the man wounded at heart, like the smitten deer, leaves the herd for the

shade—*He sitteth alone, and keeps silence : he putteth his hand in his mouth, and his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope.*

‘ Religious people should be concerned peculiarly to appear peaceful and cheerful. Nothing recommends godliness more, or is more necessary to counteract the prejudice so commonly and injuriously entertained against it, as the mother and nurse of mopishness and melancholy. We would not wish you to be hypocrites, avowing joys to which you are strangers—but you are not required to publish all your painful emotions, especially before those who cannot understand, and are likely to misinterpret them. I have often admired the holy delicacy of Ezra, when returning to Jerusalem from Babylon with a number of his countrymen. *Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way : because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him ; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.* There was really no inconsistency between his profession of confidence in God, and asking for a convoy : for God works by means. But so it might have appeared to a heathen prince : he would therefore rather expose himself to peril, than bring a cause, dearer to him than life, not only under reflection, but under suspicion.’ pp. 273, 274.

‘ But humility is not ignorance and folly. Christians are often ridiculed, for speaking of themselves in depreciating terms ; especially when they call themselves the vilest of the vile, or the chief of sinners. It is admitted and lamented, that such language may be insufferable cant ; and is sometimes used by persons, who give ample evidence of their not believing it. When show is a substitute for reality, it is generally excessive. Many fish for praise, with the bait of humility ; and say things against themselves, in hopes that you will contradict them—but we trust you never will. It is otherwise with a real Christian ; he speaks according to his real views and feelings. He does not, however, mean, that he has been the greatest profligate : but he knows that sin is to be estimated, by its guilt, not by its grossness ; and he knows more of himself than he can of others. He can only see the actions of others, and not the greater part, even of them—but he can look into his own heart. He knows not but the sins of others will admit of extenuation ; and he ought to be willing, as far as possible, to excuse—but he knows against what light, and advantages, his own transgressions have been committed.’ pp. 290, 291.

‘ See that what you enjoy is your own. *Owe no man any thing,* says the Apostle. You would deem it shameful to steal from a neighbour's garden or shop, any thing you deemed agreeable ; but what is the difference between stealing, and ordering what you are conscious, at the time, you are unable to pay for. Yet there are those who are determined, that, whoever may suffer, they will enjoy themselves ; who have not only every thing comfortable, but often luxuriant, in food, in apparel, in furniture ; while their tradesmen's bills give them not a moment's uneasiness, or the prospect of failure, the least sentiment of disgrace. It was well said by Lord Mansfield, “ That for

one cruel creditor, there were a hundred cruel debtors." Upon this head, our laws are far too lenient for the support of the public welfare. But what can we think of professors of religion, who can gratify themselves at the expence of others, and involve themselves in debt, rather than exercise the least self-denial. There may be honesty without religion; but it is a strange kind of religion that can subsist without honesty. A real Christian should blush, not to be seen in a threadbare, mended garment, that is his own; but in a goodly and splendid one, that he has purloined from his tradesman. Poverty is not disgraceful, but sin is. Jesus and his apostles were poor, but they were not unjust; otherwise *He* might have had where to lay his head, and *they* need not have complained of nakedness and hunger.' pp. 3, 4.

Such indecision is *dangerous*. I wish to be understood to mean—peculiarly dangerous. Observe, in the first place: such characters are not easily converted. For, though they have not religion enough to insure their safety, they have sufficient to make them insensible of their danger. Though they have not enough to keep them awake, they have sufficient to lull them to sleep. Conscience has nothing very criminal, in their view, to reproach them with. Their exemption from immorality gives them confidence and peace. Their attention to the exterior of piety, and the decency of their general demeanour, attract from men the praise which is due to real godliness; and this flatters and confirms the good opinion they entertain of themselves. Their satisfaction with themselves is also strengthened by contrasts with the character and conduct of others, who are outwardly and openly wicked. Their very convictions too, in time, are altered; their practice has bribed their judgment; and what formerly appeared wrong, is now deemed a vain scruple, the effect of education, or a contracted mind. Secondly: They are not very likely to continue always in this state. Duties never relished, in time, disgust. Prayer never performed in earnest may be wholly given up. Doctrines never known in their vital influence, may be discarded as speculations. Errors more congenial with their present feelings, and necessary to justify the course they take, may be adopted. God may withdraw his restraining and assisting grace, and leave them to their own lusts. The principles of sin being unmortified, may gather strength by having been so long repressed, and may break forth with greater violence. And when such persons as these fall, they generally become despisers, revilers, persecutors.' pp. 250, 251.

But the Author 'has his faults!'—This is true, but we confess, for ourselves, that we have met with so much both to approve and to admire in these Sermons, that we have felt little inclination, we might say little cause, to censure. We will, however, just take notice of two minor faults, which we have not unfrequently heard attributed to our Author.

One is, that his sermons are so largely and singularly interspersed with quotations from hymns, and with other poetry. But on this we shall do nothing more than introduce the Author's own apology from his Preface.

‘ On the ground which he has professedly taken, some freedom should be allowed him, which (as will appear from his two Volumes of SERMONS) he should not otherwise have taken. For this reason too, he has so frequently introduced a verse of poetry : for nothing has a better effect upon children, and servants, and common people—it renews their attention, and aids their memory. When the aim, is not only to address, but to *affect* ordinary minds, it is very difficult to be brief, and yet interesting too : for while intellect and imagination can enlarge and adorn an idea, common understandings require the expansion of the thoughts—the representation of them in several points of light—and the illustration of them, by different images.’ *Preface*, p. iv.

The other fault to which we allude, is, that Mr. Jay is found to indulge occasionally in a coarseness of language, and in a sort of vulgarisms, that cannot but be offensive to readers of taste. We are far from being disposed to defend all Mr. Jay's expressions, or to contend that they are all unobjectionable ; but we think that there is a great deal of weight in the following remarks, which we quote from the Introduction to the XVIIth Discourse, on Religious Indecision, from Hosea vii. 8. “ Ephraim is a cake not turned.”

‘ Baked on one side only—neither soft nor hard—neither bread nor dough—disagreeable—unservicable. “ A very homely comparison, “ a very vulgar image,” you say. But the sacred penmen are above our fastidiousness. They write for the common people ; and what are little delicate allusions, discerned and relished only by a refinement of taste, while they are lost upon the majority of readers ? *They* want something plain, and yet forcible : something to rouse the conscience, and to lodge in the mind. And *the words of the wise*, says Solomon, *are as goads, and as nails,—goads to wound, and nails to fasten.* If the image be vulgar, it is striking ; and if the comparison be homely, it is much too flattering for the persons it is intended to express.’ pp. 242—243.

While we may congratulate ourselves on having got rid of the formalities and quaintnesses of our forefathers, we need, especially in the present day, be cautious, that we do not fall into the opposite extreme of false delicacy. We rejoice in the thought, that the Scriptures *were* written ‘ for the common people,’ and of these the majority of the greater number of congregations, is composed. Every reflecting Christian who has been accustomed to watch the effects of the Gospel preached, and occasionally to cast his eye over a congregation during the delivery of the sermon, and has marked on their countenances the listlessness and unconcern which so generally prevail wherever the preacher is of the character to which we have alluded, must have been struck with the necessity which there is, of rousing men to attention, and that there ought to be no hesitation about using any lawful, scriptural means of effecting it. We doubt not that

such means would generally be very ungrateful to ears refined to fastidiousness, but happily they are still in comparison of others, a minority insignificantly small. The late Mr. Cecil was a man wise in the use of appropriate means, of deep penetration into human character, and a most effective preacher; but Cecil did not employ means to excite attention, which we are persuaded would be not only unwelcome, but perfectly disgusting to this refined few. He relates of himself, that he had once to preach to a congregation, who were so sunk in the torpor of indifference, that nothing which he said, however earnest and to the point, seemed to have an effect upon them: unhappily, a case by no means uncommon. Thus foiled in his efforts to rouse by the help of ordinary means, he suddenly raised his voice and uttered in a tone of proclamation, 'Last week, a man was hanged at Tyburn!' At once, he tells us, it produced the intended effect, and having gained their attention, by the blessing of God, he kept it up to the end.

Let us be understood, we are not pleading the cause of vulgar allusions or of gross familiarity; we abhor and loath every thing in the shape of a jest here, as much as Cowper, who has so forcibly exposed it. We believe that there is such a thing, properly understood, as the *dignity* of the pulpit; but let the great end for which the pulpit is erected, never be lost sight of. It is not for abstract discussion, it is not for debate, it is not for mere argument, it is not for oratory, it is not for sentimentality, it is not for display; but it is for conversion, it is for edification. Whatever then has a tendency to waken men from their carnal slumberings, and to promote this great end of the institution of the ministry, and which is not inconsistent with 'gravity, sincerity, and sound speech, that cannot be condemned,' surely, not only *may*, but *ought* to be made use of by every man who is in earnest as a Minister of Christ.

Our readers are, doubtless, aware of the heresy respecting the doctrine of sanctification, which has of late been revived, to the prejudice of God's holy truth. As several mistakes have been made in different accounts which have been given of it, we shall just remark that it may all be expressed in one sentence: 'Whatever Christ is, that we are.' Hence the frequent use of such bold and shocking expressions as these: 'We are perfect as Christ is perfect, and holy as God is holy!' A notion more pregnant with injury to the interests of Godliness, can scarcely be conceived, and strongly incumbent is it upon all who are 'set for the defence of the Gospel' to lift up their warning voice against it. We recommend both to those who have unhappily imbibed this notion, and to those who worthily oppose it, the following extract from Mr. Jay's IX. Discourse, on John iv. 14, "The water that I shall give him

shall be in him a well of water, &c." He has been describing four classes of persons whose religion is all external.

'The religion of the fourth, is *all in Christ*. These ridicule the very notion of a work of grace *in us*: to look after any thing *in ourselves*, though not self-derived, is legal and pharisaical. *They* have all in Christ—and so have we; but with this difference—we have all in him so as to seek all *from him*. We believe that when he died, all was finished *for us*—and we are now praying that all may be finished *in us*. It is a glorious truth, that in him we have sanctification as well as righteousness; but he cannot be our sanctification by suffering us to remain in sin—he is our sanctification, not by being a substitute for our sanctification, but by sanctifying us. Woe to the man who pleads for a religion, of which even Christ is the author, but of which he himself is not the subject. David prays, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit *within me*." And the promise of the new covenant runs, *A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.* If such prayers and promises are to be accomplished, we must look after something *in ourselves*—and, as the apostle enjoins, *examine*, not Christ, but ourselves, to know *whether we are in the faith*.' pp. 129, 130.

This same class of persons, are equally contemptuous in their remarks upon the use of means. Among their published letters, is one addressed to a friend who had been lamenting that the Gospel was not sent to this and that place, which he had named. The writer almost ridicules the silly anxiety of his friend, and remarks, half-sarcastically, that he had better be quiet, and mind himself, and read his Bible, and not trouble himself about matters which do not belong to him; for that if the Lord has a people to call any where, he will take care to provide the means, without his interference. This needs no comment; but we shall introduce, in connexion with the mention of this circumstance, some remarks from Mr. Jay.

'This was the disposition of Paul: *If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead*. He did not prescribe, but submit. The *end* was every thing—the *way* he left, with a holy indifference, to God. And it is always a good proof that your convictions and desires are from the operation of the Spirit, when you are willing to conform to God's order. What is this order? It is to dispense his blessings connectedly. It is never to justify without sanctifying; never to give a title to heaven without a meetness for it. Now the man that is divinely wrought upon, will not expect, or desire the one, without the other.—Therefore he will not expect or desire the blessing of God without obedience; because it is always God's way to connect the comforts of the Holy Ghost with the fear of the Lord; and if his children transgress his laws, to visit their transgressions

with a rod. Therefore he will neither expect or desire his blessing without exertion; for it has always been God's way, to crown only those that run the race that is set before them, and fight the good fight of faith.' p. 118.

The last Sermon, on the words, "Lovest thou me," which is considerably longer than the others, was 'secured,' the Author tells us, at the time of its being delivered, 'by a professional short-hand writer,' and 'is published with scarcely an alteration.' This last assurance we should ourselves have conjectured from the life and freshness which pervade the discourse, and which proclaim that it must have been delivered with no common degree of feeling and energy. If we mistake not, there is no sermon in the volume, that will be read with more, if indeed with so much pleasure, or produce more impression than this. We shall justify our opinion by an extract from it, as a conclusion to the article.

'Men, Brethren, and Fathers! Allow me to close, with a similar demand.—What answer shall I give to him, in whose Name I have addressed the solemn question—LOVEST THOU ME?—or, What answer will *you* give? For I would rather you should deliver it yourselves. It would distress every feeling of my soul, to return a negative answer—How could I tell him—No? And yet, what other reply could many of you make; at least, if you made a true one? And to what purpose would it be, to return a falsehood? He is not mocked.

'—What, would *you* say—you love him! No: you dare not. You *know*, that his love is not in you. You *know*, that you daily prefer a thousand objects, to his favour, and image, and service. You *know*, that you constantly ask with the world, "Who will shew me any good?"—But you never pray, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me. O remember me, with the favour thou bearest unto thy people. O visit me with thy salvation." You love him!—What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and this lowing of the oxen which I hear?—Your whole lives contradict your avowal; and render it your folly, as well as your guilt. Actions speak louder than words: and these are the exceptions they compel you to make. "Yes, O Lord, I love thee—but I never think of thee. I love thee—but I cannot endure the conversation that turns upon thy praise. I love thee—but I wish to shun thy presence: depart from me, I desire not the knowledge of thy ways. I love thee—but thy law is not my delight; and I resolve to follow the way of my own heart."

'And what—if this be your answer, what are we to think of you? What are we to think of your taste?—What are we to think of your temper? How low! How vile! What a compound of stupidity and depravity, is thy wretched soul, to be even capable of indifference towards greatness and goodness, so infinite?—If you had no love to the creature, no love to the beauties of spring; if you had no love to

him that begat you ; no love to her that bore you ; no love to her that lieth in thy bosom : it would be infinitely less disgraceful, than to declare, you have no love for Him, who died for you, and rose again.

‘ And is this your answer ?——Deliver it yourselves. Look up, and if you have courage, tell him ; tell him, by your lips, what you have constantly told him by your lives——“ No : I do not love thee. I deem “ thee unworthy of my regards. Whoever becomes thy follower, “ I will not.” And is this your language ?——If we lived in a period of temporal judgments, I would instantly desire this congregation to withdraw : I would say, Flee from the tents of these men, lest the earth open its mouth, and swallow them up. But you believe, that no such doom awaits you ; and therefore, you imagine yourselves secure. But spiritual judgments, are much more dreadful, than temporal : and wrath, the longer it is delayed, becomes the larger in the aggregate, and the heavier in the fall. *If, says the apostle, if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha.* O ! to be excluded, when the Lord comes, from his favour, from communion with his people : to be sealed up, under his curse, in hopeless misery, when he appears ! Who can describe the horrors of such a scene ! Who can dwell upon it ! We are not going to attempt it—it is too awful for declamation.

‘ —But let me observe—There is no *unrighteousness* in the sentence. The very victims of this justice, will be compelled to feel, if not acknowledge, its equity ; and hence they will be speechless.’ pp. 352—354.

Art. VIII. *The Search ; and other Poems.* By J. Edmeston, Jun. foolscap, 8vo. Price 4s. pp. 108. Conder. 1817.

THIS volume may justly claim to be regarded as further evidence of the general diffusion of poetical talent. It is evidently the production of a young author ; it exhibits all the unsteadiness and inequality of youthful efforts ; and is clearly referrible to the principle of imitation, and to feelings of taste, rather than to any higher source of inspiration, as its origin. Its contents nevertheless display more thought, more genuineness of mind, than many volumes of this class, and some of the poems are of a very pleasing character. The following stanzas are highly imaginative and tasteful ; they were evidently struck off in a happy mood.

‘ ECHOES.

We, the myriad born of Sound,
Where the sweetest spots are found,
Over sea, over land,
An invisible band,
Sport all creation round and round ;
We love not the plain,
Nor the sky-bounded main,

Nor delight in the region of ether to reign ;
 But enraptured we dwell
 In the wood or the dell,
 And an age-hollowed oak is a favourite cell :
 And a hilly clump, or a rocky shore,
 We foot full merrily o'er and o'er.

' Gay on Andalusian fields,
 Purple with autumnal sun ;
 When the grape its harvest yields,
 When the summer toil is done ;
 Linked in rustic dance appear
 Spanish maid and cavalier ;
 Light they lead the dance along,
 Heart to heart, and hand in hand,
 Mirth and merriment and song,
 Castanet and saraband :
 Then upon a neighbouring hill
 Bands of echoes lurking still,
 Spring from ambush, dance and play,
 Lightly, merrily as they.

' When the evening's magic power
 Tips with gold the heather flower,
 And all the plain delights the eye
 With setting sunbeams' warmest dye ;
 When along the silent grove
 Meditation loves to rove ;
 All is sleeping, all is mute,
 Save the warbling, dying strain,
 Seeming sweetly to complain,
 Breathing from the shepherd's flute ;
 Then, if chance the cadence fall
 On some tower or abbey wall,
 Oh, how lightly echoes bear
 A fainter strain
 Away again,
 And melt it gently into air !

' Seated by a dripping well,
 When a cavern spans it round,
 Many an echo loves to dwell,
 Listening to the liquid sound :
 Since the driplets first begun,
 She hath told them one by one :
 Day and night her station kept,
 Never slumber'd, never slept ;
 But, as drop by drop they die,
 Each she pays a single sigh,
 A momentary elegy.
 Often, seated on the shore,
 We love to mock the ocean's roar ;

Often at the break of dawn,
 We carol to the huntsman's horn ;
 Oft, at evening in the dale,
 On feet of air we steal along,
 Listening to the shepherd's tale,
 Or warbling to the shepherd's song :
 Half the charms that music knows
 To our mellowing power she owes ;
 But for us the sounds would fly
 Harsh, unmodulated by,
 And 'reft of half their melody.' pp. 71—74.

We should perhaps do well not to hazard the effect of further quotations. 'The Eolian Harp,' is, however, a pleasing poem. 'The Search,' which occupies a third of the volume, is a series of didactic couplets, on the good old subject of the pursuit of happiness. The poem is of a religious character, and the volume, independent of its poetical merit, has claims to our approbation on the score of its pious design and useful tendency. In the following lines, the phrase *inch by inch* is objectionable, as conveying an erroneous idea, and we might perhaps take an exception against other expressions ; but the whole passage is forcible, and will enable our readers to appreciate the spirit of the poem.

' Once, yet to be, when Time shall quit his seat,
 His woof exhausted, and his web complete ;
 When the great wheel of ages shall be stilled,
 And all th' eternal purposes fulfilled ;—
 The spirit-breathing trump of God shall sound,
 And all creation with the blast rebound ;
 The sea shall hear, and heave herself distress'd ;
 The earth shall hear, and rend her sable breast ;
 And flesh to join its flesh, and bone its bone,
 Journey through jarring atoms to its own :
 Then Death's cold captives, each one in his keep,
 Bound fast in chains of adamant sleep,
 Shall feel the warm, the conscious tide advance,
 And inch by inch awaken from their trance.
 When Conscience shall resume her sway once more,
 With deeper sting and deadlier than before ;
 And Memory assist her to portray
 Th' unpardoned sins of many a far-past day :
 How fain would some from God, in judgment then,
 Shrink to their sepulchres and worms again !' pp. 30—31.

' Yet there are some, who even in that day,
 Shall bear no harm, and suffer no dismay,
 But rise triumphant from a world on fire,
 Fresh as the phoenix from her funeral pyre ;
 Theirs is a heavenly throne, a deathless crown ;
 Their sun of HAPPINESS shall ne'er go down :

But, passing on to glories yet before,
A cloudless and unbounded zenith soar.
Ages and ages vanished, yet shall be
But the commencement of eternity ;
And that eternity the all shall know
Omnipotence of blessing can bestow' pp. 30,—32.

Art. IX. *The Self-instructed Philosopher* ; or, Memoirs of the late Joseph Whitehead, of Sutton in Ashfield, Notts. By Thomas Roome. 12mo. pp. 130. Longman and Co. 1817.

THIS is an interesting and well written little publication, and sufficiently justifies the application of its title to the subject of Mr. Roome's memoir. The name of Joseph Whitehead will hereafter stand on a conspicuous level among those extraordinary men who have attained for themselves a high intellectual elevation, by the vigour and elasticity of their own minds. His grandfather was a village schoolmaster, who ' had made some proficiency in the mathematics, and became a contributor to ' the Almanacks.' His early death left his son Joseph without the means of obtaining even a common education. He was apprenticed to a framework knitter ; but, even in this humble and occupied condition, he contrived to secure time for application to mathematical pursuits, which, at this early period, and under these unfavourable circumstances, had taken full possession of his mind.

' He abridged his hours of sleep to follow it, and even when in a place of worship it so engaged his attention, that forgetful of the solemnity of the service, he would be solving questions with chalk on the sides of the pew in which he sat. He acquainted himself with the art of dialling ; and the knowledge he then acquired was afterwards useful to him, as it enabled him to assist his son in the commencement of his mathematical investigations.'

He was converted under the ministry of the late venerable Mr. Booth ; and after his departure from the place, with considerable hesitation and reluctance, yielded to the solicitations of the church, and took upon him the pastoral charge. Though we are trespassing upon the space we must allow to the more ostensible subject of this memoir, we cannot refuse room to the following summary of his character.

' His congregation could contribute but little towards his support, and having a large family it required all his industry to provide for their necessities, and as a spiritual shepherd to feed the little flock committed to his care with seasonable and suitable food. Though his income was small, by frugality and moderation he made that little do, so as " to live honestly in the sight of all men ;" and would rather

partake of a dinner of herbs than be in debt to any one. As a Christian his life was exemplary, adorned with genuine humility, and undissembled piety; and he was one of those rare characters of whom every one spoke well. To circumspection of walk and conversation, were united excessive modesty and timidity; which in a great measure circumscribed his usefulness, and prevented his worth from being known to the world; and on that account, or from the pleasure and profit he found in retirement, he could seldom be seen in public, and very rarely out of his domestic circle, or from among the people of his charge; and he never preached in any pulpit but his own. His dress and personal appearance was such as became the gravity of the aged Christian. He never could be prevailed upon to attend an association of ministers but once; and then he crept into a retired corner, lest he should be called upon to speak, and that he might enjoy the benefit of the conversation unnoticed and unknown.' pp. 21—22.

'He entered into his eternal rest (three years after the death of his son, and died on the same day of the same month,) on February 16th, 1814.' p. 24.

His son Joseph, the proper subject of this sketch, was a younger and favourite child. His father, observing in him the early indications of genius, took pleasure in cultivating his mind to the utmost of his ability. 'He learned to read and spell merely by hearing his elder brothers repeat their lessons to their father.' He had an early bias towards mathematical pursuits, and seems to have been some little annoyance to his excellent parent, by his frequent applications for direction and assistance. The elder Joseph was unable to divert his attention from the labours necessary for the maintenance of his family, and by an extraordinary effort, determined on sparing something from his own slender fund, to procure for his son the advantages, such as they were, of the education of a village school. The experiment, however, failed, for in about three weeks, he was dismissed by his master, with the candid and sententious confession, 'that he had learned as much as he could teach him; that Joseph knew as much as he did in some things, and he knew as much as Joseph in others, and it would be of no use to come any longer.'

Soon after this he was put into the stocking-frame, in order to learn the employment from which he was to derive his future support; but his book was his constant companion; at meals and at his work, he plied his double task, not always indeed with equal correctness, for,

'At one time his thoughts were so busily engaged in the solution of a difficult problem, that he entirely forgot his work, but by the power of habit continued the motion of his frame until the stocking he was weaving was nearly as long as himself.'

Under the pressure of these difficulties and privations, he still held on his way with a firm and steady step. 'Mathematics, Music, History, Biography, Astronomy, and Mechanics, divided his time and attention.' Books, of course, with his limited means, he could not readily command; such as he could purchase, he bought, and others he borrowed: but as instruments were utterly beyond the reach of his finances, he constructed them for himself; 'a quadrant, a sector, a globe, all its projections and delineations, though he had only seen the representation of one upon paper.' But the most extraordinary effort of his ingenuity and perseverance, was the construction of an Orrery, without ever having seen one, but only the description and representation given by Ferguson. He determined upon this bold attempt, without either tools, materials, or the means of purchasing them. He first tried to make his wheelwork of wood, but in this he failed; he next endeavoured, but in vain, to adapt to his purpose the brass machinery of old clocks; at last he fairly set about the whole process from the very beginning, constructed an engine and dividing machine, for the purpose of making his wheels and rackwork, and finally completed an Orrery of such finished workmanship, that a Lecturer on Astronomy, who was also 'a maker of Orreries by profession, pronounced it one of the neatest and best finished he had seen.' This complicated machine was finished in what appears to us a very short space of time, little more than the leisure hours of four years. It was purchased by Dr. Williams 'for the use of the Independent College at Rotherham.'

There is, we think, some little misapprehension generally prevalent, respecting the difficulties which men of Whitehead's class and character are compelled to surmount. To us, they appear so far from being impediments, that they, in fact, operate as incitements. There is a sort of exasperation that seizes the mind, when it finds an object within its potential range, and yet beyond its attainment, from the imperfection of its actual means and instruments; a kindling of spirit that rises against difficulties, and by mere force of effort and resolution, subdues them all. To a being of such a stamp as this, the common facilities of education are in fact hinderances, for they smooth down the asperities and remove the barriers which are but the necessary incentives to his powers, and without which, their existence, latent and inert, may remain wholly unknown to their possessor. This strong feeling and determination are not unlike the spirit which carries the soldier, in the heat of action, up the rock or the breach, by paths which in a cooler moment he shudders to contemplate. The effort and the strife give him a stronger nerve and a fiercer ardour, which would evaporate behind the defences of a parallel, or in the scientific procrastina-

tion of a regular approach. Whitehead was aware of this and when Dr. Williams asked him if he did not feel the want of academical training, he immediately replied; 'I must have my own method, or I shall make nothing out.'

Through the whole of his life, Whitehead appears to have maintained an exemplary character, and to have held the Gospel in the highest esteem and veneration; but during his last and protracted illness, he gave every evidence of a decided change. His favourite pursuits were laid aside, the strength of his mind and the ardour of his spirit, had taken a new direction; the Bible was his constant companion, and its rich consolations, and glorious anticipations, filled and sustained his soul. He was patient under suffering, and happy in the prospect of dissolution. He died of a pulmonary complaint, at the premature age of 27, on the 16th of February, 1811.

Art. X. *A Treatise touching the Libertie of a Christian*, with an Epistle to Leo the Tenth, Bishop of Rome; written in Latin, by Dr. Martyne Luther, and translated into English by James Bell, 1579. Edited by William Bengo Collyer, D.D. F.A.S. small 8vo. Price 2s. 6d. London. Williams and Co. 1817.

LIKE the dragon which is fabled never, even in sleep, to close his 'lidless eyes,' the 'stirring spirit' of Popery, though it has seemed of late to doze, has slumbered with unclosed lids; it is now awake and active, and unless encountered with equal vigilance and superior activity by the defenders of religious liberty, much of the work so well and so wisely wrought by the worthies of the Reformation, will require to be re-achieved. In addition to the more obvious means which the ministers of the Gospel are, we doubt not, daily putting into exercise, we would recommend a succession of cheap tracts, not merely dwelling as usual, upon the *political* atrocities of Popery, but exposing their *doctrinal* delinquencies; referring to their own statements and symbols for proofs of their entire perversion of the true spirit and character of Christianity, and comparing their subtle but erroneous glosses, with the pure and unadulterated simplicity of Gospel truth. The Bible as the standard, the Saviour as the teacher of faith, the Apostles as its unerring expositors;—to these must be our appeal, and with these for the defences of our Zion, the gates of Rome shall not prevail against it.

In the writings of the reformers there will be found excellent materials for the use of all who may engage in this important controversy; but they require skill and dexterity in their management and adaptation. The works of those venerable men are admirable, considered in reference to their times; they are richly fraught with intellectual and theological wealth; but

they had less a gold,' than a longer exposure to the sun. They did 'passed from death unto life; they quit an abode of darkness, ignorance, and sin, for the bright day of evangelical truth and spiritual light, and their mental vision, empowered by the sudden removal of the transition, failed in some degree of its proper use. The errors to which they had been attached, were at once exposed in the strong light of reason and revelation, and they were anxious to communicate to others the same views and feelings with which they were visited from on high.' They did not reflect that truth and falsehood are sometimes separated by an interval so small, as to require, not only decision, but skill, in its definition. They were not sufficiently aware that by striking unguardedly at an error, they sometimes wounded the antagonist truth. Faith, as the sole ground of justification, the sight of God, was theantage ground of the Reformers. Here they took their stand, and from this position they were never beaten. But it is, we apprehend, not safe to affirm, that in asserting this doctrine, they ever appeared at least to speak with what slightly of personal boldness, and the necessity of good works as the effect and test of faith; and we are not quite sure that the work before us, though a valuable and curious document, is altogether free from unguarded expressions. We speak, however, with some hesitation on this subject, for we have not the original to refer to, and the translation seems to be very indifferently executed. It is in many places obscure, and occasionally, we suspect, inaccurate. We wish it would suit the convenience of some person capable of ably executing such a task, to put aside the present rendering altogether, by giving the English reader a manuscript at once faithful and elegant, of this interesting tract, with a few foot notes, and a longer preface. As it is, we yet feel ourselves obliged to the author, for a seasonable republication, and perfectly agree with him that if Luther—

shall appear to have excluded obedience by the stress which he lays upon faith, it must be to those only who read his tract superficially; and anticipating such an objection, he makes his own apology—(page 51.)—"We do not reject good works, but rather do most heartily embrace and teach them: neither do we condemn them in respect of themselves but in respect of the wicked addition given unto them, and of the opinion conceived of them in the attaining of righteousness."

And the following passage affords further information of the substance of Luther's views on a particular point:—

"But neither we nor the works in any wise, being of the opinion that man is justified through them in the sight of God."

For this false opinion is not tolerable in the eye of Faith, which Faith is the only righteousness before God. But in these works we must be of the mind, so to bring the flesh into subjection, and to cleanse the evil concupiscences thereof, that it may not bend the view of the eye to any thing else, than to the mortifying of evil concupiscence and lust : for when the soul is washed clean through faith, and made the darling of Christ, it would also desire that all things else, yea, and her own body chiefly might be purged together withall, to the end all things in her might love, and glorify God together, whereby it cometh to pass, that man, through an enforcing necessity of the flesh, may not give himself to idleness, and for that cause is constrained to do many good things, to the end he may bring his body into subjection. And yet these works are not of such power, as to be able to work man's justification before God. But man of a very pure love doth work the same, to the service and obedience of God, beholding in them nothing else than God's good will, unto the which he would most willingly and dutifully yield all humble obedience in all things.' p. 41, 42.

The 'Epistle to Leo the Tenth,' affords a decisive testimony against those who would question the integrity of Luther's motives in his opposition to the papal usurpation. It proves unanswerably his anxiety for peace and repose ; and while he was combating the 'monsters of this world,' it shews his disposition to conduct himself with forbearance towards the person of the Pope. He apologizes, on the plea of necessity, for his appeal to a General Council, expresses his 'affection' for his Holiness, affirms, that he had never mentioned him without 'honour and reverence,' and even goes so far as to call him 'a Daniel in Babylon.' He complains of the restless and agitating spirit of the high-handed partisans of Papal supremacy, as the cause and continuance of strife.

'There never came any such thought into my head, as to inveigh against the court of Rome, or to discourse thereof any thing at all : for when I perceived that all preservatives were not medicinable to procure her amendment, I withdrew me from her, and delivering her a libel of divorce, I spake unto her in this wise : he that is filthy, let him continue in his filthiness still, and he that is unclean, let him continue in his uncleanness still, yielding myself over to the calm and quiet study of holy Scriptures, whereby I might be able to profit my brethren dwelling round about me. Here now when as I could very little avail, Satan began to open his eyes, and to prick forward his trusty servant, John Eccius, a notorious enemy of Christ, swelling with a certain outrageous licentiousness of glory, challenging me to a combat unlooked for, tripping me for one very little word escaped me unawares, touching the supremacy of the Church of Rome.' *Epistle to the Pope.*

Whoever will read with an impartial spirit, the history of the Reformation, cannot fail to perceive that the great cause was as effectually assisted by the obstinacy and selfishness of the

possessors of ecclesiastical power, patronage, and wealth, as by the utmost efforts of the Reformers. The experience of past ages is always disregarded by succeeding ones, the same tenacity is opposed to the pleadings of justice and policy; the same exclusive regard to personal interest, shuts out all large and liberal feeling; and with few differences, excepting those of time and place, the same monopolizing spirit must awaken the same indignation, and meet a like rebuke.

Art. XI. *A History of the Jesuits*; to which is prefixed, *A Reply to Mr. Dallas's Defence of that Order*. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 392, 467. Price 1l. 4s. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

THE present Number of our Journal, issues from the press at a date which marks one of the most splendid and greatest eras in the history of the improvement of Mankind—the REFORMATION. It was on the eve of All Saints, 1517, that Luther presented to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the celebrated propositions which he had drawn up against indulgences, which circumstance may be considered as the decisive commencement of his illustrious and successful enterprise. This day, the Thirty-first of October, is, therefore, the Anniversary of the Centenary of the Reformation. The commemoration of that event by devout gratitude to the Author of all good, by a diligent care to estimate the worth of those blessings which have emanated from it, and by an earnest solicitude to preserve and extend them, is a duty which we hope our readers, in common with all Protestants, will impose upon themselves, and which we beg to recommend to them as one of their most interesting obligations. It might, we think, with the greatest propriety, form part of the business of all Protestant Teachers of Christianity at this season, to address to their respective congregations, discourses suitable to the remembrance of a deliverance so great and glorious as that which we must ever associate with Luther's name. Other names and other times, are worthy of a cherished recollection; and we should be glad to perceive more satisfactory indications than we are able to discern, of a determination in those persons who are reaping so largely the benefits which they were the instruments of producing, not to suffer them to perish from the records of a grateful and venerating memory. It was, however, with Luther, that the great and successful attempt of opposing the corrupt profligacy and tyranny of Popery originated. It is to his noble daring and magnanimous perseverance, in which he was supported by a higher than a moral agency, that we must refer the measures which prevailed, to obtain for Protestants the original inheritance of Christian freemen, on which by impious fraud an enemy had seized, and over

which he had long maintained a cruel and despotic sway. The dominion of Popery was over the souls of men. It subverted all their rights, and held them in bondage, that it might pursue its own designs without molestation, for which darkness was necessary, as it will always be chosen, for deeds of infamy and blood.

Let our readers therefore pause at this occurrence of a date so memorable, and devise for themselves the return which they shall make to Him who has chosen their inheritance for them, and has made them free with such a freedom as is imported in their Protestant designation. Let them estimate the price which has been paid for the liberty which they possess, in the unwearied labours and blood of righteous men. And let them not fail, under the responsibility which their high and singular privileges create, of guarding their solemn trust, with the vigilance and zeal of an appropriate fidelity.

The spirit of indifference is, at the present moment, most unsuitable to professors of Protestantism. Nothing, they may see, is wanting in the agents of Popery, but the power, to extinguish their light and to reduce them to the ancient slavery. They may observe most clearly the proofs that there exists the determination to overcome and destroy from among men the substance and the name of Protestantism. The abettors of Papal usurpation would doom to utter extinction the light which guides the children of the Reformation, and that liberty of mind which is their glory. In the very spirit of this exterminating resolution, they have revived persecution, have fulminated their decrees against the dissemination of the Scriptures, have raised the fallen tribunals of the Inquisition, and have, without ceremony and without disguise, avowed an utter hostility to freedom of inquiry. It is quite impossible that the signs of our times can be misconstrued. It is not the freedom, nor is it the happiness of mankind, that can be included in measures which have been already adopted throughout Europe : objects far different from these are in the intention of the originators of those measures.

At such a period as the present, the publication of the work now under our notice, cannot but be regarded as most seasonable. The revival of the Order of Jesuits, by the Head of the Romish Church, is assuredly an omen of ill. It is a demonstration of the existence of a conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. The purposes for which it has been again set up, are to be learned from the history of its past achievements, and the knowledge of these may be obtained from the work before us. The important lessons which it inculcates, cannot be too carefully studied, nor too extensively diffused. Though it is the production of an anonymous author, the authority of its details is not impaired by the want of a name, as the proper vouchers for

the facts which it imbodyes are uniformly cited : the political and moral reflections must receive their character from their accordance with the principles of wisdom and goodness, and from a comparison with these they have nothing to fear.

The appellation 'Mother of Harlots,' which we shall take leave to consider as a title by which in the prophetic anticipation of the New Testament, the Church of Rome is designated, is, we suppose, intended to point out the pre-eminent infamy of that corrupt hierarchy, as well as to prepare our minds for the history of the numerous progeny, which, as a spurious issue, have proceeded from their common mother, and been the instruments of diffusing her abominations in the earth. They make manifest their descent, by the qualities which are so conspicuous in their constitution, and prevent our erring in the attempt to shew their true affiliation. 'Eremites and friers, 'white, black, and gray,' are the undoubted children of this prolific mother, by whom they have been nursed, as well as bred, and under whose fostering influence they attained the growth and strength which enabled them to take their part in supporting the delusions and tyranny which it was her delight to practise. Among these agents of her wickedness, the Jesuits are entitled to distinct notice, both on account of the principles which they have imbodyed in their rules of conduct, and the figure they have made in the history of Modern Europe. Though they cannot boast of their antiquity, they have drawn to themselves a celebrity that may compensate for the lateness of their birth, as it raises them high in the scale of infamy and crime.

The revival of this Order is one of the numerous incidents which distinguish the 'New Æra' of our own times, and by which, when we shall have ceased from feeling interested in the changes of the world, the character of the events and persons which occupy the pages of our contemporary history, will be tried. Whether it will be to the glory, or to the shame, of the present generation, that institutions which, in the judgement of our ancestors, were ever considered as fraught with hostility to the rights, and liberties, and lives of mankind, by the growth or decay of which they were accustomed to measure the decrease or flourishing state of truth and righteousness, is a problem which our posterity will have to solve ; and according to their just determination let all the authors and abettors of those measures from which, as their palpable cause, the power of reviving the order of Jesuits, of erecting the tribunal of the Inquisition, and of fulminating anathemas against the cultivation of knowledge and the circulation of the Scriptures, has been derived, receive their proper award of infamy or of praise. It is impossible to dispute the position, that in the hands of our contemporaries have been placed the means of putting down, for

ever the power from which these, and other similar proceedings have emanated.

The Author of this work has not been sparing of labour in its compilation, and we must do him the justice of acknowledging that his employment has been as well directed as it has been seasonable. The primary object of his exertions, is to awaken the public mind to a sense of its dangers in this singular crisis of its fortunes. He is a watchman to the people of this land, and his calls to vigilance are loud and urgent. For our part, we think his calls are the effect of real danger, of which he appears to have entertained early and most sober apprehension. The revival of the Order of the Jesuits, considered in its connexion with other occurrences of the present period, is not to be regarded as one of those circumstances upon which thoughtful men can reflect with indifference; and most assuredly the Author of this book, in his persevering attempts to lead the public to the contemplation of such impending mischiefs as those which his warning voice announces, has not been combating a visionary object. His omens of the future, are just and necessary conclusions from observations of the past; they are lessons of sound precaution derived from a review of historical facts, which may be disguised, but cannot be refuted, and which rest on foundations that can be broken up only as all human testimony shall be discredited.

In the introductory pages of the present work, there are references to some undeniable facts of no distant date, which well merit the serious attention of sober minds, as they swell the catalogue of profligate transactions to which the Roman pontiffs have been direct parties, and which proclaim their utter contempt of virtuous principle. It cannot be erased from the tablet of history, that the Popes of Rome have sanctioned the most atrocious deeds, and extended their indulgence and benediction to the most consummate villains, whose perfidy and crimes single them out from the race of wicked men, as giants in vice. In conformity with the practice of his predecessors, Pope Pius VII. absolved all Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance to the Bourbons, expressly alienating, not only the crown of France, but also the property of all adherents to that family; declaring by his Bulls, that these acts emanated from *the plenitude of our Apostolic power*, and that they should remain for ever, valid and immutable. With what face can the abettors of the papacy look at these proofs of the wretched imbecility and profligacy of their head? Will they dare assert the more than mortal wisdom of their chief, with these evidences of the basest folly confronting them? And will they attempt to persuade us that the Papal claims to dispose of kingdoms and thrones, are obsolete and abandoned? What will they say to

the address of this same Pontiff, informing the Consistory of Cardinals, convened at Rome, on the 29th of October, 1805, that, ‘ he cheerfully complied with the desire of *his beloved Son in Christ* (Napoleon), to be anointed with his holy unction by the hands of his Holiness: to be placed by the most solemn rites, performed by his Holiness, in the highest rank: to receive the Imperial Crown by a solemn inauguration from his Holiness, impressing the ceremony with a character of religion, and calling down the benediction of Heaven?’ What joy, what pleasure, said this same Pius VII. to his assembled Cardinals; on his return from Paris, ‘ we experienced in our first interview with the Emperor, whose fame has sounded to the extremities of the world, and *whom God has chosen to restore his true religion*. The consecration and crowning of the Emperor, and of *our dear daughter Josephine*, his august consort, were celebrated in the most solemn manner.’ Can any thing more be wanting to complete the demonstration, that Popery is the same in pretension, the same in practice, as in the darkest periods of past ages? Can the eyes of men be any longer shut to the absurdity of its farces, and the horror of its tragedies? What reasons shall prevent our exposing this assumption of ‘ Holiness,’ and of universal authority, to the scoff, and scorn, and detestation of the world? ‘ It appears,’ says the Author of this History and Reply,

‘ As if Providence, by thus withdrawing the spirit of counsel from this mighty Ruler of the Romish Church, would admonish both that part of the world which admits, and that part of it which resists his Spiritual dominion, that a Pope of Rome in our time, is as formidable and dangerous to the liberty and tranquillity of the world, as a Pope of Rome was formerly; and that in spite of the pretensions to superior liberality and charity, which popery may make at this moment, the same system of darkness and intolerance is in full operation, has lost no part of its distinctive character, has grown no wiser from its misfortunes, and has only lifted its head again for the purpose of desolating afresh the afflicted and exhausted nations of the earth.’ p. 23.

‘ Is this the man,’ exclaims the Author, ‘ who should be courted and coquetted with by the highest authorities of a Protestant State? Or does England, either from ancient history or recent experience, imagine that she has any thing to gain by offering incense at an altar, whose unhallowed fires excited only the indignation and alarm of her forefathers?’

Mr. Dallas and his coadjutors, as advocates who plead the cause of the Roman Catholics, and defend the recent measures of the Papal Court, in its revival of the Order of the Jesuits, stand exhibited to the world in a manner as offensive as it is pitiable and degrading. They clamour loudly for the most enlarged and

unqualified liberty for their clients, and insist on the removal of every restriction which can be considered as a grievance burdening the profession of the Roman Catholic tenets. They take every possible pains to represent the evil and injustice of withholding from the persons whose interests they so strenuously maintain, whatever can be construed as their rights and privileges, and give the highest colouring they can to the effects and provisions of every disabling statute pressing against the adherents of Popery. Intolerance is the object of their sharpest invectives, as they perceive the evidences of its existence and operation in Protestant communities. At the same time, with most hardy and daring inconsistency, they demand room to be made in all Protestant communities, and in every country, for the admission of an establishment which is radically and incurably intolerant; which holds in its firmest grasp the murderous weapons of hostility and extermination against all other religious profession but that which it prescribes. They demand perfect liberty for an establishment which denies all rights of freedom, and permits no man to remain at ease in the possession of the objects of his own choice, apart from its approval; which breathes implacable vengeance against all other religious communities, and offers the alternative of death, or of submission to its will, to all whom it approaches. Could they come forward with the purity of truth, and exhibit the allegations and demands of an Institute which fully allowed to others the same kind and extent of claim which it asserts as its own right; could they ask us to indulge Popery with its desires, because Popery has no desires incompatible with those of persons who do not acknowledge it, and is prepared to respect as sacred the dictates of man's conscience in every place and circumstance; then we could have no objection to approve the view Mr. Dallas and his associates, in their performance of the service which they have assumed. But when they say, We will not concede to you as a right what we ask from you as such,—we must and will worship as we please, but you shall not,—we will not be restrained or incommoded in consequence of our religious profession, but you shall be restrained in yours,—we will be known only as Catholic Christians, and forbid the application of every other title to us, on pain of penal infliction, but we shall constantly speak of you as heretics;—when they adopt a conduct which does not possibly admit of any interpretation different from that now given, namely, that as the advocates of Popery, they plead for the practical acknowledgement of rights which they deny in every other application, and demand the free admission of Popery to all the benefits of a perfect liberty, while its inherent principle is to allow no toleration;—we cannot but regard them as either by necessity or

choice, reduced to the occupation of a most humiliating post. Where is their conscience? Where, their honour? Can they without remorse and shame, reflect on their having advocated a system bigoted, oppressive, and bloody? Will they tell us, with honour and candour, what would be the results from the possession of authority in this and every other country, by the Ruler of the Romish Church? Would they not be precisely the same as have ever marked its dominion? Here are the irresistible proofs of all our allegations, the demonstrations which utterly destroy all the pretensions of Dallas, and writers like him, on the part of the Popish Church, in regard to an improvement of its spirit. On the 5th of February, 1808, the Pope addressed a formal letter to all the Cardinals, containing his sentiments on a proposal of Bonaparte, for granting the free and public exercise of religious worship to those who dissent from the Romish communion, in which he uses the following words: ‘ It is proposed that all religious persuasions should be free, and their worship publicly exercised: but **WE HAVE REJECTED THIS ARTICLE**, as contrary to the Canons, and to the Councils; to the Catholic Religion; to the peace of human life; and to the welfare of the State, on account of the deplorable consequences which would ensue from it.’ In precisely the same spirit did the Roman Catholic Bishops of Belgium, address a letter to the new Sovereign of the Netherlands, dated July 28, 1815, in which occur the following expressions: ‘ Sire, *The existence and the privileges of the Catholic church in this part of your kingdom, are inconsistent with an article of the new Constitution, by which equal favour and protection are promised to all religions.*’ The provisions of the new Constitution in favour of religious liberty, they call ‘ **A DANGEROUS INNOVATION.**’ ‘ The Canonical laws,’ they say, ‘ have always rejected Schism and Heresy from the bosom of the Church.’ They assert that **ALL** the resolutions of the Council of Trent, *have the force of Ecclesiastical law* in the provinces; and it is well known that one of the resolutions of the council of Trent, decrees the extirpation of heresy. To crown the whole, these Bishops declare to the very face of their Sovereign, ‘ If your Majesty, *by virtue of a fundamental law, protected in these provinces the public profession and spreading of these doctrines*, the progress of which we are bound to oppose with all the care and energy which the Catholic church expects from our office, we should be in formal opposition to the laws of the state.’ These proceedings were fully approved by the Pope, who commended the zeal with which these bigoted and intolerant bishops had defended what he is pleased to represent as ‘ the rights of God and the Church.’

Where then is the good faith of the advocates of Popery, in ever describing it as invested with a milder character than it wore in its days of persecuting violence, or as allowing of any kind or measure of forbearance? And where, we again ask, is their honour, in seeking access in every part of the world, for an Establishment of deadly and unrelenting malice and cruelty? These facts, the authentic acts and deeds of the rulers of the Romish Church, should be circulated among all the inhabitants of the land: let them be every where proclaimed to prevent the success of false and delusive statements, and to display the evidences of a truth which cannot be too extensively known, **THAT POPERY CANNOT CHANGE.**

“The inference deducible from the above, is, that in the system of the church of Rome, there is a radical and incurable defect; that her fundamental principle is *hostile to the right which all intellectual beings possess* of investigating those doctrines, upon the reception of which, *not by an external and forced assent*, but by an internal and unfeigned belief, the present and future happiness of the human race depends; in short, to seek after those solid proofs and valid authorities, which alone, by producing conviction, can effect true conversion. While the system of Papists will never allow them to compromise, or accord with, such investigations of religious truth, as form the glorious characteristic of the country in which we live, it is manifest that they cannot but be, intentionally at least, *tyrants over conscience.*” p. 20.

Mr. Dallas has ventured, in his “Defence of the order of Jesuits,” on a bold argument, when he asserts, that if the Jesuits had never been suppressed, the French Revolution would never have happened. The reasoning which he employs in his attempt to make good this wonderful position, will frequently remind the readers of his work, of the old method of connecting cause and effect, as related by Latimer: ‘Tenterden steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands.’ ‘The growth of one generation,’ says Mr. Dallas, ‘sufficed to strip the tiara of the veneration due to it*, and to threaten every crown in Europe with ruin. In 1773, CLEMENT XIV. abolished the order. In 1793, a king of France was beheaded.’ To say nothing of the folly apparent in the manner in which a man who boasts of his attachment to a Protestant Church, has chosen to speak of the Papal power in these words, Mr. Dallas will doubtless be applauded by many readers, for providing them a source to which they may trace many of the atrocities and slaughters of which history has recorded the memorials. How easy is it to remark, that in such a year the Jesuits were established at a particular place,

* ‘If this be not arguing like a Catholic, what is? Protestants know nothing of any veneration due to the Pope. *Their whole system is founded on the denial of his authority.*’ Note p. 50.

and within such a subsequent period so many acts of wickedness were perpetrated. In 1603, Henry IV. of France, contrary to the advice of Sully, and in opposition to the Parliament, took the Jesuits under his protection : in 1610, he was assassinated ! It would be an evidence of stupidity not to learn from the teachings of such a master in moral science as Mr. Dallas !

The advocates of Popery should never advert to the French Revolution. They never can lead our attention to that memorable epoch, without putting us on the duty of examining the moral state of France previously to that convulsion. Let Mr Dallas ring changes as he pleases on Atheism, Infidelity, Jacobinism, and all the other terms and epithets which he has scattered so copiously throughout his apologies for the Jesuits, it will still be a previous question, From what causes were these produced, and in what circumstances of moral culture did they originate ? The twenty years which intervened between the abolishing of the Order of the Jesuits, and the death of Louis XVI, rapid as is the deterioration of nations, will not allow of such a transition as is implied in Mr. Dallas's assumption. We must seek the causes of it in a more enlarged circle of years, and in other springs than those which impelled the Jesuits from the soil of France. The process of demoralizing had long been going forward in that country, before the suppression of the Order, and the primary agents in preparing the seeds of moral disorder, by which in their maturity, corruptions so gross and excesses so deplorable were produced, were the ecclesiastics of France, in connexion with the debasing superstitions over which they presided. The vices, the luxuries, the almost total neglect of moral and religious instruction in that body, combined with the natural and certain tendencies of a superstition which could gain all its purposes without enlightening the understanding or sanctifying the heart, were the slowly operating but destructive causes of all the mischiefs which blended themselves with the French Revolution. A philosopher, investigating the causes of such effects as present themselves to our consideration, in the state of the Gallic population, and mingle with the details of its recent history, must laugh at Mr. Dallas's method of explaining them. The following attempt at their discovery is as philosophic as it is palpable, and is marked by characters of truth.

“ What, then, was the real occasion of that confederacy of wit and talent, which burst forth with such scorching and destructive effects at the period alluded to ?

‘ This question admits of an easy solution. The progress from superstition to infidelity, or from a corrupt religion to no religion at all, is very simple : the history of mankind, in all ages furnishes examples to prove this point. Under the Pagan system, which was no other than a corruption of the Patriarchal and Primitive Dispensation,

the lapses from the national faith were almost of course, and the wise and learned men of Greece and Rome (as a general question) either openly denied the authority of "them that were no Gods," and derided the claims of the priesthood; or else acquiesced in such a system, from a notion that even a false religion was, as a question of state, better than none at all.—In like manner, under the corruptions of the Papacy, it was impossible that as knowledge was diffused through the world from the Reformation downwards, and men were permitted to think for themselves, the errors and inconsistencies of Popery should not become apparent, precisely in that proportion in which light was thrown upon the human intellect. Inquirers of this description found that the Religion of the Romish Church would not abide a close examination, and that it would much less endure the test of a comparison with the Scriptures of Truth. The doctrine of Papal Infallibility, for example, was too monstrous for good men to recognize with safety to their consciences, when they observed the errors which the Popes had committed, and the vices in which they had indulged: while that of Papal Supremacy was too gross, either for wise statesmen or true patriots to admit with safety to their country. Thus also it was found, that the spiritual power claimed and exercised by the Romish Clergy (each of whom became the Pope of his own district), was equally at variance with the dictates of good sense and sound reasoning. They found that the doctrine of Purgatory accorded no better with any thing which the Scripture had revealed in support of it, than it did with the constant declaration of Scripture, that the present was a state of probation, and the future, of retribution. The doctrine of Papal or Priestly Absolution appeared to them only an usurpation, by man, of a power which belonged to his Creator, while that of Papal or Priestly Indulgencies afforded sanction and toleration for every species of crime. They considered the terrors of Ex-Communication and Anathema, as the mere engines of temporal power, assumed for secular purposes alone. They regarded the doctrine of Transubstantiation as an invention, by which a mystery was introduced into the simplest Institution for no other purpose than to enforce the necessity, and exalt the authority of a standing Priesthood. They found that Auricular Confession, while it enabled the Ministers of Religion to penetrate into the secrets of families and individuals, tended, above every other expedient, to consolidate their power, and to multiply their resources. They considered the denial of the Bible to the common people, as an evident mark of the departure of that Church from the truths which it revealed, and the strongest proof of the weakness of a system which could resort to such a measure. They further regarded all the attempts of the Romish Church to mix human Tradition with Divine Revelation, as utterly unjustifiable upon every principle; and as little could they endure to see Tradition putting its own gloss and comment upon the Scripture, and virtually invalidating the sanctions, and evading the force, of the word of God himself. They observed that a contempt of the Institution of the Sabbath was a characteristic of Popery, wherever that Religion prevailed; and that the violation of the Marriage vow was almost peculiar to the same system.

They observed a religion of forms, processions, ceremonies, and externals, usurping the place of that Holy Faith which invariably produces the fruits of holiness, without which the Religion of every man is in the sight of God utterly vain. There appeared, further, in Prayers and Invocations being offered to Saints, many of whom had been canonized by the Romish Church, after lives of open and notorious sin, to be something as repugnant to reason as it was contrary to revelation. They observed further, that the cruelties and persecutions which that Church had exercised in every age, were altogether opposed to the religion of the Prince of Peace, and calculated only to alienate the friends of Religion, and multiply its enemies. When to these considerations, men who were in search after truth, added the immoral and scandalous lives of the Catholic Clergy as a body, chiefly arising out of their self-imposed celibacy, they were still further revolted.* Vol. I pp. 56—58.

It is to this state of things, that they who direct our attention to the Revolution in France, as so destructive to religion, compel the recurrence of our minds: a state of things full of decisive proof that the very opposites of Christian religion were universally cherished and practised through the country. Nothing was nourished under the gross superstition and gorgeous forms which had assumed the name of religion in France, previously to the Revolution, but the practical disregard of Christian principles, which proceeded by regular gradations to the production of a spirit that left men without God in the world: (*αθεοι*). It was not religion that was overthrown in France at the Revolution. The circumstances of that event, only unveiled the gross deformities of the professed Catholicism of the nation, and afforded the opportunity to those who had been nurtured in the midst of such corruptions, of manifesting their real character, and acting out the depraved part for which they had been previously prepared. It is not meant to insinuate that France was so much of a Sodom as not to contain ten righteous men. Doubtless, there were some on whose minds the contemplation of the enormities which the Popery of France had associated

* ‘This was peculiarly the case in Spain.’—‘The religion of Spain,’ says Mr. Pinkerton in his *Geography*, ‘is the Roman Catholic, which in this country and Portugal has been carried to a pitch of fanaticism. The Monks being extremely numerous, and human passions ever the same, those ascetics atone for the want of marriage by the practice of adultery, and the husbands, from the dread of the Inquisition, are constrained to connive at this enormous abuse. The conscience is seared by the practice of Absolution; and the mind becomes reconciled to the strangest of all phenomena, theoretic piety and practical vice united in bonds almost indissoluble. The vice becomes flagrant beyond conception, as it is practised by those very men who ought to exhibit examples of pure morality.’ *Pinkerton’s Geography*, Vol. I. pp. 409 and 415.

with it, and the inquiries which they suggested, had their proper effect; persons who without quitting openly a Church which had departed from the faith, secretly renounced her errors, and kept themselves unspotted from her pollutions. Other inquirers might have gone over to the reformed Faith. But a third class, which was by far the most numerous, received in this school the qualifications which fitted them to become the leaders of Infidelity. These men,

— ‘having talent enough to detect the absurdities of the Romish Church, and wit enough to expose them; observing the grossest errors both of doctrine and practice passing current under the name of Religion; and being too proud to inquire, whether, amidst such a mass of evil, some good might not lie concealed; themselves sensual and profligate, and determined, notwithstanding, to hold fast their vices, these men did not care to go over to a purer system, of which they knew as little, and thought as ill as of their own; and yet they would not permit the multitude to continue in a track which could so easily be demonstrated to be the wrong one. They visited therefore the abuses of the Catholic Religion upon Religion itself, and judging of every other Religion by the specimen before them, they invited the world to do the same, and unfortunately succeeded too well. With men whose abilities enabled them to expose the abominations of the national faith, but whose profligacy made it necessary for them to wish there was no better, there was no other resource than in something worse, and that alternative was INFIDELITY: once embarked on an ocean like this, it was only natural that they should desire companions for such a voyage; in other words, that they should wish to render all men as wicked and as wretched as themselves. In attacking the Clergy, in order to attain their object, they certainly were not likely to spare any part of that body: but to contend, as Mr. Dallas does, that they singled out THE JESUITS, as more peculiarly against their new Philosophy, than others, and that, by doing so, they proved the Jesuits to be the steady friends of true Religion, regular government, and the peace of the world; these are positions which Mr. DALLAS must be content to have asserted, for they are utterly destitute of proof.’

‘If, indeed, the new philosophers had pursued a course decidedly hostile to the Jesuits, there would have been nothing surprising in it, when it is considered that the order of Jesuits formed the most corrupt modification of a corrupt system: and therefore so far from that event (if it had taken place), having in any way assisted Mr. DALLAS in establishing either the moral purity or political utility of the Jesuits, it could only have gone to confirm the fact already advanced; namely, that the debased condition into which the Catholic Religion had sunk, was in fact the occasion of an Infidel attack upon Religion itself, through the medium of a Church whose members, whether they might call themselves by one name or another, had, as a general question, apostatized from the truth.’ pp. 59—60.

The entire question on the moral tendencies and effects of

Popery, where it is left to itself, is too important to be hastily dismissed from the minds of our readers. These are not to be learned from the representations of Catholic writers in Protestant nations, nor from the state of a country controlled by Protestant principles; they are to be ascertained from the inspection of a population among whom Popery, in its full unchecked operation, with its numerous clergy, and its long *parade* of ceremonies, and habits, and forms, is disclosing its proper character. Our readers will have noticed in a preceding page, the extract from Pinkerton's Geography, descriptive of the depravation of manners in the Ecclesiastics of Spain and Portugal: on the same authority we lay before them the following quotations, as they occur in the work now under our notice.

‘ It may perhaps be asserted, that the Roman Catholic system in the south of Europe, is the only superstition in the universe which has at any period necessitated the practice of vice; thus confirming the maxim that the corruption of the purest and best system is always the worst. Were an Apostle again to visit Spain, he would certainly begin with preaching the Christian practice, as if the very idea of Christianity had perished, and his first duty would be—TO CONVERT THE ECCLESIASTICS.’

Again, speaking of France, he says,

‘ The laws, and decency of marriage, are frequently sacrificed, and the looseness of the French morals in regard to the female sex, has become proverbial.’

And further;

‘ The religion of France was the Roman Catholic till the Revolution established freedom of conscience, or rather gave an undue ascendancy to concealed Atheism, which any Superstition remarkably absurd, has a tendency to produce. But the strongest minds, as usual, remained Deistical.’ See Pinkerton's *Geography*, Vol. I. pp. 415, 253, and 257. Vol. I. pp. 60—61.

Let the thoughtful reader digest these accounts. Let him consider the state in which morals must be, where there exists a form of religion that ‘*necessitates the practice of vice* ;’ and such is Roman Catholicism, as it opposes its external regulations to the very nature of man, to passions which the Creator has identified with the human constitution. Let him consider the extent to which the worst species of profligate wickedness must diffuse its consequences, where the sexual passion, restrained by positive law from its proper and pure enjoyment, seeks and obtains its gratification, by violating the sanctities of domestic relations, and binding down the dishonoured mind to silent discontent, by inducing the terrors of the Inquisition! Let him reflect on the numbers of which that body is

composed, to whom celibacy is ordained by the wicked policy of the Romish Church; and if the chastity of his relatives, and the consoling quiet of his own mind in the contemplation of his domestic peace, be of high price in his estimation, he will revolt at Popery.

On some points of great moment we feel ourselves at variance with the Author of the present work. The sentiments which he entertains on the question of religious liberty, are not to be reconciled with the known and declared opinions of our Journal. We therefore the more readily cite from his pages, the following sentence, as evidence, that the feeling which it expresses, is not peculiar to ourselves, or to the persons with whom on religious questions we are agreed.

‘To its own demoralized and vitiated condition, Christian Europe must refer the tremendous visitation she has experienced; a visitation which, so far from having had the purifying and salutary effects which might have been anticipated, has only seen her settle down again into the dregs of the same system which was, before, her sorrow and her shame:—*a visitation which, after all the expenditure of Protestant blood and treasure, in defence of the rights and liberties of the world, has only issued in the restoration of the Pope, the revival of the Inquisition, and the re-establishment of the Order of Jesuits?*—p. 61—62.

Will the Author explain how it has so happened that these should be the only results of measures devised, and for a long period of years supported, in defence of the rights and liberties of the world? They are acknowledged to be no part of those liberties, but are proclaimed to be the very reverse of them; and yet they are the objects which directly connect themselves with a *successful* ‘defence of the rights and liberties’ of mankind, and with the mind of those persons by whom that ‘defence’ has been conducted! Whatever was sought for by the expenditure of Protestant blood and Protestant treasure, has been obtained, in the declared judgement of those who directed the employment of all the means by which Protestant blood was poured out like water, and Protestant treasure was lavished to prodigality. They announced the accomplishment of their objects, with rapturous applause; they exulted in the success of their measures. And here is the recorded confession of the Author, that the *only* results are opposed to the rights, and are subversive of the liberties, of the world! There are passages in his book which induce us to put to him the question of explanation on this subject.

The Author animadverts, (p. 104) we think with justice, on the manner in which Mr. Fox, in the Introduction to his History, speaks of the plot in the reign of Charles the Second; and we are of opinion with him, that Burnet’s reflection on the whole subject, is more dignified and appropriate, than the positive as-

assumptions of Mr. Fox. ‘ These things put a man in the dark ;
‘ and in this mist matters must be left till the great revelation of
‘ all secrets, and there I leave it.’ The mysteries of that series
of transactions which are included in the alleged plot, have not
been dissipated by any light which has been let in upon them,
since Burnet’s time.

That Mr. Dallas should put himself forward as the advocate
of the Jesuits, should not perhaps appear strange to us, after
perusing such a passage as the following : ‘ Attached my-
‘ self to the Church of England, it is nevertheless clear to me,
‘ that the Reformation has generated the most absurd supersti-
‘ tions ; and I cannot conceive that there is a man of unbiassed
‘ mind and good sense, who would not rather embrace all that
‘ has been retrenched from the Catholic creed, than adopt the
‘ spurious abominations and blasphemies which, every where,
‘ under the screen of toleration, disgrace the world.’ On this
passage the writer of the History animadverts with a severity
which is not in the least beyond the requisite measure ; accom-
panying his strictures with remarks on the state of Europe in
general, and of England in particular, prior to the Reformation,
as selected from a mass of evidence which cannot be perused by
a consistent Protestant, or ‘ a man of unbiassed mind,’ without
producing the most cordial satisfaction with Protestantism.
What abominations and blasphemies that could, for a moment,
aspire to the thousandth part of the impiety and horrible atro-
cities which have been mixed up with the *legitimate* abomina-
tions and profaneness of the Romish Church, have ever shewn
themselves to the world in Protestant communities ? Did Mr.
Dallas ever find among Protestants, such an abomination as de-
signating with the title of Christ’s vicar, an infamous wretch laden
with all the enormities of vice, and consummate in wickedness ?
What profaneness can he find in Protestant records, comparable
to this ? Can any thing among the abettors of the Reformation,
be found to match with details such as the following ?

‘ Grose has published, in his preface to his *Antiquities of England*
and Wales, two letters, addressed by Doctor Layton and another (two
of the visitors of the Religious Houses) to Cromwell, in or about the
year 1537 ; the originals of which are preserved, together with many
others, in the Bodleian library. They are as follows :—“ Pleaseth
“ it your Worship to understand, that we came from Glastonbury to
“ Bristow. I here send you for relics two flowers, that on Christmas
“ even will spring and bear flowers. Ye shall also receive a bag of
“ relics, wherein ye shall see strange things, as God’s coat, our
“ Lady’s smock, part of God’s supper, and part of the stone on which
“ Christ was born in Bethlehem : belike Bethlehem affords plenty of
“ stone. These are all of Maiden Bradley, whereof is a Holy Father
“ Priour, who hath but six children, and but one daughter married
“ yet of the goods of the monastery, but trusting shortlie to marrie

“ the rest. His sons be tall men waiting upon him. He thank
 “ God he never meddled with married women, but all with maidens,
 “ the fairest that could be gotten, and always married them right
 “ well. The Pope, considering his fragilitie, gave him licence to
 “ keep a ———; and he has good writing under seal to discharge his
 “ conscience, and to chuse Mr. Underhill to be his ghostly father,
 “ and he to give him plenary absolution. I send you also our Lady’s
 “ girdle of Bruton, a solemn relic, sent to women in travail; Mary
 “ Magdalen’s girdle, which Matilda the Empress, founder of Fairley,
 “ gave with them, as sayeth the Holy Father of Fairley. I have
 “ crosses of silver and gold, Sir, which I send you not now, because
 “ I have more to be delivered this night by the Priour of Maiden
 “ Bradley. There is nothing notable, the brethren be kept so
 “ streight, that they cannot offend; but fain they would, if they
 “ might, as they confess, and such fault is not in them.

(Signed) “ R. LAYTON.

“ From St. Austin’s, without Bristol.”

“ My singular good Lord, &c. As touching the Abbot of Bury,
 “ nothing suspect as touching his living; but it was detected he lay
 “ much forth at Grainges, and he spent much money in playing at
 “ cards and dice. It is confessed and proved, that there was here
 “ such frequency of women comying and resortyng, as to no place
 “ more. Among the relics are found the coals St. Lawrence was
 “ roasted withal; the paring of St. Edmund’s nails: St. Thomas of
 “ Canterbury’s pen-knife and books; and divers skulls for the head-
 “ ach: pieces of the holy-cross, able to make a whole cross: other
 “ relicks, for rain, and for avoiding the weeds growing in corn, &c.
 “ Your servant bounden.

“ From Bury St. Edmunds. (Signed) “ JOSEPH RICE.”

Vol. I. p. 213.—See Preface to Grose’s Antiq. p. 99.

Disce omnia. For this was not a state of things peculiar to England. These details present us the picture of Popery generally; it is the same in all countries. And yet there are minds to which all the ignorance and wickedness, the frauds, and mummeries, and base immoralities of the darkest and most degraded periods in human history, are preferable to the state of things which Protestantism challenges as its own! Some minds love darkness rather than light!

Our readers will have already drawn for themselves the conclusion, that the “ Reply” to Mr. Dallas’s defence, embraces the general consideration of the most interesting facts in the History of the Reformation, and of that opposition to Protestantism, which its inveterate enemies have supported. The “ Reply” is perfectly satisfactory on all the main points of the dispute, though we cannot pledge ourselves to the entire approbation of the manner in which the Author has been pleased to illustrate some of his positions. We reserve our account of the History, for our next Number.

(To be continued.)

ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

**** Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.**

A new Monthly publication is projected by some friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which is to be devoted exclusively to the concerns of that Institution, to be called *The Biblical Register*, and to commence on the 1st of January next. The proposed plan of the Work is to contain, I. An historical account of the Society. II. Essays on any principle or practice of the Society. III. Review of Works relating to the Society. IV. Memoirs or biography of persons particularly connected with the Society. V. Home intelligence. VI. Foreign intelligence. VII. Miscellaneous matter. It is also proposed to furnish portraits of persons particularly connected with the Society. Any remarks on the proposal, or any hints for the management of the Work, will be most gratefully received, addressed to the Projectors of the *Biblical Register*, to be left at L. B. Seeley's, 169, Fleet Street, London. The price of the Work is to be 6d. a Number, and the profits to be devoted to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In the course of this month will be published *Principia Hebraica*, comprising a grammatical analysis of five hundred and sixty-four verses, so selected from various parts of the Hebrew Psalms as to contain within themselves nearly all the words of common use which occur in the Hebrew Bible. The Serviles are printed throughout in hollow characters, and such assistances are afforded as it is presumed will facilitate the study of the sacred tongue. A concise Grammar is prefixed, and the whole is so arranged as to suit both those students who approve of the Points, and those who reject them. The work has been enlarged from the "small pocket volume" first proposed, to an octavo of above three hundred and fifty pages. Price 15s.

A sixth volume of Discourses selected from the MSS. of the late Rev. B. Beddome, A.M., will appear in the course of the present month.

The Rev. Mark Wilks, of London, is preparing for publication a History of Ireland, in a compendious form.

Early in November will be published "Family Suppers," consisting of interesting Tales for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons, illustrated by Engravings.

In the Press, the Religion of Mankind, in a series of Essays. By Rev. Robert Burnside, A.M. in two vols. octavo.

In the press and speedily will be published, A Complete History of the Spanish Inquisition, from the period of its establishment by Ferdinand V. to the present time, drawn from the most authentic documents. By Don Juan Antonio Llorente, one of the principal officers of the Inquisitorial Court, and member of several academies. Translated from the Spanish.

Intended for publication before the close of the present year, "A Sketch of my Friend's Family," a Tale, designed to convey some Practical Hints on Religious and Domestic Society. By Mrs. Marshall, Author of "Herwick Tales."

Immediately will be published, the History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, with letters descriptive of a sail round the Lake of Geneva, and of the Glaciers of Chamouni.

In the press, The History of Elsmere and Rosa, an Episode: the merry matter by John Mathers; the grave by a solid gentleman. In 2 Vols. 12mo.

Also, The Quakers, a Tale. By Eliza B. Lester. In 12mo.

Speedily will be published, in two octavo volumes, A Course of Sermons, for the Lord's Day throughout the Year; including Christmas Day, the First Day of Lent, Good Friday, and Ascension Day. Adapted to, and taken chiefly from, the Service for the Day. By Joseph Holden Pott, A.M. Archdeacon of London, and Vicar of St. Martin in the Fields.

To be published early in the Winter, by subscription, in two volumes 8vo. Faith in the Holy Trinity, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Sabellian Unitarianism, shown to be "the God denying Apostacy." By the Rev. William Hales, D.D. Rector of Killesandra.

In the press, *The Life of Richard Watson*, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, written by himself at different intervals, and revised in 1814. Published by his Son, Richard Watson, LL.B. Prebendary of Llandaff and Wells. In 4to, with a Portrait of his Lordship, from an original Picture, by Romney.

In the press, *Travels through Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Finland, Norway, and Russia*; with a Description of the City of St. Petersburg, during the Tyranny of the Emperor Paul. By E. D. Clarke, LL.D. being the Third and last Part of the Author's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In 4to. with numerous Engravings of Views, Maps, &c.

In the press, *Shakspeare and his Times*; including the Biography of the Poet; Criticisms on his Genius and Writings; a Disquisition on the object of his Sonnets; a new Chronology of his Plays; and a History of the Manners, Customs, and Amusements, Superstitions, Poetry, and Elegant Literature of his age. By Nathan Drake, M.D. Author of *Literary Hours*, and of *Essays on Periodical Literature*. In 2 vols. 4to, with a Portrait, &c.

A General View of the Domestic and Foreign Possessions of the Crown, the Laws, Commerce, Revenues, Offices, and other Establishments, Military as well as Civil. By John Adolphus F.S.A. 4 vols. 8vo.

Madame de Stael's Memoirs of the Private Life of her Father, the celebrated M. Necker, will soon appear in an octavo volume, French and English.

The Rev. F. Homfray will soon publish, *Thoughts on Happiness*, a poem.

"Mr. Robert Law, his Memorials of Remarkable Things in his Time, from 1638 to 1684," are printing from the original manuscript, with notes by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. in a quarto volume.

Sir H. M. Wellwood, bart. will soon publish, in an octavo volume, an Account of the Life and Writings of the late Dr. John Erskine, of Carnock.

The Memoirs of Dr. Benj. Franklin, written by himself to a late period, and continued to the time of his death by his grandson, will be published early in the next month, in a quarto volume.

Letters of William First Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, are printing from the originals in the Editor's possession, in a quarto volume, with portraits and fac-similes.

The Rev. C. Maturin, author of the tragedy of *Bertram*, is printing a tale, in three volumes.

Dr. Francis Buchanan has in the press, an account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, in a quarto volume with engravings.

Mr. T. Squire of Epping, is printing a Grammar of the Elements of Astronomy, for the use of schools and students.

Mr. Beaufort, of Dublin, is preparing for the press, a New Theory of Magnetism, especially the phenomena that relate to the variation of the magnetic needle.

The Rev. G. S. Faber is printing a new edition, revised, altered, and considerably augmented, of *Horræ Mosaicæ*.

Octavo editions of Dr. Watkins' *Memoirs of R. B. Sheridan, esq.* and Mr. Northcote's *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, will soon appear.

Dr. Coote will publish in the ensuing month, a third edition of the *History of Europe, from the year 1763 to the treaty of Amiens in 1802*; and a new volume continuing the period from 1802 to the pacification of Paris in 1815.—These two volumes are written as a continuation of Dr. Russell's *History of Modern Europe*; of the first, two editions have been sold, and the latter is now published with a view of gratifying the desire that many have expressed of possessing a regular and connected history of modern times, and will be each sold separately.

Mr. T. Faulkner, of Chelsea, is preparing a *Topographical History of the Parish of St. Mary Abbott, Kensington*; including a catalogue of the pictures in the royal gallery of the palace.

Capt. H. Golownin, of the Russian navy, has in the press, a *Narrative of a Residence in Japan, in 1811-12-13*; with observations on the country and the people.

Mr. Barlow, of Woolwich, will soon publish an essay on the Strength and Stress of Timber, founded upon a course of experiments made at the Royal Military Academy, and illustrated by numerous tables and plates.

Dr. George Henning of Bridgwater, is printing a *Treatise on Pulmonary Consumption*.

. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Donii Juvenalis Aquinatis Satiræ
d optimorum Exemplarium Fidem
ita, perpetuo Commentario illus-
tratque Proœmio et Argumentis In-
e. A Georgio Alex. Ruperti.
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drex copiosissimus. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

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*History of the Ancient Noble Fa-
Marmyon; their singular office
g's Champion, by the Tenure of
romial Manor of Scrivelsby, in the
of Lincoln: also, other Digni-
Tenures, and the Services of Lon-
xford, &c. on the Coronation-day.*

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te Dr. Willan; including the
r part of the engravings of that
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*An Historical Research into the Na-
ture of the Balance of Power in Europe.
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Feelings considered, as it respects Reli-
gion. A Sermon, preached before the
Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sarum,
on his Visitation, held at Devizes, on
Friday the 15th of August, 1817. By
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Trowbridge, in the Diocese of Sarum.
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to and from China, and of the Journey
over Land from the Mouth of the Pei-
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Face of the Country, the Policy, the*

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Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne depuis l'Epoque de son Etablissement par Ferdinand V., jusqu'au Règne de Ferdinand VII. Tirée des Pièces Originales des Archives du Conseil de la Suprême & de celles de Tribunaux Subalternes du Saint Office. Par D. Jean-Antoine Llorente, Ancien Secrétaire de l'Inquisition de la Cour, &c. Tome 1, in 8vo., with Portrait, 10s.

* * * The Second Volume will appear next Month, and the Third and last Volume at the End of the Year.

Precis des Evenemens Militaires, ou Essais Historiques sur les Campagnes de 1799 à 1814; avec Cartes & Plans. Par M. le Comte Mathieu Dumas, Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi. Tomes V & VI. Campagne de 1801. 8vo. with a folio Atlas, 1l. 18s. or on vellum Paper 3l. 16s.

Melanges Historiques & Politiques. Par M. A. H. L. Heeren. Traduit de l'Allemand. 8vo. 6s.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The concluding portion of the Article on Tithes, is unavoidably deferred to the next Number, which will also contain the conclusion of the Articles on Mosheim's Commentaries, and the History of the Jesuits.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1817.

Art. I. *The Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation.* Being a View of the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets to the Messiah, with the subsequent Testimonies. By Robert Haldane. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 352, 402. Price 12s. Oliphant, Waugh, and Innes, Edinburgh; Hamilton, and Hatchard, London.

INFIDELITY is a disease of the heart rather than of the understanding. It is not so much from a deficiency of evidence, as from the absence of attachment to it, that men reject Revelation. Scepticism originates commonly in a secret wish that the contents of the Bible may be fictions; it is encouraged and nourished by occasional discoveries of apparent contradictions or imperfections, or blunders in the inspired writings; and it ends in stubborn attempts to prove the whole to be a cunningly devised fable, and then to laugh it to scorn. The Scriptures themselves uniformly ascribe unbelief to this state of mind—the alienation of man from God, and the enmity of his heart to the holiness and spirituality of the Divine requirements. In this condition of his moral faculties, no evidence will satisfy; the testimony of one risen from the dead, would be rejected as insufficient: while under a different state of heart, the testimony of the Gospel is seen in all its affecting simplicity and truth, and felt in all its overwhelming power and grandeur. This view of the matter is powerfully corroborated by facts. A great proportion of the persons called infidels, consists of men whose lives evidently require that the announcements of the Bible should be false, or of such as have never given themselves the trouble to examine either the evidences or the design of Christianity. With the book which is the object of their unbelief, they have no other acquaintance, than what enables them to venture a profane jest upon its doctrines or characters, or to allege a stale and often refuted objection. A more intimate acquaintance with it, they guess, would be incompatible with their mode of life, and the enjoyment of peace of mind; they therefore keep

Vol. VIII. N. S. 2 U

as far as possible from that which is so likely to disturb or alarm them.

Another numerous class of persons, whose lives also shew that they are unbelievers, in the Scriptural sense of the term, are well acquainted with the facts, and principles, and evidences of Revelation. On these subjects they appear to entertain no doubts, to feel no difficulties, to possess no prejudices. In short, in their own estimation they are believers. But their general deportment shews that they are "not of the Father, but of the world." Notwithstanding their apparent knowledge, their understandings must be in a state of spiritual darkness with respect to the true glory of Divine truth; the cause of which is to be sought for in the condition of their hearts and affections: "Their understanding is darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, *because of the hardness of their heart.*"

On the other hand, there are not a few individuals, who are genuine believers of the Gospel, and at the same time who are but very partially and imperfectly acquainted with what are called its evidences. The word of God has come to them with power and much assurance. It has accomplished a great moral revolution in their characters. It has healed the disease of sin, dissipated their doubts, relieved their anxieties, and filled them with joy and peace. The spirit of faith has been imparted to them, and light in the Lord has been the result. Their evidence of the truth of the Gospel is to be found in the relief it has afforded them, its suitableness to their condition as depraved and miserable creatures. With them it is not so much a matter of reasoning as of experience; not so much an argument as a sovereign remedy.

All attempts, therefore, to persuade man to receive the Gospel, which are entirely or chiefly addressed to him, in reference to his speculative principles, must in a great measure fail of attaining their object. They may silence, they may produce theoretical persuasion; but they will not convert the soul. The reason is sufficiently obvious. They are not applied to the seat of the disease. They view man rather as ignorant, than as wicked; more as a reasoner inquiring after truth, than as a sinner unwilling to be convinced. Between moral evil and natural evil, there is no doubt a very essential distinction, both as to their causes and their consequences; but, in point of fact, it is quite as practicable to remove blindness or deafness by disputation, as to dissipate infidelity, and to produce the faith of Christ, by accumulating the evidences of Christianity.

We freely admit that it is right to bring forward these evidences, and to reason upon them. In doing so, the guilt of unbelief is shewn, the mouth of the gainsayer stopped, the

faith of the Christian established ; and, as part of the appointed means of salvation, in some instances it may lead to conviction of the truth. All this is well ; but we contend that any discussion on the truth of Christianity, which does not go further than this, stops short of the point that ought ever to be kept in view. If there is not an appeal to the conscience, as well as to the judgement, if there is not a dealing with man as a sinner, an urging of the awful views which the Bible and the world afford of human nature, as sinful, rebellious, and accountable, an exhibition in the way of comfort and warning of what the Gospel reveals and threatens, a beseeching of men to be reconciled to God, and to flee from the wrath to come ; if there be a neglect of these, that faith which is accompanied with salvation, will not be produced.

In confirmation of these views, we may appeal to the kind of writing and preaching which has most generally been made useful to the souls of men. The most successful preachers and writers, have not been those who have spent their lives in combating infidel objections, in ramifying the evidences of Christianity, in defending and illustrating the reasonableness of its doctrines, the beauty of its morality, and the harmony of its design. Most of the individuals who have been so employed, have laboured to very little purpose. The labour which God has generally acknowledged, is of a very different character ; simpler in its nature, better adapted to the condition and feelings of man, and productive of holier and happier effects. The preaching of the Cross, though a stumbling block and foolishness to the world, is still the power and the wisdom of God to the salvation of sinners. When all moral suasion fails, this doctrine, stated in its simplicity, and faithfully and affectionately pressed on the reception of man, subverts his antipathies, enlightens his mind, and brings every thought into the captivity of its obedience.

How seldom do we hear of the works of Lardner, or Paley, producing conversion. They have been useful, we doubt not, in a subordinate degree, to many, and in their own place are highly valuable. But what Christianity itself is, what is the condition of those to whom it is addressed, or what it is designed to do for them—it is impossible from such writers to ascertain.

The work now on our table, we are happy to say, combines, if the preceding reasonings are correct, what ought never to be separated ;—such a view of the evidences of Revelation, as, under the blessing of God, is calculated to satisfy and convince ; and such a view of the subject of it, as is fitted to instruct, to comfort, and to save.

A work on the Evidences of Revelation, is now almost as common as a volume of sermons ; and after so much has been

said, and so well said, on this subject, a new publication is in danger of being treated with neglect, unless something, either in the management of the subject, or in the character of the Author, excite the public curiosity. On both these accounts we consider the work of Mr. Haldane as deserving of attention.

It is the production of a *Layman*, of a man who has nothing to gain from the profession of the Gospel. Now, though we do not think that a work on Christianity is the worse for coming from the pen of a clergyman; though we consider it extremely unfair to give a physician or a lawyer credit for sincerity and disinterestedness in maintaining the principles of their respective professions, and to deny the same privilege to the individuals of a body which is at least quite as well entitled to the praise of integrity and candour; though these, we say, are our sentiments, yet, a work from an unprofessional, unbefitted man, has a particular claim on our attention, as being beyond the reach of suspicion. The public has hitherto shewn respect to such productions, and we conceive the present to be as deserving of this respect as most of its predecessors of the same class.

It is the work of a man of rank and fortune; one whose temporal circumstances have not driven him to take refuge for happiness in this world, in the religion of the Bible; one who was at ease in his possessions, when his own mind was first led to the truth. A man whose talents and property might have enabled him to make a figure in any of the walks of public life.

It comes from one whose own mind once doubted, and who may therefore be considered as better qualified for treating the doubts of others.

It proceeds from a gentleman whose name is well-known in the world; who sacrificed, at one time at least, property to a large amount, for what he believed to be the cause of Christ; who gave such proof of zeal and disinterestedness, as astonished all who were acquainted with it; and whose opinions on many subjects, were either peculiar, or misrepresented, or misunderstood.

On all these accounts we are glad to meet Mr. Haldane in the character of an author; and we pledge ourselves to examine his work with all that attention and impartiality which the importance of the subject and the circumstances of the writer claim.

The work is divided into Nineteen Chapters, on the following subjects:

‘ Introduction.—Necessity of a Divine Revelation.—Persecuting Spirit of Pagans.—Credibility of Miracles.—Genuineness and An-

thenticity of the Holy Scriptures.—Inspiration of the Scriptures.—History of the Old Testament.—Miracles of the Old Testament.—Types of the Old Testament.—Prophecies of the Old Testament.—Vol. I.

‘General Expectation of the Messiah.—Appearance of the Messiah.—Testimony of the Apostles to the Messiah.—Testimony of the First Christians to the Messiah.—The Testimony of the Apostles and First Christians is not opposed by any contrary Testimony.—Testimony to the Facts of the Gospel History, from the Admissions of those who professedly opposed or wrote against Christianity.—Testimony to Facts recorded in the Gospel History, and to the Progress of the Gospel, by Jewish and Heathen Historians, and by the Public Edicts of the Roman Government.—Testimony to the Messiah from the success of the Gospel.—Facts recorded in the earlier parts of the Scripture History, cannot be disproved; and are corroborated by Tradition.—Testimony to the Messiah, from Prophecies that are at present fulfilling in the World. Conclusion. Testimonies to the Messiah; Salvation of the Gospel; Persons who Pervert, Abuse, Neglect, Oppose, or Receive the Gospel.’ Vol. II.

This plan is certainly possessed of sufficient comprehension, and if filled up with ability must render the work one of considerable interest. We are particularly pleased with the attention which is paid to the Old Testament Scriptures, and with the care and ability discovered in tracing and illustrating the connexions of the two great parts of the Divine economy. Too little regard has been shewn in general to this subject, although it occupies no small portion of the Revelation of the New Covenant, and, we are persuaded, would most amply repay the exertion which may be required in investigating it.

In the First Chapter, the origin, progress, and extent of human depravity, are examined, to shew the necessity of a Revelation from God. The sentiments of the Heathen philosophers respecting good and evil, are quoted at considerable length, and the pollution, the cruelty, the hard-heartedness, and the debasing idolatries of Gentilism, are rapidly exposed. It contains, in fact, an abstract of some important chapters in Ireland's work on this subject, without all their disgusting details. We were much pleased at the idea of a contrast between Cicero and Paul, in the following passage, but regret that Mr. H. has not followed it out a little further.

‘A quotation has already been made from Cicero, which proves their deplorable ignorance, in respect to their own characters: “Whilst I exist I shall not be troubled at any thing, since *I am free of all fault*.” Here we have a picture of midnight darkness, of a mind “blinded by the god of this world.” How different a view of himself was entertained by the Apostle Paul! “I am carnal,” says he, “sold under sin. I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” But he had been made acquainted with that righteousness

which God had provided, and which he had joyfully accepted. It is not, therefore, on any precarious or hollow foundation of the supposed purity of his life, or of the *chance* of non-existence in a future state, that he rests. He stands, with confidence, on a specified ground of hope: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day."—"Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

' In order to form some comparative estimate of the strength of the different principles which support the minds of these two men, both confessedly great in their way, let us view them in adverse and trying circumstances. Cicero, deserted by his friends, and in the prospect of suffering death, has nothing to rest on but the broken reed of his own rectitude, and as to futurity, he is in total darkness. Paul, in his last hours, his work done, and himself about to be put to death as an evil-doer, after exhorting a fellow-labourer to endure afflictions, and to persevere in that cause for which he was now to suffer, breaks out into this triumphant exclamation, to which there is nothing comparable, or in the least degree similar, in all the works of all the philosophers: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." ' pp. 35—37.

The conclusion of this chapter also is good.

' The necessity, then, of a written revelation from God, for all mankind, is manifest. The experiment of reformation, without it, had long been tried among the most civilized nations on earth. Learning and philosophy had done their utmost, and all had failed. Where is the city or village, since the world began, that was ever enlightened in the knowledge of God, by either Heathen or Infidel philosophers? It is the doctrine of the fishermen of Galilee which has subverted the altars, and dispelled the darkness of Paganism. The Christian who reads the Bible, borrows no light to his system from the writings of such men as Hume and Voltaire. And were he not in some measure acquainted with the deep depravity of the human heart, he would be astonished that, under the meridian light of divine revelation, their sentiments in religion should be so perverse, and so crude.' p. 41.

In the Second Chapter, the persecuting spirit of Paganism, is demonstrated in opposition to the prevailing opinion of modern philosophers about the tolerating spirit of Polytheism. Mr. H. admits that there was no persecution of one another among Idolaters, and accounts for it by shewing that on the subject of religion there were no conflicting opinions among them. He quotes the beautiful passage in which Gibbon gives a true account of the matter.

"The various modes of worship," says Mr. Gibbon, "which

prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful.—The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted, with implicit faith, the different religions of the earth.—The thin texture of Pagan mythology was interwoven with various, but not discordant materials.—The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams, possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence. Nor could the Roman, who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian, who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible powers of nature, the planets and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory.—The Greek, the Roman, and the barbarian, as they met before their respective altars, easily persuaded themselves, that, under various names, and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities.” Vol. I. pp. 44, 45.

In such a state of things there could be no room for persecution. But even then religious intolerance was provided for by the statutes both of Greece and Rome, against the introduction of foreign deities and foreign religions. Christianity was the first system which put the spirit of toleration to the test. It encouraged and inculcated proselytism, it dissented from all the established creeds and forms of worship, it refused all intercommunity with other religions: in a word all its pretensions were *exclusive*. On these accounts it was considered inimical to private and public happiness, and its friends were regarded as the enemies both of gods and men. Mr. H. shews very satisfactorily, that all the persecutions of the Christians by the multitude, by the magistrates, by the emperors, both good and bad, proceeded from the same cause—hostility to the Christians on account of their refusing to join in idolatrous rites, and their steadfast adherence to their own profession. The former was construed into treason, and the latter ascribed to contumacy. The disingenuity and sophistry of Gibbon and Hume are well exposed in this chapter. We extract one passage in which the Oracle of the northern philosophy, is made to contradict himself most handsomely; and which explains the true origin of religious toleration.

‘ In his History of England, in narrating the events of 1644, and speaking of the Independents in that country, Mr. Hume says, “ Of all the Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. *And it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.*” Here, notwithstanding all he has said in his Essay on the tolerating principle of Polytheists, exalting, in this respect, Paganism at the expence of the Christian religion, he now informs us, that

more than a thousand years after Paganism had ceased to exist, the doctrine of toleration owed its origin, not to the reasoning of philosophers or to Polytheists, but to a sect of Christians. Fanaticism and the Christian religion are, with this writer, synonymous terms.

‘ It is worthy of remark, that those Christians to whom Mr. Hume ascribes the origin of toleration, had a clear understanding of the meaning of *regeneration*, that fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion. Of their practical regard and adherence to that doctrine, as well as of their sentiments on toleration, Mr. Halley, who was Principal of the college of Glasgow, and who attended the Assembly of Westminster in 1643, writes in one of his letters to Scotland, as follows: “ They will admit of none to be members of their congregations, of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidence. By this means they would keep out all the Christian church forty for one of the members of the best reformed churches.”

—“ Many of them preach, and some print a liberty of conscience, at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions; that every man should be permitted without any fear, so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the public peace by any seditious or wicked practice.”

‘ From this account, we learn what were the views of those Christians on toleration, and that this principle was not taken up through any accidental occurrence, but necessarily arose from their knowledge of the nature of the Christian religion. For whoever understands the doctrine of regeneration, and acts upon it as they did, cannot, with any consistency, adopt the principles of persecution. By confounding the kingdom of Israel with the kingdom of heaven, Christians may fall into many mistakes, and have often done so. But when the distinction between these kingdoms is understood, at the foundation of which lies the doctrine of regeneration, these mistakes will be rectified. And the whole of the doctrine and precepts of that kingdom, “ which is not of this world,” will be seen to stand directly opposed to every kind of persecution.” p. 58—60.

Under the head of ‘ The Credibility of Miracles,’ which is the subject of the Third Chapter, we observe nothing particularly deserving of notice. Indeed, after the luminous and unanswerable Essay of Campbell on this subject, little is to be expected but a repetition or abridgement of his reasonings.

Chapter the Fourth is occupied in discussing ‘ the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Holy Scriptures;’ and contains a compendious view of the facts adduced by Lardner and Leslie, and of the reasonings of Paley, on this important subject. After what the first of these writers has collected, nothing remains to be gleaned from the early testimonies to the authenticity of Scripture; and after the reasonings of the last nothing remains to be argued respecting the conclusions to be drawn from them. It is enough for us to say that any person accus-

tomed to examine and to weigh evidence, must feel the irresistible force of the reasonings of Mr. Haldane.

In the Fifth Chapter, the 'Inspiration of the Scriptures,' is treated at considerable length. On this subject also much has been written, and a considerable difference of opinion subsists among the friends of Christianity. Mr. H. adopts the *plenary*, or what Warburton calls the *organic*, but which we would rather designate the *verbal* inspiration of the Sacred Volume. He contends for the absolute dictation of every word of the Old and New Testaments, and that the writers of Scripture are to be considered chiefly in the light of the Amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. This is substantially the opinion of Dr. Dick also in his valuable work on Inspiration. Many, however, who have no doubt of the inspiration of the Bible, do not go quite so far as this. Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Campbell explain it differently; and Warburton, in his usual style, describes the sentiment as 'a spurious opinion, begotten in the Jewish Church by superstition, and nursed up by mistaken piety in the Christian, till it hath almost past into an article of faith.' *Doct. of Grace*, p. 29.

Mr. H. brings within a narrow space all the arguments usually alleged on his side of the question; which is undoubtedly the safest side; and which we are not at present disposed to controvert. But we do not think that all difficulty has yet been removed. Mr. H.'s reasonings are frequently strong, but not always accurate or conclusive. He constantly confounds the Inspiration of the Scriptures with the dictating of the very words, and treats in the same manner the unbeliever in inspiration altogether, and the Christian who has doubts concerning *his* manner of explaining it. This we think injudicious. He maintains that all the views of this subject which have been given by those who distinguish between *superintendence*, *elevation*, and *suggestion*, are mere theories, unfounded and unsupported by any evidence. Now, we must maintain that Mr. H.'s scheme is quite as much a theory as any of those he opposes. The Scriptures assert generally their own inspiration, but say nothing as to the mode of it. And indeed, we doubt very much if the inspired writers themselves could have explained any thing of the matter. We may believe too much as well as too little; and by contending for more than we are bound to do, we may cast unnecessary stumbling blocks in the way of inquirers. The varieties of style to be found among the sacred writers; the minute apparent discrepancies in the testimonies of the Evangelists, which add powerfully to their credibility as witnesses, but seem to detract from their *verbal* inspiration; the differences which often exist between the Old Testament, and quotations from it in the New; the various

readings even in some important passages, which have crept into some parts of the original record itself; the difference between detailing facts which had come under the observation of the narrator, and communicating instructions suited to the state of the kingdom of Christ in all places and ages, or uttering predictions relating to its future degradation and glory; the fact, that some parts of the New Testament were written, not by the Apostles themselves, but by some of their attendants, probably under their directions: all these are points connected with this discussion, which yet require full and impartial consideration. Some of them are noticed by Mr. H.; but they still appear to merit a more extended examination than his plan admitted.

On this subject, Dr. Campbell expresses himself with his usual precision and candour. ‘People,’ says the learned writer, ‘do not sufficiently advert, when they speak on this subject, to the difference between the expression and the sentiment, but strangely confound these as though they were the same; yet no two things can be more widely different. The truths implied in the sentiments are essential, immutable, and have an intrinsic value: the words which compose the expression, are in their nature circumstantial, changeable, and have no other value than what they derive from the arbitrary inventions of men.—The great object of divine regard, and subject of revelation, is things, not words. And were it possible to obtain a translation of Scripture absolutely faultless, the translation would be in all respects, as valuable as the original.’

Prel. Diss.—Diss. I—Part II. Sect. 28.

We adopt with pleasure, notwithstanding these remarks, the sentiments of the following paragraph.

‘The testimony to the truth of the Scriptures, and consequently to the Messiah, which arises from their inspiration, is of the strongest kind. By presenting themselves to us as *inspired*, they bring the truth of their contents to the most decisive test. They occupy ground which nothing but *truth* and *perfection* could enable them to maintain. Could any thing absurd, or any thing wrong, be proved in the whole book; could the smallest flaw in the character or doctrine of the Author of Salvation, any degree of weakness, or of want of wisdom, be discovered, they must immediately be compelled to relinquish this ground. The claim of inspiration is an assertion of the infinite importance, and incomparable excellency of the matter which they contain, as what man, without them, never could have known; and also that it is delivered in a style suitable to the dignity of what they present. Has this been shewn to be otherwise? They contain many chains of prophecies, as well as multitudes of detached predictions, now fulfilling, or that have been fulfilled in different ages; and they defy the perspicacity of men to falsify a single one of them. They assert a number of facts respecting various particulars of the

creation, age, and history of the world. Of a general deluge; of the descent of all mankind from a single pair; of the original state of man, as civilized, and not savage; of the origin of a variety of universal customs, otherwise unaccountable, as of sacrifices, and of the division of time by weeks. Yet, after all the severest scrutinies of the most enlightened, as well as most inveterate opposers in ancient and modern times, not one fact which they assert has been disproved. On the contrary, these facts are constantly acquiring fresh evidence, from various sources. The harmony, too, of the doctrine of the several writers of Scripture, is particularly observable, and forms a striking contrast to the discordant opinions, and frequent inconsistencies, and self-contradictions of the Greek and Roman writers, on almost every subject on which they treat.' Vol. I. pp. 171—3.

From the subject of the Inspiration, Mr. H. passes in the next chapter, to that of 'The History of the Old Testament;' he epitomizes its facts and notices some of the objections brought against a few of them. We are much pleased with his reflections in the conclusion of this chapter, on the suitableness of the Land of Canaan for the scene of the Divine manifestations, and on the period and circumstances of our Lord's Incarnation.

'Let us now look back, and observe the remarkable concurrence of circumstances by which He to whom all his works are known from the beginning, and who ruleth in heaven and in earth, prepared the way for the coming of his Son. The fittest country on earth, as is evident at this day, after all the discoveries in geography that have been made, was provided. It is situated in the very centre of the world, and from it the communication is easier and shorter than from any other point, to Europe, to Africa, to the distant parts of Asia, and from thence to America, by the strait where, according to modern discoveries, these two continents nearly meet. A nation was prepared and put in possession of this country, where, under the particular providence of God, and by means of a written revelation of his will, they maintained his worship uncorrupted, when all the other nations of the world had fallen into idolatry. There they were preserved from being swallowed up by the great heathen monarchies with which they were surrounded, and by which, as a punishment for their sins, they were often overrun.

'The world was in the mean time agitated by the most dreadful contentions, and experienced the greatest revolutions, till it was completely subdued by one people, and brought under a government, the most powerful and the most civilized that had ever existed. At this time learning and philosophy had risen to their greatest height. "Almost all improvements of the human mind," says Mr. Hume, "had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus." A full trial was therefore made of what human wisdom and science could effect in discovering the way to happiness, which was the great enquiry among the philosophers. But all of them wandered in the dark, amidst an endless variety of absurd opinions, without being able to come to any satisfactory conclusion on the subject.

'After a proof had thus been given of the truth of the declaration

that "the world by wisdom knew not God," the time arrived when the Sun of Righteousness was to arise with healing in his wings. That child was now to be born, whose name was to be called, "Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Father of the everlasting age, the Prince of Peace." A general expectation of his appearance was excited, and a universal peace was established, as a proper prelude for ushering him into the world. All that concerned the coming of the Messiah was to be made known in the fullest manner, and so as to give every opportunity for the immediate investigation and the future transmission of the testimony of so remarkable an event. "This thing was not done in a corner." That revelation which was to be delivered to mankind of the way which God had provided for them to escape from condemnation and death, and to attain eternal life, was not to appear in such a manner, that its origin could only be traced to some remote and obscure country, and to some distant and barbarous age. At the end of 4000 years from the creation of the world, it was to be made known in the most cultivated period of Greece and Rome. It was to originate, as Gibbon has characterized them, "in an age of science and history," and "in a celebrated province of the Roman empire."

'Thus we have seen a series of events taking place, from the first promise given to Adam, in the preservation of one family from the general catastrophe of the flood; in the selection of an individual, highly favoured of God, to whom that promise was renewed; in the separation from other nations of a whole people, who descended from him, to whom was delivered a written revelation of the will of God, and in the various unparalleled train of circumstances which marks their history from its commencement, all tending to one point, and all subservient to one grand design.' Vol. I. pp. 209—12.

We pass by Chapter the Seventh, on the 'Miracles', to attend more particularly to Chapter the Eighth, on 'The Types of the Old Testament.' This is a very important department of theological science, which has been sadly abused by one class of preachers and writers, and greatly despised by another. Mr. H. defines a Type to be 'a pattern, model, or visible sign of another object, which it represents before hand.' We have no objection to this definition so far as it goes; but it is defective. It overlooks the temporary or local purpose which types were intended to answer, and does not state with sufficient clearness a circumstance which we conceive to be essential to the nature of a scriptural type—*designed* representation. All the Types of the Old Testament, besides prefiguring future and spiritual things, answered certain purposes for the time then being. The sacrifices, priests, and things, times, and ceremonies,—all, as Mr. H. afterwards notices, had a plain and literal meaning. They were acts of worship as well as prefigurations; institutions productive of present advantage, as well as symbols of future good. Every real type must also have been a *designed prefiguration* of some part of the heavenly dispensation of our

Lord Jesus Christ. It may be easy by the help of imagination, or a little ingenuity, to trace a very striking analogy, an extraordinary resemblance, where nothing typical was really designed by God. Men have been wilder in their speculations as to types, than to any other thing in the word of God. What absurdity is to be found among the Fathers, on this subject! The followers of Cocceius and Hutchinson are scarcely inferior to them. Scripture characters have been absolutely burlesqued, the Old Testament institutions rendered ridiculous, and the Bible exhibited to the mockery of the world, by this childish, perverse disposition. Though Mr. H. is far more sober than many who have written on this subject, we cannot altogether exempt him from blame. He pushes some of his illustrations too far. His discussions concerning the eighth day, and his views of various characters, we cannot accord with. We want evidence of intentional prefiguration. We admit the resemblance; but this is not enough. Much of this might be found in the records of Pagan history, or Heathen mythology, as well as in the Bible, were we to employ the same researches in finding, and equal ingenuity in applying it. We have no idea that any public character, whose history is contained in the former part of Revelation, ought to be considered as a type of Christ in one way or another. No line can be drawn in making the application of the typical circumstances in these characters; for, as no fixed principles are laid down, what will appear rational to one man will appear absurd to another.

We are fully satisfied, as well as Mr. H. that the Mosaic Economy is to be viewed chiefly as a preparatory dispensation, intended to lead forward the attention of men to truths which were at first only partially revealed. But we may still inquire whether any fixed principles can be found by which we may be guided in the interpretation of its shadows and symbols. We are also aware that the meaning of many of the types may be more clearly understood by us than it could be by those to whom they were originally given. They were a species of hieroglyphics, or of cipher-writing, which could not be understood without the key: that key is furnished in the revelation of Christ. The mystery or secret which was long concealed by a veil, is now revealed by the testimony of the Apostles of the Lamb. The symbolical transactions of the former covenant, were the elements or first principles of that glorious and harmonious plan, which required ages to mature, but to which heaven has long since put the finishing hand. The law contains the letters of a Divine Alphabet, the Gospel explains their powers and uses, and combines them into a work full of the wisdom and glory of Jehovah. Types and prophecy are intimately connected together: types are prophetic actions; prophecies are types in words. The

law and the prophets thus unite in saying the same thing; hence, the antitype is as necessary to the understanding of the type, as the event is, to explain the prophecy. All attempts therefore to explain the types of the Old Testament, without the aid of the New, is like explaining prophecy without a reference to its fulfilment. The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of the ancient types as well as of the ancient symbols.

Hence, we can conceive of only one of three ways of discovering what is typical and what is not. First, by ascertaining that the thing could not have originated with man, or that it has no meaning or importance but in connexion with its figurative design: such is sacrifice. Or, secondly, finding that in the appointment of the thing its symbolical intention is stated; such was the Mosaic Tabernacle. Compare *Exod.* xxv. 40. with *Heb.* viii. 1--5. Or, thirdly, perceiving that the inspired writers of the New Testament, make this use of the character, institution, or event. Proceeding on these principles we have a defined tract marked out; by following which we may be preserved from literalizing any thing on the one hand, or allegorizing it on the other. From this chapter of the work, we have, however, derived both pleasure and profit, and in the sentiment of the concluding paragraph we fully agree.

“The law then contained a shadow of good things to come,” and the priests who offered gifts according to it, served unto the example of heavenly things. “That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; afterwards that which is spiritual.” This mode of gradual development of a literal and mystical signification of making natural things represent spiritual things, and one thing lead on to what was to follow, while it served the immediate purpose of regulation and instruction, affords irresistible evidence of a consistent and premeditated plan. Accordingly, this last is one principal use, which, in the New Testament, is made of the numerous typical representations of the Old. To these they call men’s attention, as they do to the prophecies, to prove that what had at last taken place, was only the grand consummation of what had long been shadowed forth.’ Vol I. p. 274.

With the types Mr. H. connects, in Chapter the Ninth, the ‘Prophecies of the Old Testament.’ We have in this part of the work, some able reasonings and illustrations on the double sense of prophecy. In noticing the book of Psalms, which relates the experience of David and of the people of God, while a greater than David often appears in it, he very justly remarks,

‘By passing over one or other of these senses of this branch of the prophecies, many have erred in contrary extremes. One party sees in them no other object but the Messiah, and so not only fails to observe the beauty and utility of the twofold interpretation, but also loses much of the benefit to be derived from contemplating a true

portrait, drawn by the Holy Spirit, of the experience of other believers, with which they might compare and confirm their own. The other party, erring in a more hurtful extreme, discern nothing further than a faithful delineation of the state and circumstances of men of like passions with themselves. Into the first of the above errors, Christians are chiefly led, by observing that it is often only with reference to their ultimate design, that these prophecies are quoted in the New Testament. Overlooking this circumstance, they point to these quotations as certain proofs of the soundness of their interpretation; although this manner of quotation only results from the connection in which the prediction is brought to view. When an Apostle passes over the primary sense, which had been long before received, it is no disparagement to that sense, nor the smallest indication that he does not admit what had been previously and universally acknowledged.' Vol. I. pp. 282, 283.

He goes over minutely and at great length, all the predictions relative to the Messiah, and in a very simple and scriptural manner connects them with the evangelical record of their fulfilment. Their number, their variety, their particularity, are marked and dwelt upon, to shew the impossibility of imposition on the part of their authors or their depositaries; while the necessity of their fulfilment in all their details, shews the impracticability of fraud or design in the writers of the New Testament. It is not on a solitary oracle, or a detached prediction, that the truth of our religion depends. We have trains of miracles, masses of symbolical prefiguration, chains of prophecies, occurring at different periods, appointed on various occasions, uttered in a vast variety of circumstances, recorded by a number of individuals living at remote periods from one another, and all preserved with the utmost care, by a people whose guilty conduct was the means of accomplishing, unconsciously to themselves, the main result of the whole. All this affords such a body of evidence at once to the truth of Scripture, and the character and design of the Saviour's work—the grand subject of which they treat—as nothing but eternal truth would supply, and as might lead the most confirmed sceptic to exclaim, "This is the 'finger of God!'" Mr. H. sums up the whole of the evidence he had adduced in a very judicious manner, and concludes this chapter and the first volume, by remarking,

'As the coming of Jesus Christ is so clearly pointed out in the Jewish Scriptures, it is of great importance to observe whether the determined and continued rejection of him by the Jewish nation, be founded on a distrust of the Divine inspiration of these records, of which they are the keepers, or whether it does not wholly arise from their mistaken interpretation of them. In the former case, they would have produced little or no effect, and would have been kept by them, if preserved at all, probably to be made use of like the Sibylline books, or the pretended responses of the Heathen oracles,

as a state engine, useful only to manage and overawe the multitude. But that this was not the light in which they viewed them, we have the most indubitable proof. No juggling deception, or underhand means, were employed to support the Jewish dispensation. In this as in other respects, it was entirely different from the Heathen governments. The veil concealed the inner sanctuary from view, into which the High Priest entered alone. But all that it contained, and what he was to do there, as well as the particular interest the people had in his oblations, were fully made known to them. The Scriptures of the Old Testament were never intrusted only to the leaders, and kept back from the people, but were open to all, were read to all, and all were commanded to study them. Delivered to them in successive periods of their history, and recording events concerning themselves which that generation who received them witnessed, the Jews never entertained the smallest doubt of the authenticity and divine authority of their scriptures. The care and veneration with which they have preserved them in all the vicissitudes of their wonderful history, in their many captivities and long dispersion, abundantly attest this fact. They have all along admitted the authority of the prophecies, and have constantly applied them to their expected Messiah, while their obstinacy in refusing him is also foretold by the prophets. It is therefore in their *misinterpretation* of the Scriptures alone, that we are to look for the cause of their rejection of the Messiah. This is a material point, an important link in the chain of evidence of the Divine origin of the Christian religion. Consistently with this view of the matter, and in full confirmation of it, a *general expectation* of the Messiah prevailed among the Jews, at the time of the appearance of Jesus Christ.'

Vol. I. pp. 350—352

With a view of the 'General expectation of the Messiah,' Mr. H. commences the second volume of this work. Considering the antiquity of the Jewish records, their translation into Greek, the connexion between Judea and Egypt, and the intercourse between Egypt and the rest of the world, and the various and extensive dispersions of the Jewish people, we cannot be surprised that many of the facts of Revelation, and of the anticipations resulting from these facts, should be very generally diffused. It is rather wonderful that the knowledge of these things should have been so limited and incorrect as it appears to have been. The strange statements respecting Jewish affairs of Sanchoniatho, Berosus, and Manetho, of Trogus Pompeius, Justin, and Tacitus, shew how little and how confused was the knowledge of the best informed heathen in these matters. Mr. H. endeavours to shew how general the expectation of a Messiah was among them, from the ancient Sibylline oracles, from the testimonies of Suetonius and Tacitus, and from the Fourth Eclogue and the Eneid of Virgil. The evidence of the Sibylline we think extremely doubtful and imperfect; that of the Roman historians, is full and explicit; but though we have read a

repeatedly the Eclogue of Virgil, so often referred to on this subject, we confess we are very sceptical as to the poet's having any thing else in his head than the expected son of Pollio. It is true, the description is highly wrought; but this was to be expected from a courtly poet. It contains obvious allusions to the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, which shews that the Mantuan bard was not ignorant altogether of that wonderful people. His '*Ultima Etas*' admirably corresponds with the *אחרית הימים* or the *ισχυνας ημερας*, the last days of the prophets and apostles. His '*Venturo seculo*' is the *עולם הבא* of the Hebrews, or the *οικουμένη γυν μέλλουσα*, the world to come, the future age of the Apostles. And indeed, the whole of his description of this golden age, which was about to commence, so manifestly alludes to various passages in Isaiah, that it is impossible to doubt that the poet had them in view. Still, we see no reason for thinking that Virgil looked any further than to Pollio and his wished-for offspring, which, unfortunately for the poet's augury, proved to be a daughter. Dr. Stukely, in his *Palaeographia sacra*, endeavours in the same manner, to shew that Bacchus, spoken of in the 19th ode of the Second Book of Horace, must be understood of the Messiah. But there would be no end to these poetical reveries, any more than to typical amplifications.

Under the title of the '*Appearance of Messiah*,' Chapter the Second gives a brief view of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, drawn from the Gospel history. In the following chapter, he examines the '*Testimony of the Apostles to the Messiah*;' and from the internal evidence of their sobriety, candour, and consistency, shews that they were neither enthusiasts nor impostors; neither deceived themselves nor deceivers of others. The following remark on our Lord's choosing Judas, who he knew would betray him, to be one of his disciples, deserves attention.

'The greatest enemy, with a choice of means for detection of fraud or collusion, could not have pointed out any thing better calculated to suit his purpose, than the placing of Judas among the Apostles. It was a remarkable provision made by the Lord, for increasing, to the highest point, the value of the testimony of the twelve Apostles. It was like the water which Elijah commanded to be poured around the altar, before the fire descended from heaven to consume the sacrifice. Judas also, as the other Apostles, although in a different way, has sealed his testimony with his blood.'—Vol. II. p. 49.

In the next chapter, he examines the testimony to Christianity borne by the primitive Christians, and proceeds to shew that this testimony is not contradicted by any opposing testimony. In the Sixth and Seventh Chapters, he shews that the great facts of the Gospel History are admitted by the early enemies of Christianity, and amply supported by the Jewish and Heathen his-

torians, and by various public edicts. In the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Chapters, he notices the testimony to the Messiah from the success of the Gospel, from tradition, and from the prophecies that are at present fulfilling in the world. In these chapters there are many important discussions, and not a few things deserving of much attention; but we have no room either for quotation or remark. We regret this the less, because many of our readers must be quite familiar with the ground gone over, and because we wish to devote a page or two to the Conclusion of the work, which occupies about one-third of the last volume, and which, though rather disproportioned to the size of the rest, we consider by far the best part of the whole publication.

The Conclusion is entirely the Author's own, which cannot be said of the rest of the work, being greatly made up of quotation and extract. In it Mr. H. sums up his argument, concentrates into a point the various lines of evidence which he had brought forward, and shews the strength of the case he had made out. The following we consider as a most important passage.

'It has been observed, that the Apostles have drawn a most perfect character, which, except by themselves, has never been done in the world. This is very striking, especially when we consider that it is exhibited through a train of circumstances the most trying that can be conceived. But this perfection of character, astonishing as it is, and from its never having been before or since exhibited, we may confidently conclude beyond the power of uninspired men to produce, is but a part of a great whole. The uniting in this character all the lines of a long series of prophecies, delivered not systematically, but as occasions arose, not by one man but by many, not at one period, but through a succession of ages; the completing the correspondence and accomplishment of multiplied types, and of a complicated ritual; the unravelling of a series of miracles, and of a history of such singular features; the delivering at once the laws of a universal kingdom, involving the regulation of every motive of human action, and of every part of human conduct, which should challenge the approbation and defy the malevolence of the most enlightened successive ages, to point out in them either redundancy or defect, was all to be superadded to the delineation of a perfect character. When the whole together is taken into account, the possibility of imposture is left far out of sight. A work is accomplished, which, on any other principle than that of divine interposition, can never be accounted for. It is not necessary to bring into view the circumstances and attainments of the fishermen of Galilee who have accomplished this work; it was equally beyond the ability of all the men of the most cultivated mind upon earth. Other things, when they have been done once, may be imitated. When Columbus had discovered a new world beyond the Western Ocean, it was easy to sail to it again. But it is impossible to act over again the part of the Messiah and the Apostles. It cannot be forged, and it cannot be imitated.

Let any set of men combine to write such a book as the Bible; let their plan be laid so as to extend through a period of 1500 years. Let those who shall first enter upon the work get others to succeed them during that space of time. Let them write history, poetry, prophecy, and prophecies concerning the state of the world. Let them at length get one to come forward in whom all that they have written, shall find its accomplishment. Let him be born in the place they had foretold, of the family they had foretold, at the exact time they had foretold. Let him be exhibited in the most critical situations, in the midst of enlightened, powerful, and determined adversaries, whilst they still uphold him as perfect, and defy his enemies to prove the contrary. Let his own death be a part of their plan, which he himself shall foretell. Let a number of persons arise immediately after, to carry forward the design, charge the government under which he suffered as his murderers, affirm he is alive, and has given them convincing evidence that he will reward them in a future state. Let these men support their doctrine by an appeal to miracles openly wrought before enemies armed with civil power, and let them adhere to their testimony at the expence of life, and every thing dear in this world. Let them promulgate a new religion and code of laws completely subversive of every existing religion on earth, and directly opposed to the indulgence of the strongest passions of the human heart. Let this religion, by the force of its own evidence, win its way through the world; overthrow every opposing system; extend its triumphs, and finally stand its ground, in the most civilized countries, in spite of the most learned adversaries. And let the character of the leader, as set forward by his associates, be thus vindicated as the light of the nations." Who does not see the total impracticability, the absolute absurdity, of such an attempt? As soon might man of understanding be induced to undertake to climb up to the moon, as to propose to themselves such a scheme; yet all that has been here supposed, has been accomplished in Jesus Christ." Vol. III. pp. 275—278.

After some reasonings respecting the Mosaic system, which led him to animadvert on certain statements of Mr. Hume, he extracts from Dr. Beattie's Essay, a summary of that philosopher's doctrines, metaphysical and moral, on which he makes some very pertinent reflections. He then proceeds to shew how admirably adapted the religion of Christ is to man's present state. The view which it gives of the perfections of God, of the depravity and wretchedness of our fallen race, of the provision made for our recovery in the glorious constitution of mercy, which exhibits a Divine Saviour and an all-perfect Sacrifice, of the influences of the Spirit, and of the promise of pardon and eternal life through the belief of the testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, is such as could never have been imagined by man, and reflects the highest glory on the wisdom and goodness of God. He shews that salvation cannot be procured by works, nor by repentance, nor by any thing else of man's doing;

that it must be, from first to last, of grace. But he shews, at the same time, how this grace provides for good works and holy dispositions.

‘ This grace of God, then, which has appeared to him, providing both for the *acceptance* and for the reward of his obedience, is in itself in every respect *holy*, and its whole tendency is *holy*. It therefore “ teaches him, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, he should “ live soberly, righteously, and godly,” in expectation of the full possession of the blessings set before him at the glorious appearing of his Lord and Saviour. Every thing in the Gospel is conducive to his sanctification. The view he has received of Christ dying for his sins, and of the perfect law of God, just in as far as he discerns these truths, humbles him, and brings down that proud independence of spirit, which formerly prevented him from submitting to God. God, according to his promise, has put his fear in his heart, that he may not depart from him, and that he may serve him with reverence; for to the workers of iniquity God is a consuming fire. In proportion to his faith, he is filled with love and gratitude to God; and being brought to know his proper place, both as the creature of God, and as his son, he is convinced of the duty and necessity of yielding obedience, in order to that communion with God to which he has been called by the grace of the Gospel. Two cannot walk together unless they be agreed. And no creature of God can hold fellowship with him, unless he submit to him. Ungodly men may turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, but in every respect the Gospel is a doctrine according to godliness. Its language, its operation, is “ *HOMINIBUS UNTO THE LORD.*” “ As he which hath called you is *holy*, so be ye *holy* in all manner of conversation.” Vol. II. pp. 313, 14.

Having finished his illustrations of the plan of salvation, all of which are at once simple and scriptural, Mr. Haldane addresses himself to persons who *pervert* the Gospel, that is, turn it into a system of self-righteousness; to persons who *abuse* the Gospel, by making it subservient to their love of sin; to persons who *neglect* the Gospel, by trifling with its important declarations, and living according to this present evil world; to persons who *oppose* the Gospel, under the influence of certain vain speculations or rooted aversion to its holy principles; and finally, to those who *receive* the Gospel as the word of God, and act according to it. We are highly pleased with the whole of this part of the book, and consider it adapted to be very useful. It is almost every thing we could wish in a work on the evidences of Christianity, following up the appeal to the understanding, by such addresses to the heart, as by the Divine blessing, may lead men at once to know and to feel the vast importance of the subject. It is by such ‘ manifestations of the truth,’ that the great object of all writing and preaching about Christianity is likely to be gained. It is thus that the conscience, dead in sin, may be awakened, and that entrance be

procured for the word of God, which giveth light, and comfort, and salvation. Happy is the man who is made to see and feel in this manner; he is put in possession of the richest blessing that heaven can bestow on a sinner, and to which no other favour can bear to be compared.

The Scriptures give him so consistent a view of the character of God, and so just a representation of this world; they so entirely correspond with his inward convictions and experience; they contain so exact a description of his own heart and of all its workings; they teach a doctrine so well suited to whatever state he may be in, whether of prosperity or of adversity, of youth or of old age, of health or of sickness: so adapted even to the hour of death, when nothing he ever possessed or hoped for in the world could be of the smallest use to him, that he knows "of the doctrine that it is of God." Although therefore he may be entirely ignorant of the evidence derived from history and other sources for the truth of the Scriptures; although he may not be able to dispute for them, or to unravel the many objections which the men of this world, "sporting with their own deceivings," devise against them; yet as soon could they persuade him that the sun does not shine in the firmament, or that the world itself does not exist, as that the Bible does not contain the true sayings of God." And yet for ten thousand worlds could they induce him to part with the smallest portion of that hope which he has, as an anchor of his soul, both sure and steadfast, of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven after this world and its works shall be burnt up. He looks, therefore, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.' Vol. II. p. 401.

We have entered into an unusually long detail in our account of these volumes; and we have been induced to do so, partly in account of the importance of the subject of which they treat, and partly to remove, as far as our influence they go, all obstacles in the way of their circulation. The name of their author, we have some reason to think, will be a sufficient recommendation for not looking at the book. For various reasons, the nature or justice of which it is no part of our business to represent, strong prejudice has been pretty generally entertained against Mr. H. Had he been a Unitarian, we think we could have promised his performance an extensive circulation; but Mr. H. is a Dissenter. We think it but right to say, however, that the present publication knows nothing of Mr. H. as a Dissenter, and nothing of his peculiar sentiments as a Dissenter, whatever these may be. It contains principles and reasonings in which Mr. H. must be joined by every lover of our common Christianity; and whatever may be thought of the man, it is impossible for a Christian not to wish well to the work.

That our opinion of this publication is highly favourable, must be evident from all we have said. We should be sorry if any strictures we have made, or may yet make, should lead any to imagine that it does not deserve an attentive perusal. We consider it calculated for extensive usefulness, and are convinced that it is adapted to afford much benefit both to believers and unbelievers, from its cogent reasonings and scriptural illustrations.

As we are desirous of increasing the usefulness of this work, we shall, before dismissing it, use the liberty of offering a few remarks to Mr. Haldane's consideration, on what we deem its imperfections.

We regret that he has not introduced a chapter on the Internal Evidence of Revelation. Here and there he has noticed it; but it deserved a full and distinct elucidation. Indeed, we were surprised at the omission. Looking at the extent of the plan of the work, we were disappointed at not meeting with a special discussion of a point, which we think Mr. H. well qualified to illustrate and establish. His views of the Gospel are excellent, and his statements respecting its adaptation to human guilt and misery, shew how profoundly acquainted he is with the subject. His Conclusion, indeed, may be viewed as bringing the internal evidence of the Gospel to bear upon the hearts and consciences of his readers; but we should have liked to see the argument as well as the application. It is true it may be said that this has been supplied by Fuller and Gregory; but so has the External Testimony by many, and to a much greater extent than by Mr. H. And it ought to be recollected, that what the Gospel is itself, is a more inexhaustible subject than the outward proof that it has come from God.

In referring to testimonies, and making extracts, we regret that Mr. H. has rarely ever quoted his authorities. Page after page is enclosed within commas, but no reference below to the quarter whence they are taken. Now, this we think is neither doing justice to the subject nor to the reader. If an uninformed person examine these volumes, (and for such they are evidently designed,) and be desirous of extending his investigations further, or of ascertaining the truth of the alleged facts on which many of the reasonings are built, he will derive scarcely any assistance from this work. The whole rests on the fidelity of Mr. H. Of that fidelity we entertain no doubt; but we feel convinced this work would have been more useful, had it contained accurate references to all the sources from which aid has been borrowed. This omission is scarcely excusable, as the book must have been before the Author, when writing the extract, and consequently nothing but carelessness, or a mistaken idea that it was not

necessary, can have prevented the notation of the title and page of the work.

Another thing we must notice. The work is loosely composed. It is the production of a vigorous, well-informed mind, but not of a person whose taste has been improved by cultivating an acquaintance with classical literature. It has been written, we presume, in haste, and little time employed in dressing its periods, and modelling its language. The subject seems so entirely to have engrossed the Author's attention, that he forgot to attend to the vehicle of his thoughts. We could point out many slips of language, which, if Mr. H. himself had not patience or inclination to attend to himself, he might easily have found a friend more accustomed to literary composition, who would have been willing to do for him. We would recommend him to get this done, if he should publish another edition in English : we say English, for we are happy to be informed that the Author has procured it to be translated and published in French, and that he is now employed on the Continent, in extending its circulation. We consider it well suited to the state of infidelity in France, and earnestly wish it may be productive of the most important good to infidels abroad, and to infidels at home.

Art. II. *The Life of Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*: by the Author of the Life of Michael Angelo. And the Characters of the most celebrated Painters of Italy. By Sir Joshua Reynolds. Small 8vo. 8s. 6d. London. Murray. 1817.

THIS compilation has cost Mr. Duppa very little labour. The life of Raffael occupies one hundred and seven small and widely-printed pages ; sixty-five more are fitted up with extracts from Sir J. Reynolds ; then follows an Appendix ; and the whole is concluded with an Index, so dexterously managed, as to fill fourteen pages. Such are the contents of this slight volume. Of the original matter, we cannot conscientiously speak in terms of very high praise ; we have not been able to discover in it any extraordinary brilliancy or elegance of composition, nor much acuteness of critical investigation. The narrative proceeds distinctly but somewhat feebly along through its various stages, and the occasional commentary appears very flat to him who has been accustomed to the perspicuous elegance of Reynolds, and the pungent originality of Fuseli.

Notwithstanding all these defects, however, common to all his publications, but most conspicuous in the present work, we feel some obligation to Mr. Duppa, for his various essays in the literature of the Arts. We apprehend that in this country, there has not been, hitherto, even among Artists in general, a sufficiently correct acquaintance with the history and theory of Art ; and whatever tends to carry forward the public mind in that

direction, must have an effect more or less beneficial, in proportion to the talent with which it shall make its appeal. We are far from intending to go the full length of accusing English Artists of want of science, and we are too sensible of the rare endowments and opportunities which are necessary requisites to a sound critic on matters of Art, to challenge much importance to our own opinions; but we shall venture the remark, that the simplicity and straight-forwardness, if we may be allowed the expression, of the English character, appear to us even too conspicuous in the Artists of England. While the Artist of the Continent is incessantly besieging the Cast and the Lay-figure, and consequently sacrificing nature, truth, and force, to attitude, drapery, and scenic effect, the Englishman is never satisfied without the living individual; and this, though the result of sounder and more genuine feeling, has the injurious consequence of destroying ideal and heroic character. The same principle of mere reality, without sufficient regard to selection and generalization, has also been too prevalent among our painters of landscape. We are not, however, without some splendid exceptions in both departments, and we have recently had the satisfaction of witnessing, in Mr. Cristall's *Latona and the Lycian shepherds*, a gigantic step towards a style of art, within its own peculiar range more truly scientific in its aim and principle, than any with which this country had previously been conversant.

Nothing can have a more decided tendency to promote this refinement of our taste, than an habitual recurrence to the best models; and under this impression we feel grateful to Mr. Duppa for his various publications on the subject of the arts. In none of them has he ever compromised sound principle, and they have all been dedicated to the memory of Artists worthy of lasting remembrance. We feel inclined also to renew our thanks to him for the present performance. Slight as it is, 'it calls up him' who came nearer to perfection than any other painter of modern times; who combined in his style of conception and execution, more excellences and fewer defects, than any of his rivals; and who deserves a more splendid memorial than any which has been yet consecrated to his name, either by princes, poets, artists, or biographers.

Raffaello, the only child of Giovanni Sanzio, was born at Urbino, on the 28th of March, 1483. His father, himself an artist, though 'of no professional celebrity,' perceiving in his son early indications of pictorial talent, placed him under the tuition of Pietro Perugino, a painter at that time in the highest repute, who cherished, admired, and survived his pupil. So early and so decidedly was his superiority manifested, that when only sixteen, he assisted Pinturicchio in adorning the library of

the cathedral of Sienna, with 'ten large pictures,' representing 'the history of Pius II.' The assistance rendered by Raffael, went to the full extent of making nearly the whole of the designs, beside taking an ample share in the execution. From Sienna he went to Florence, 'where Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo flourished with rival pre-eminence.' This eventful visit gave a new impulse to his genius, and a new direction to his aims. From the dry Gothic mannerism of Perugino, to the 'diviner inspiration' of Michael Angelo, centuries of learning and labour were passed over in an instant by the flight of genius, and the intellect of Raffael was of capacity and strength enough, to compass the intermediate steps, and to press at once to the 'forefront' of the strife and rivalry of kindred minds. At the same time, his diligence was unremitted, and he suffered no season or opportunity to escape him unimproved. He obtained from Fra Bartolomeo, instruction in colouring and light and shade, and 'the Brancacci and Corsini chapels in the church of the Carmelites, painted by Masaccio were his favourite school.' This last and very extraordinary man, died at the early age of twenty-seven, yet he had lived long enough to extend the limits of his art, and to produce works which Raffaello in after times thought worthy of imitation. In 1508, Sanzio was summoned to Rome by Julius II. and immediately employed in the decoration of the Vatican. In the series of the apartments ennobled by the pencil of Raffael, Mr. Fuseli, with great ingenuity of conception and richness of description, represents him as having intended an 'immense allegoric drama,' portraying 'the origin, the progress, extent, and final triumph of *Church Empire*.' We shall quote at length Mr. Düppä's description of these celebrated pictures, and then bring forward Mr. Fuseli's general summary of their characters.

'Passing through these rooms, now called the Stanze of Raffaello, in honour of his name, the first is a grand saloon dedicated to the Emperor Constantine, in which are represented four principal events in his reign, the most important to the cause of Christianity and the sovereignty of the Catholic church. The Vision of the Labarum, the overthrow of Maxentius on the Milvian Bridge, the Baptism of Constantine himself, and his Donation of the City of Rome to Pope Sylvester I.

'The second Stanza exhibits four miracles; two from sacred history, and two from the legends of the church. The overthrow of Heliodorus in the Temple, and St. Peter's Delivery out of Prison: the Rout of Attila and his army by the preternatural appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul, and consecrated Wafer at Bolsena, bleeding to testify the real presence.

'The third Stanza is dedicated to those branches of knowledge which serve most to elevate the human mind, and dignify our nature;

of which the principal subjects are, Poetry, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Theology.

‘ The subjects of the fourth Stanza are, two historical, from the life of Leo III., and two miraculous, from the life of Leo IV. The first two are Leo’s public protestation of his innocence of the charges alleged against him by the conspirators Campulus and Paschal; and his Coronation of the Emperor Charlemagne. The two miraculous subjects are, a Storm raised, and the destruction of the Saracens effected by the presence of Leo IV. at the Port of Ostia, when an invasion was pending; the other picture represents his staying a conflagration which threatened the destruction of St. Peter’s, by the exhibition of a crucifix from the balcony of the church.

‘ These, with smaller pictures on the ceilings of the second and third Stanza, are all designed by Raffaello, and painted in fresco by himself, his scholars and assistants; and three centuries of unabated admiration have already made their eulogium, to which it will now be in vain to add or to diminish.’ pp. 26—31.

‘ Such,’ remarks Mr. Fuseli, after his general description of the subjects and intent of the series, ‘ is the rapid outline of the cycle painted or designed by Raphael on the compartments of the stanzas sacred to his name. Here is the mass of his powers in poetic conception and execution, here is every period of his style, his emancipation from the narrow shackles of Pietro Perugino, his discriminations of characteristic form, on to the heroic grandeur of his line. Here is that master-tone of fresco painting, the real instrument of history, which with its silver purity and breadth unites the glow of Titiano and Correggio’s tints. Every where we meet the superiority of genius, but more or less impressive, with more or less felicity in proportion as each subject was more or less susceptible of dramatic treatment. From the bland enthusiasm of the Parnassus, and the sedate or eager features of meditation in the school of Athens, to the sterner traits of dogmatic controversy in the dispute of the Sacrament, and the symptoms of religious conviction or inflamed zeal at the mass of Bolsena. Not the miracles as we have observed, the fears and terrors of humanity inspire and seize us at the conflagration of the Borgo: if in the Heliodorus the sublimity of the vision balances sympathy with astonishment, we follow the rapid ministers of grace to their revenge, less to rescue the temple from the gripe of sacrilege, than inspired by the palpitating graces, the helpless innocence, the defenceless beauty of the females and children scattered around; and thus we forget the vision of the Labarum, the angels and Constantine in the battle, to plunge in the wave with Maxentius, or to share the agonies of the father who recognizes his own son in the enemy he slew.’ *Fuseli’s Lectures*, p. 135.

We shall take this opportunity of making a general reference

to Mr. F.'s work, for illustrations of Raffael's professional character. The reader will there find the Frescoes of the Vatican; the *Caricoms*, the *Transfiguration*, and other great works of this illustrious artist, 'set forth to the life,' in language sometimes harsh, quaint, and fantastic, but far more frequently rich, powerful, eloquent, original, and picturesque.

Mr. Duppa very properly adverts to the often cited example of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in illustration of the faint impression produced by the works of Raffael 'on a mind not prepared or cultivated to enjoy the higher excellencies of the art.' When Sir Joshua first visited the Vatican, his feelings wrought up to the highest pitch of expectation, he found nothing answerable to his anticipations. He had entered upon a new world of art, but he was wholly unprepared for the transition. His education, habits, and pre-conceived notions, were adapted to a different state of things; he had to learn a new language, and to train his mind and feelings to loftier associations. Happily, his intellectual and moral stamina were fully equal to the difficulty; he entered the school of Raffael with a kindred spirit, and with calm, steady, and successful determination. The works of Raffael have no tendency to make fanatics. There is no blasphe- mous colour, no fierceness of line, no 'bravura of hand;' nothing, in short, to excite the stupid admiration of self-constituted cognoscenti; but they are fraught with excellencies which, though the pen may describe them, and the pencil or graver may imitate them, none are qualified to understand and admire, those excepted, who, like Reynolds, have first been taught to sharpen their judgement, and then to form and to direct it in the schools of Italy and Greece. The feelings of Sir Joshua, on this occasion, are thus admirably described by himself.

"Though disappointed, I did not for a moment conceive or suppose that the name of Raffaello, and these admirable paintings in particular, owed their reputation to the ignorance and prejudice of mankind; on the contrary, my not relishing them, as I was conscious I ought to have done, was one of the most humiliating circumstances that ever happened to me. I found myself in the midst of works executed upon principles with which I was unacquainted: I felt my ignorance, and stood abashed. All the indigested notions of painting, which I had brought with me from England, where the art was in the lowest state, were to be totally done away, and eradicated from my mind." pp. 68, 24.

In 1515, Raffael, who had studied the principles of architecture under the celebrated Bramante, was, on the recommendation of that architect, appointed 'his successor to conduct the great work of St. Peter's;' but it does not appear to be exactly ascertained what part of the present structure was executed under his direction. In the instrument by which he was bound-

nated to this office, he was empowered, by the Pope, to supply himself with materials from the ruins in and surrounding Rome. It was in pursuance of the same barbarous plan, that Michael Angelo, when building the Farnese Palace, half demolished 'the Colosseo,' and that glorious structure was in a fair way of being entirely levelled by incessant depredation, when Benedict XIV. with at least great good taste, consecrated it, assigned to it all the privileges of a church, and thus arrested the progress of dilapidation. Mr. D. with what correctness we are unable to say, ascribes to the subject of his Memoir the invention of coupled columns. About this period, Raffael painted a figure of Isaiah, for the Augustinians. The parsimonious monks quarrelled with the price, and the dispute was referred to Michael Angelo, who, in a high spirit of liberality, settled it at once, by telling them 'that the knee alone was worth the money:' praise of the greatest value, as coming from one of unrivalled skill in anatomical detail. Raffael also attempted sculpture, but with what success does not clearly appear.

* In the midst of his professional reputation, Raffaello was equally caressed by the learned and the great. Ariosto, and Bembo, and Castiglione, were among the number of his most intimate friends. Bottari says that the Cavalier Carlo del Pozzo had an original letter by Raffaello addressed to Ariosto, in which he requested to know the characters that should be introduced into his picture of the Dispute of the Sacrament, best calculated to illustrate and dignify that subject.

* He was so much beloved by those of his own profession, that, according to Vasari, whenever he went to Court he was attended from his own house by a numerous train of distinguished painters, who accompanied him on those occasions to honour him*. Neither was his reputation confined to Rome or to Italy. Albert Durer, who was the most distinguished artist north of the Alps, solicited his friendship from the Netherlands; and Raffaello returned his civilities with corresponding courtesy and politeness †.

* Leo X. regarded him with the highest esteem: he was much about his person, was made groom of the chamber, and from the well known attachment and munificence of that Pope to Raffaello, it is said that he had reason to expect the honours of the purple: which is the alleged cause for his not marrying the niece of Cardinal di Bibbiena, who was desirous of the alliance: but the validity of these facts have been

* non andava mai a Corte, che partendo di casa non avesse seco cinquanta pittori, tutti valenti, e buoni, che gli facevano compagnia per onorarlo.—*Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 134.

† Albert Durer was born at Nuremburg 1471, and died 1528. At once as a specimen of his abilities, and as a mark of his esteem, he sent Raffaello his own portrait; and in return, Raffaello sent Albert Durer a number of prints by Marc' Antonio from his own designs, and several original drawings.

questioned, and upon the degree of credit to which Vasari and Zuccheri are entitled, their probability must depend.

‘ At this period, in the meridian of life, and in the full possession of all its enjoyments, Raffaello became an unfortunate victim to the ignorance of his physicians. He was suddenly attacked by a violent fever, and they immediately bled him, instead of adopting a different mode of treatment; and he instantly became so reduced, that he had only time to make his will, and to conform to the last offices of religion.

‘ Thus terminated, on the 7th of April, 1520, the life of the most illustrious painter of modern times.’ pp. 69—73.

Such was the career and such the premature end of this illustrious artist, who is well termed, by Fuseli, ‘ the father of dramatic painting, the painter of humanity, the warm master of our sympathies.’

‘ What effect,’ he proceeds, ‘ of human connexion, what feature of the mind, from the gentlest emotion to the most fervid burst of passion, has been left unobserved, has not received a characteristic stamp from that examiner of man? M. Angelo came to nature, nature came to Raphael—he transmitted her features like a lucid glass, unstained, unmodified. Energy with propriety of character and modest grace poise his line, and determine his correctness. Perfect human beauty he has not represented; no face of Raphael’s is perfectly beautiful; no figure of his, in the abstract, possesses the proportions that could raise it to a standard of imitation; *form* to him was only a vehicle of character or pathos, and to those, he adapted it in a mode, and with a truth, which leaves all attempts at emendation hopeless. His composition always hastens to the most necessary point as its centre, and from that, disseminates; to that, leads back, as rays, all secondary ones. Group, form, and contrast, are subordinate to the event, and common-place is ever excluded. His expression is unmixed and pure, in strict unison with, and decided by character, whether calm, animated, agitated, convulsed, or absorbed by the inspiring passion, it never contradicts its cause, and is equally remote from tameness and grimace: the moment of his choice never suffers the action to stagnate or to expire; it is the moment of transition, the crisis big with the past and pregnant with the future. His invention connects the utmost stretch of possibility, with the most plausible degree of probability, in a manner that equally surprises our fancy, persuades our judgment, and affects our heart.’

Sir Joshua, in his comparison of Raffael and Michael Angelo, remarks of the former, that his

‘ materials are generally borrowed, though the noble structure is his own. His excellency lay in the propriety, beauty, and majesty of

his characters, the judicious contrivance of his composition, his correctness of drawing, purity of taste, and skilful accommodation of other men's conceptions to his own purpose. Nobody excelled him in that judgement with which he united to his own observations on nature, the energy of Michael Angelo, and the beauty and simplicity of the antique.' p. 39.

We shall not detain our readers by many remarks on the extracts from Sir Joshua Reynolds, which are so largely, though not liberally, given in this volume. We think that, valuable as his criticisms are, and in many instances expressed with great beauty of language, they are yet too general, and from this circumstance are sometimes weak and unprofitable. In turning the pages over, in which the opinions of Sir J. are here recorded, we were struck with, as it seemed to us, the insufficiency of the ground on which he ascribes to the ancients the same excellence in colouring as in design. His first proof is drawn from the following passage in Pliny: *Quod absoluta opera atramento in linebat ita tenui, ut id ipsum percussu claritates colorum excitaret; et tum ratione magna, ne claritas colorum oculorum aciem offenderet.* This he quotes as decidedly establishing the fact, that Apelles used 'glazing or 'scambling,' such as was practised by 'Titian.' Now, without entering on direct opposition to an opinion so strongly maintained by so competent a judge, we would suggest that in his translation he evades the word *percussu*, in which there seems to lie some difficulty. His second proof is inferred from the circumstance 'of some of the principal painters of antiquity 'using four colours only;' and he treats this as the effect of their superior skill, on the ground that 'the fewer the colours, 'the cleaner will be the effect of those colours.' This appears to us very much like arguing from defect to excellence, and at any rate can be considered only as begging the question..

On the merits of Reynolds as a painter, Mr. Duppa has not said any thing new or striking; but we perfectly agree with him in his high estimation of Sir J.'s talents, and in his contempt for the *pseudo dilettante*, who find perpetual food for cavilling in the fading colours of some of our great countryman's productions. At the same time, we must take the liberty of saying that we should have felt ourselves more indebted to Mr. D. if he had gone a little deeper into his subject, and afforded us a few truly scientific illustrations of Sir J.'s character as an artist. This deficiency we do not feel ourselves quite prepared at present to supply; but since Mr. Duppa has dealt only in praise, we shall take upon ourselves the ungracious task of somewhat qualifying his loose encomiums. We want language to express our admiration of some of Sir J.'s lighter productions: his Puck, for instance, is the most perfect *imbodying* of a poetical con-

ception, all but inimitable, that imagination ever moulded or pencil realized; but still it appears to us that the prevailing defect of Sir Joshua's mind may be traced in all his works, whether in art or in literature. Elegance, suavity, fancy, playfulness, richness, with a thousand other exquisite qualities, glow and sparkle in all his compositions. But they are defective in power; his figures want muscle, and his style fails in strength. His language, though not, strictly speaking, feeble, sometimes reminds us of feebleness; his practical illustrations are invaluable, but his ideas are too frequently tending towards generalization. His pictures cannot be justly charged with debility of conception, or infirmity of execution; yet they are proofs rather of fertility than of force, and of readiness and rapidity, rather than of science and strength. His professional works never convey to us the idea of power grappling with and quelling difficulties, from which common energies recoil. They seldom elevate the mind with that feeling of greatness and expansion, which comes at once upon us, when standing in front of the marbles of the Parthenon, and visits us with an influence milder and more gradual, but not less tense and mastering, when we have, at length, after patient and anxious study, qualified ourselves to comprehend and relish the scarcely less than perfect productions of Raffael's intellect and hand.

The list of Raffaello's paintings and designs is imperfect, but useful; and as far as it is executed, is sufficiently well done. Mr. Duppa has inserted the interesting account of the manner in which a celebrated picture of Raffael's was transferred from decayed wood to canvas, by Hacquin, under the direction of five members of the French Institute. But we feel some surprise at a difficulty which draws from Mr. D. a very just, but not very aptly introduced eulogy on the French language, as 'extremely rich in terms of art.' It appears, that during the operation, it was necessary 'to take away away certain inequalities of the surface, which had arisen from its unequal shrinking'—*recoquillement*;—for which 'term of art,' no 'adequate word,' it seems, 'occurs in English.' Now, in the first place, this word is not a term of art, but one of general use; and, secondly, we are at a loss to account for Mr. D.'s want of acquaintance with one of the most common words in the English language—*cocking*—precisely the same word, and which is used on similar occasions to that in which it occurs in the original of the passage in question.

Art. III. *A History of the Jesuits*; to which is prefixed, *A Reply to Mr. Dallas's Defence of that Order*. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 392, 467. Price 11. 4s. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

(Continued from Page 512.)

BEFORE we enter on the consideration of the "History," we shall present our readers an extract from the "Reply," for the purpose of putting them into possession of the information which it contains on the present state of the Jesuits in this kingdom. The remarks with which the quotation commences, are directed against Mr. Dallas's statement, that, on the destruction of the Jesuits' College, at Liege, in the year 1794, 'a few of these ancient men, who had weathered the storm, having availed themselves of the indulgence of the British Government, on leaving the Netherlands, sought an asylum in their own country, and that they here subsist in the security of conscious innocence.'

'If, in making this statement, Mr. Dallas was ignorant of the large Establishment of Jesuits, which has subsisted for the last thirty years, in the heart of our Protestant Empire, he was altogether unqualified for the office which he has assumed, of affording information on the subject of the Jesuits: if, on the other hand, Mr. Dallas was aware of the facts which are about to be noticed, the suppression of those facts bears a far more culpable aspect. It remains for him to decide which of these remarks apply to the erroneous and defective representation which he has thought proper to afford to the public.'

'Judging from his poetical statement, it would appear that a few old and weather-beaten men, who had escaped the revolutionary storms of the Continent, had adopted the language which SHAKESPEARE puts into the mouth of WOLSEY*, and had thrown themselves upon the commiseration which it was impossible they could abuse.'

'Now, how does the fact really stand? A reference to the extensive and increasing Establishment of Jesuits at Stonyhurst, near Preston, in Lancashire, will best answer the question: at this place the Order of Jesuits has for thirty years past, possessed a spacious College, which is principally a College of Jesuits; is amply provided with all the *materiel* and *morale* of Jesuitism, and is carrying on the work of Catholic Instruction and Protestant Conversion, upon the most large and extensive scale! The studies at this place are conducted upon the same system and to the same extent as at the Catholic Universities abroad; and there are regular professors in Divinity, Mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy, &c. The College, which is a very large building, is capable of containing at least four or five hundred pupils, independently of Professors, Managers, and domestics. It is

-
- * "An old man broken with the storms of state,
 - * Is come to lay his weary bones among you;
 - * Give him a little earth for charity."

d to contain at this time five hundred or more individuals of descriptions.

but eleven hundred acres of land are attached to the College, the Jesuits keep in their own hands, and farm themselves. A who would be called, in a similar situation in a Nobleman's (the Land Steward) has the direction and management of the with a very liberal salary, besides board and accommodation, suits consume the produce of the Land in the College, and the large purchases in addition, from the Farmers and Graziers by miles round; from which circumstance their influence is daily augmented, and their principles are widely diffused out the country. Adjoining to the College, they have suitable for all manner of Tradesmen and Artificers, such as Tailors, Shoers, Smiths, Carpenters, Butchers, Bakers, &c.

They have Pupils from various parts of the Continent, from and from different parts of Great Britain: they have, of a correspondence with most parts of the world, and they particular precautions with regard to their Letters. Their number of Pupils may be from two to three hundred, and the average for the last twenty-five years cannot have fallen far that number.

First Green, within a quarter of a mile of the College of St. Ignace, is a Seminary for boarding and educating young boys, prior to their entering the College of Stonyhurst. The apart-ment grounds of this initiatory Establishment, are appropriated to those who are destined for the superior College; and the entire seclusion of these youths from all intercourse with mankind takes place during their probationary studies, is not calculated to remove the distrust and apprehension which are naturally by the mystery which attaches more or less to Jesuitism in and to this fact in particular.

Amount of the accumulating Capital of the Jesuits is very considerable, arising from the value of their Estate, and the annual growing from their Pupils.

Influence of the Jesuits in the adjacent Country is incredible: the town and surrounding district being their own, they are more or less accredited heads of the neighbourhood; they are at once indefatigable in making Proselytes; and, in consequence of their exertions, Popery has very considerably increased in the vicinity of Stonyhurst, and in the town of Preston, within the last thirty years. Vol. I. pp. 332—334.

Ignace Loyola, the founder of the order of Jesuits, was born in Spain, in 1491. An accident which happened to him at the Siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, was the original means of his rise to the eminence which he occupied as the patron of the Society, which soon eclipsed the existing institutions dependent on the Church of Rome. His right leg having been broken, and cruelly treated. During the slow progress of his cure, he wrote a life of the Saints, written in a romantic style, the reading of which most powerfully impressed his mind, and

VIII. N. S.

excited his inclination to seek distinction as a religious devotee and adventurer. He retired from the military profession, and employed himself in endeavouring to obtain disciples. After having experienced various obstacles in the expected accomplishment of his projects, and being deserted by the first converts which he had obtained in Spain, he succeeded at Paris in acquiring Le Fevre, who had been his private tutor, and Francis Xavier, who afterwards became so much celebrated as a missionary: to these he soon added Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, and Rodriguez. Accompanied with these disciples, he repaired, on the day of the Assumption, 1534, to the church of Montmartre, near Paris, where, after mass, the whole seven, with a loud and distinct voice, took a vow to undertake within a prescribed time, a voyage to Jerusalem, for the conversion of the Infidels, to abandon every thing they possessed in the world, except necessaries for their voyage, and in case they should be unable to accomplish this object, to offer their services to the Pope, and to proceed under his orders wherever he might think proper to send them. After interposing some considerable delay, during which the proposals of Ignatius were submitted by the Pontiff to the examination of three Cardinals, Paul the IIIrd confirmed the Institution by a Papal bull, dated the 27th of September, 1540. The Society of the Jesuits thus received its establishment, and the zeal of its founder and his coadjutors, pushed on its fortunes with a rapidity which soon raised it to a height from which it looked with proud superiority on every institution that Papal authority had incorporated, surveyed its own advantages, and prepared its attacks on the liberties and peace of mankind. Power and dominion were the objects to which the whole of its energies were directed. These it sought *per fas et nefas*: it employed a policy and a morality in the order of its means, which unequivocally proclaim its true character, and identify its origin and its designs with a wisdom the reverse of that which cometh from above. Never was prostitution carried so far towards its utmost point of profligate and shameful daring, as when the name of Jesus, the meek and holy Saviour of men, was assumed as the appellation of this Society, originally conceived in the mind of a fanatic, and patronised and supported by Papal tyranny, for purposes of guilt and mischief!

The progress of the Jesuits and the extent of their acquisitions, may be learned from the following statement.

‘ In 1540, when they presented their petitions to Paul III. they only appeared in the number of ten. In 1543, they were not more than twenty-four. In 1545, they had only ten Houses: but in 1549, they had two Provinces; one in Spain, and the other in Portugal, and twenty-two Houses: and at the death of Ignatius in 1556, they

two large Provinces. In 1608, Ribadeneira reckoned 29 Provinces and 2 Vice Provinces, 21 Houses of Profession, 293 Colleges, 100 Houses of Probation, 93 other residences, and 10,681 Jesuits. Catalogue printed at Rome in 1629, are found 35 Provinces, 33 Houses of Profession, 578 Colleges, 48 Houses of Probation, 88 Seminaries, 160 Residences, 106 Missions, and in 1638 Jesuits, of whom 7870 were Priests. At last (according to the calculation of Father Jouvency) they had in 1710, 24 Houses of Profession, 59 Houses of Probation, 340 Residences, 612 Colleges, above 80 were in France, 200 Missions, 157 Seminaries and 10 Houses, and 19,996 Jesuits. Vol. I. pp. 379—380.

Jesuits formed their first Establishment in Portugal. In 1540 they succeeded in obtaining from Henry II. of France, by the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, into whose hands Ignatius had insinuated himself at Rome, permission to found a House and College. They found access into Spain as soon as they commenced their operations; and at the death of their founder, they accomplished the union of two superb Roman and German Colleges, and a magnificent country-house, for the advantage of the air. These establishments were afterwards enlarged, and accommodated six hundred of their members at Rome, whence they disseminated their agency over the world at large.

The new Society excited the alarm of many individuals of the English Church, and appeared, to different incorporated and other assemblies, too formidable and too questionable to be permitted to proceed in its plans without notice. We are well acquainted with the jealousies and oppositions of the Orders of the Roman Catholic devotees, as to believe it a very possible circumstance, that the resistance offered to the attempts of the Jesuits to establish themselves, might proceed from motives not altogether pure; it would however be tantamount to attach this character to every instance of opposition, and we may evidently presume, that in some cases the apprehension of danger was the real conviction of good which, in principle, we would hope, than that which receives its strength from the security of external forms of religion, and trembled less for the dangers of the Church of Rome, than for the freedom and happiness of mankind, armed some of our minds with determined resolution to oppose the progress of a novel and dangerous institute. Melchiorcanus, a German, distinguished for his learning and piety, publicly testified, when the Jesuits thought to establish themselves at Prague, 1548, that he saw in the Society 'the marks which the apostle had assigned to the followers of Antichrist,' and that he thought himself obliged to warn the people, lest they might suffer themselves to be seduced. The Faculty of Theology at Paris, after a long-continued discussion,

pronounced the following decision, on the 1st of December, 1554.

‘ “ This new Society” (says they) “ appropriates particularly to itself the unusual title of the name of Jesus, receives with the greatest luxury, and without any discrimination, all kinds of persons, however criminal, lawless, and infamous they may be—it withdraws from the obedience and submission due to Ordinaries—unjustly deprives both temporal and spiritual Lords of their rights—brings disturbance into every form of government,—and occasions many subjects of complaint, many law-suits, contentions, jealousies, and schisms, among the people. The Society, therefore, appears to us to be dangerous in all that concerns the faith, calculated to disturb the peace of the church, to overturn the Monastic Order, and more fit to destroy than to build up.” ’ Vol. I. p. 384.

To disturb the peace of the Church, and to overturn the Monastic Orders, were, in the view of these *Theologues*, dreadful evils: attempts of this kind were regarded by them with terror, only as they pointed the appeal directly homewards and interested the selfish feelings. Had the inroads of the Jesuits threatened no greater damage, they would not have prepared for them the condemnation apportioned to criminal proceedings. A more justly alarming and correct opinion of the new Society, was declared by George Bronswell*, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in 1588, whose words are given in the following very remarkable passage.

‘ “ There is a fraternity which has lately arisen, called the Jesuits, who will seduce many; who acting, for the most part, like the Scribes and Pharisees, will strive to overturn the truth: they will go near to accomplish their object, for they transform themselves into various shapes: among Pagans, they will be Pagans; among Atheists, Atheists; Jews among Jews; and Reformers among Reformers, for the sole purpose of discovering your intentions, your hearts, and your desires. These persons are spread over the whole earth: they will be admitted into the Councils of Princes, which will, however, be no wiser from their introduction: they will insatuate them so far as to induce them to reveal the greatest secrets of their hearts: they will be in no way aware of them. This will be the consequence of their advisers neglecting to observe the laws of God and of his Gospel, and conniving at the sins of Princes. Notwithstanding, God will, in the

* The Author cites Varan's *Annals of Ireland*, reprinted at Dublin, in 1705, as his authority for the preceding statement. A copy of the very curious discourse from which a part is quoted in the above extract, is inserted in the Harleian Miscellany: (Vol. V. p. 566.) it is there said to have been preached in Christ-Church, Dublin, on the first Sunday after Easter, in 1551. The Archbishop's name, as affixed to the Sermon, is *Browne*: he was preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin, in 1535, and was the first in Ireland who embraced the Reformation. *Rev.*

end, in order to avenge his law, cut off this Society even by those who have most supported and employed it; so that, at last, they will become odious to all nations." ' Vol. I. pp. 385—386.

On the death of Ignatius, in 1556, Lainez, the oldest of the founder's companions, a person of great talents and consummate artifice, and to whom Jesuitism is probably more indebted than to Ignatius himself, was chosen General of the Order.

' Lainez, the oldest of Ignatius's companions, a subtle character, and one who appeared to have had the greatest share in all the operations of Ignatius, caused a General Assembly to be convened for the election of a General! and in the mean time he succeeded in obtaining for himself, the appointment of Vicar General to govern during the interregnum.

' As soon as the Deputies appeared at the General Assembly, that skilful politician made them sign a kind of Formulary, the principal article of which was, that no other business should be proceeded on by the Chapter, until a General should be elected.

' Pope Paul IV. having seen, however, with jealousy, that the authority of the General of this Order over his subjects was parallel with his own, had appointed Cardinal Pacheco to represent him at the Chapter, and to signify to it his determination; which was, first, that the Generalship should not be perpetual, but only for three years, as in many other Orders; and secondly, that the Jesuits should join in the public service of the Church, as was practised by other Orders.

' With a view to get rid of both these conditions, the Jesuits represented that they were unable to discuss any subject until the election of a General had taken place: they were therefore suffered to proceed to it, and on the 2nd of July, 1558, the choice fell upon Lainez.

' The election being once decided, no respect whatever was paid to the two demands of the Pope; he was much incensed at this; and when the new General came with many of his Order to announce the election to Paul IV. he treated them as rebellious subjects, and fomenters of heresy, on the ground of their refusal to celebrate Divine Service in common. He also declared to them, that he objected to the Generalship continuing more than three years.

' Notwithstanding this decision and the formal notice which was given to them on the part of the Pope, by Cardinal Trani, the Jesuits passed a Decree, on the 24th of August, 1558, pronouncing that the Generalship should be perpetual; and on the 25th they presented a Memorial to the Pope*, in which they observe that they could not avoid declaring that it was more advantageous for the Society that the General should not be changed during his life: we are, however, they added, obedient children, and quite ready to observe what your Holiness shall command. Their only object in these specious professions, was to amuse Paul IV. who was sufficiently advanced in life to lead them to hope that he would never see the end of the first three years.

* See the Decree and Memorial in the "*Recueil des Décrets de la Première Congregation*," p. 44, edit. 1635.

They were not mistaken; the Pope died shortly after, and the Generalship has remained perpetual ever since.' Vol. I. pp. 390—391.

Lainez was soon afterwards (in 1562) commissioned by Pope Pius IVth, to the Council of Trent, where, to the surprise and offence of many of its members, he gave full demonstration of the subserviency of his Order to the cause of Papal despotism. With consummate boldness he supported the paramount authority of the Papacy over bishops and councils, and defended the abuses of the Court of Rome. It was this complete devotedness to the interests of the Papacy, which obtained for the Jesuits the favour and protection of the head of the Romish Church. In times less alarming to the sovereignty of Popery, the patrons of the Order of Jesuits might, in seeking to obtain its establishment, have had to contend with insuperable difficulties. In the progress of the Reformation, however, the Conclave perceived a greater danger threatening its destruction, than it could discern in the proceedings of an Order composed of Romish devotees, though it might have been alarmed by the demand of the singular privileges claimed for the new institute. The German princes were determined in their support of Protestantism, and a large part of the population of their states, was detached from the Papal dominion; France was already shaken with religious agitation; the light of the Reformation was diffusing itself widely in England, and other countries; and that was now the policy to be adopted at Rome, which could best prevent further defections, and, if possible, be successful in regaining its lost influence.

The Jesuits proceeded with rapidity in their course towards the objects at which their ambition aimed. Repulses only served to stimulate them to fresh efforts; they returned with recruited energies to their attempts, which, in too many instances, were successful in raising them to a 'bad eminence.' They intrigued for influence in every situation to which they could find access, and took care that no opportunity of introducing themselves into important situations should be lost. They became Confessors to kings, queens, and statesmen, whose consciences they directed for the advancement of the most unhallowed ends. The Jesuits La Chaise and Le Tellier, were successively Confessors to Louis XIV. The latter of them, it will be remembered, signalized himself by taking a conspicuous part in that infamous measure, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For subtlety and treachery, for bad ends and bad means, for the flagrant dereliction of all principles of honesty and honour, for guilty speculation and iniquitous practice, the Jesuits have been pre-eminent. This heavy accusation we must support by evidence from the work before us.

The parliaments of France opposed an early and powerful resistance to the establishment of the Jesuits in that kingdom, and were generally successful in obtaining their expulsion. These disciples of Ignatius, however, found means to maintain themselves in the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Thoulouse and Bourdeaux. In these provinces they preserved an understanding with different parts of the kingdom, and at last obtained from the French monarch letters patent in favour of their recall.

‘ The entreaties which were urged on all sides for the recal of the Jesuits, and the alarm which their incessant intrigues occasioned the king, threw him into the greatest perplexity. At length he relented, and began to think that he could gain the Jesuits, by loading them with favours, and thus live for the future in peace. He opened his heart to this effect to SULLY, who had long enjoyed his confidence. He hoped, that by means of benefiting the Jesuits, he should attach them to him for ever; but he soon admitted that his enlightened minister had the best grounds for assuring him that no reliance was to be placed in their promises. SULLY relates, that the king said to him, “ I must now, of necessity, do one of two things—either simply admit the Jesuits, and put their repeated oaths and promises to the test, or else absolutely reject them for ever, and employ the most rigorous means to prevent their approaching me or my kingdom; in which case they will undoubtedly be thrown into despair, and lay plots for my life, which will render me so wretched, from being in constant fear of being poisoned or assassinated (since they have a universal intelligence and correspondence, and great skill in persuading others to their purpose), that death itself would be preferable to such a life.*

‘ It was this consideration which alarmed that monarch, otherwise so courageous, but who was, as it were, tired of having led, till then, a life full of agitation and trouble: he hoped to avoid such a state in refusing to comply with the wishes of SULLY, of whose attachment, however, he was so well assured. In his letter of the 15th of August, 1603, Henry IV. informed M. de Beaumont, his ambassador in England, that his object in re-establishing the Jesuits was in order to stop their intrigues and conspiracies; adding, “ The chief reason which prevents my treating the Jesuits with rigour is, that they now form a powerful body, which has acquired great credit and power among the Catholics, so that to persecute them, and deprive them of protection in my kingdom, would be immediately to unite against me many superstitious and discontented minds, and afford them a pretence for rallying and exciting new disturbances.” Immediately after this letter, the king, at the solicitation of LA VARENNE, VILLEROI, and the Pope’s Nuncio, granted letters patent for the re-establishment of the Jesuits in Thoulouse, and other places, under strict regulations, to which their general AQUAVIVA, would never give his consent, alleging they were contrary to the institution of the order. The Jesuits, who were about the king, made fewer difficulties, having, from their first

* *Memoires de SULLY*, Vol. ii. ch. 3.

introduction into the kingdom, troubled themselves very little about conditions and restrictions, well knowing that they could always get rid of them at the proper season. The edict of the king to his parliament, for registering and confirming such letters patent, experienced considerable opposition, and it was determined to present a remonstrance against the measure. The president of the parliament, HARLAY, distinguished himself highly by being the organ of that remonstrance, in presence of the king and queen, on the 21th of December, 1602.

‘ The parliament resisted the registry of the order of recal as long as possible ; and SULLY observes,* that “ the return of the Jesuits would never have taken place, if the king had not, in the exercise of his plenary power, commanded it ; so entirely were the Parliament, the University, the Sorbonne, and many bishops and cities of France, opposed to it.”

‘ This declaration to SULLY proves that HENRY believed them always capable of assassinating him ; but he flattered himself, that in loading them with favours, they would either interest themselves in preserving his life, or at least that they would not themselves be ungrateful enough again to seek his destruction. His cruel death by RAVAILLAC, in which the Jesuits were concerned, shewed that he deceived himself in those flattering hopes.” Vol. 2, p. 39—41.

The Author has subjoined the following remarks on the abjuration of the Protestant Faith, by Henry IV.

‘ When Henry IV. was in the Protestant communion, he was preserved by a special Providence from the general massacre of Protestants, which took place on St Bartholomew’s day, although the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, and her son, Charles IX. together with the Duke of Guise, and other members of the Royal Family and government, held a solemn council, whether he should not be put to death with the rest, and only resolved to save him as a question of policy. It would surely have been more worthy of the character of Henry IV. to have continued in a communion in which God had so eminently interposed for his deliverance ; and not to have distrusted the Providence which had hitherto preserved him from a Protestant massacre, and crowned him with victory in all his subsequent conflicts for the Protestant faith : it is a singular historical fact, that it was only when Henry deviated from the line of policy, under which his wars had been successful, and his person secure, that he lost both his crown and his life ! It was not until he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, embraced the corruptions of the Romish church, abjured his first faith, and recalled the Order of Jesuits, that a cloud gathered over his empire, which no human foresight or power could prevent from bursting in ruin on his ill-fated head.’ Vol. 2, p. 44, note.

It is not only to the proceedings of the disciples of Loyola, in the different countries of Europe, that the reader of their His-

* Memoirs, Vol. ii. ch. 5.

ory will have his attention directed ; their conduct in almost every part of the globe will engage his notice. Whithersoever he may accompany them, he will find them still the same intrepid, artful, and ambitious people, endeavouring to conquer and rule the world.

• The missions of the Jesuits furnish abundant proofs of the corrupt and worldly spirit by which they have been actuated at all periods, and prove, that in traversing the seas, they have been occupied in amassing wealth and acquiring power, rather than in obtaining sincere worshippers of God. The Author of the work, entitled, *Jesuites Marchands*, establishes this fact beyond all doubt or contradiction, on the authorities of *the writings of the Foreign Missionaries*, *ELLERS'S Account of the Affairs of China* ; especially the documents transmitted by M. DE MONTIGNY, contained in that account ; *le Memoirs of NORBERT*, *the Letters of M. FAVRE*, &c. From these, and a variety of other sources (many of which are quoted in this History, it will be seen, that in Japan they only excited disturbances, meddled with affairs of state, brought down persecution upon all the Christians there, and at length irreparably ruined the cause of Christianity itself in that vast empire ; that in China, notwithstanding the decrees of the Court of Rome, they allied Christianity with the idolatrous worship of CONFUCIUS ; that on the coasts of Malabar they authorized, and observed, the most superstitious and indecent practices ; that they pertinaciously resisted the numerous decisions of the Popes against idolatry, that in all their missions, in order that they might have neither witnesses nor judges of their disorders, they waged open war with other Missionaries, with Vicars Apostolic, with Bishops and Papal Legates ; that, when they considered their interest to require, they put in practice the horrid maxims taught by their own casuists, that it is lawful to kill those who do any injury to a religious order ; and, finally, that whenever it became necessary to rid themselves of those who incommoded them, they exercised cruelties altogether unheard of, and unknown, among ordinary persecutors.' Vol. 2, p. 150.

In the Twenty-fourth Chapter of the work, the Author commences ' An examination of the Institute of the Jesuits,' which is continued through several subsequent chapters. From this part of the History, we shall make as copious extracts as our limits will admit, for the purpose of placing before our readers an outline of the constitution of this singular and dangerous Order, referring them for a view of the finished portrait, to the work itself.

• It is to the Institute of the Jesuits, in common with their religion, that the radical vice and corruption of the Society are to be referred : it will appear, on inspecting this Institute, that it is, in fact, opposed to all the rules of authority, and civilized life ; that its tendency is to erect the Society into a monarchy, or rather an universal despotism ; to concentrate every thing within itself ; to overthrow every obstacle, and to become the sovereign and absolute arbiter of all the dignity

and wealth of the Christian world ; in fine, to produce the whole of those evils which the History of Jesuitism records.

‘ The Jesuits, from the first, aspired to universal empire. They saw, indeed, the difficulty of their enterprise, and were aware how many had failed in the attempt : they observed that when any particular monarch had made the experiment, every other potentate was raised against him, and opposed his designs. They therefore contrived a more skilful method ; which was, to leave the sovereigns masters of their dominions, so long as they could domineer over those sovereigns, and create their own vice-kings, vice-princes, vice-dukes, in short, their ministers ; and thus become, in effect, the sovereigns of the world, by securing to themselves, insensibly, a species of moral government which should not offend the eye, but produce the same result.

‘ As they could not prevail over other monarchs by force, in opposing them by sea and land, like other adventurers ; they availed themselves of religion, as the most effectual instrument for restraining the minds and inclinations of mankind, and of governing them by a power apparently divine ; which they employed in directing the consciences of kings, with a view to their own ends and interests. In order to their success, however, it became necessary to proceed in the least alarming, and most attractive way ; especially to conceal the artifices of their Institute ; to give it an adaptation to places and circumstances ; to extend it to Members of other orders, conditions, and even religions, to laymen as well as ecclesiastics, to the married and single, to bishops, popes, emperors, and kings. It became essential that the constitutions of the society should be monarchical and despotic ; and that the whole exercise of the authority, and the direction of the revenues, should be united in the hands of a single chief ; and that all the members should be blindly dependant, in every thing, upon his absolute will, for their destiny, for the disposal of their persons, their conduct, and their property : for their doctrine and mode of thinking on all points, in order that all might be one in their Society, and that the spirit of the head might be universally that of every member of the body ; that no authority, temporal or spiritual, neither councils, bishops, popes, nor kings, should effect any thing against the Society, and that it should be exempt from all their laws, and from all dependance upon them ; that the Society should unite in itself the privileges and prerogatives of all other societies ; and appropriate to itself such rights as should give it superiority over all other bodies ; that it should be able to bind to itself all individuals, and all bodies, without ever being itself bound in respect of them ; and that it should always sport with obligations and engagements, according to the interests of the Society, and as circumstances should require : that money being the sinew of government, it should amass in the hands of its Director, such possessions and wealth as were necessary to its extensive views ; for which purpose the Institute should offer all proper facilities : finally, that, in order to attract the world within its own sphere, and to arrive at general influence, it should, on the one hand, soothe the great and luxurious, by pa-

latable doctrines, by a convenient morality, and by principles friendly to the indulgence of every passion; while, on the other, it should render itself terrible to every opponent, and even formidable to all who should refuse to join it; formed as it was upon maxims which enabled it to silence or destroy its opponents, and caused even crowned heads to tremble.' Vol II. pp. 175—177.

The Society of the Jesuits is composed of four classes.

Taken in its more extensive sense, the Society comprises all those who yield obedience to the General; even the Novices, who do not wear the habit; and generally all those who, having resolved to live and die in the Society, are in probation; in order that it may be decided to which of the following degrees they shall be admitted. This is the first class. The Society, in a more limited sense, comprises, besides, those who have taken the vows, and the coadjutors, approved scholars; which approved scholars are the second class. In a third, and more strict sense, the Society only includes those who have taken the vows, and the coadjutors; and it is in this sense that the promise of the approved scholars to enter into the Society, that is, to enter into one of those two classes, must be understood. Thus, the third class is that of coadjutors. Lastly, the Society, understood in an entirely confined and appropriate sense, comprises only those who have taken the vows; not that the body of the Society has no other Members, but because those who have taken the vows are the principal members, and because it is from the midst of them that the small number of those persons is selected who have a voice in the election of the General. Those, then, who have taken the vows, form the fourth class.' Vol. II. pp. 191, 192.

These four classes admit of several subdivisions, for each of which a number of regulations is provided. There is, for the first class, a first and a second probation: the former of these continues for twelve, fifteen, or twenty days; the latter, or the novitiate, lasts at least two years; but the General has the power of extending this period as long as the interest of the Society may require. On his reception into the second probation, or novitiate, the aspirant receives the title of *Brother*; and at the conclusion of it, when he takes the vows, and passes into the second division of the first class, he is invested with the title of *Father*. The second class consists of the Jesuit scholars or students—*Scholastici*; that is, those Jesuits who are permitted to apply themselves to their studies, and in whose hands are the colleges of the Society and the benefices united to them. The Coadjutors, who form the third class, are divided into Spiritual and Temporal. The Spiritual must be priests, and sufficiently instructed to assist the Society in its spiritual functions, such as confession, preaching, the instruction of youth, and the teaching of the *Belles Lettres*. The Temporal Coadjutors, (who are properly only Lay Brothers,) are not to be in Holy Orders, but must still have sufficient ability for the service of

the Society in all those external things in which it may be necessary to employ them. The Professors of the four vows are the finished members of the Society; they have the supreme government of the colleges, and it is from them alone that the small number is chosen who have a voice in the election of the General.

The accommodating laws of this most iniquitous and dangerous Society, have lodged the double power of dismissing and recalling members in the hands of the General, who is thus enabled, for the benefit of the Order, in both its political and pecuniary interests, to dismiss a Jesuit from the Society, that he may appear as though he had no connexion with it, and to recall him when his return shall be desirable and profitable. A striking example of this crafty and wicked policy, occurs in the instance of Count Zani.

Charles Zani was the son of the Count John Zani of Bologna, and entered into the Society of Jesuits in the year 1627, having before his admission made a complete renunciation of all the property to which he might ever be entitled; expressly declaring that neither himself nor the Society should ever lay any claim to it. After he had been eleven years in the Society, his father, and the Count Angelo, his brother, died; upon which the Fathers of the Society persuaded him to quit it, for the purpose of succeeding to their property, and of afterwards returning to the Society; for this end, the necessary letters of dismission were sought from the General Vitelleschi, which were accordingly sent to the Provincial Menochius. Before they were delivered to Charles Zani, he was obliged to make a vow of returning to the Society with all the property which might be recovered by him, and the following is a copy of the obligation which he signed:—

“ I, Charles Zani, being about to receive my Letters of dismission
 “ from the society of Jesus, do, before they shall be delivered to me
 “ by the very Reverend Father Stephen Menochius, the Provincial,
 “ voluntarily promise and vow in the presence of God, and do in
 “ conscience bind myself in the strongest manner in my power, that
 “ after I shall have received my said letters of dismission, I will
 “ demand of those who may then be the superiors of the Society,
 “ permission to re-enter the said Society, so soon as I shall have ac-
 “ complished the object for which I have required and received the
 “ said Letters; hereby declaring, and binding myself to make the said
 “ application to be restored to the said Society, at such time as the
 “ Reverend Father Vincent Bargellin shall judge the most fit, and
 “ according as he shall consider my affairs to be properly arranged;
 “ holding myself obliged, in that particular, to follow his pious judg-
 “ ment and will, in order to avoid all doubts on my part, and to
 “ know more certainly the time and season for accomplishing my
 “ present vow to the honour of God.” He quitted the religious
 habit on the 27th of November, 1639, as he has himself testified by
 a writing under his hand. Having afterwards come into the pos-

session of his estate, he altered his mind, and went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a dispensation from his vow, but he could not succeed in procuring it from Pope Innocent X. Being afterwards seized with a fever, he made his will in favour of the College of Jesuits at Bologna, through the influence of those Fathers who besieged him day and night for that object; and after this, he died. The Jesuits immediately seized upon his property; but the family opposing their pretensions, the affair became the subject of litigation. The Jesuits being afraid that either in the proceedings which had commenced, or in the subsequent judgment, their extraordinary conduct with reference to the deceased party, their insatiable thirst of money, and their new method of invading inheritances, might be exposed to the world, obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander VII. an Act of Grace by which he commanded the judges of the court to terminate the proceedings, by way of compromise; which was done by dividing the whole property in question into twelve parts, five of which were allotted to the Jesuits, and the other seven to the family, who obtained them only after infinite trouble, and innumerable impediments on the part of those fathers, and after their having almost entirely dissipated the property in question.*

Vol. II. pp. 239—241.

The reflections with which the Author has accompanied his relation of this nefarious transaction, are so weighty and so just, that we cannot permit ourselves to pass them by unnoticed, though we can afford only this slight mention of them: they deserve the greatest and most serious attention, which indeed is a recommendation, as we have already remarked, justly due to the copious reflections throughout the work.

The Jesuits are under the government of Rectors or Prefects, Provincials, and a General. The General is at the head of the whole body, the Provincials are at the head of the Provinces, and the Rectors or Prefects at the head of each of the houses, colleges, missions, and novitiates. The Inferiors correspond with the Rectors, the Rectors with the Provincials, and the Provincials with the General. Among these officers are, four Assistants, appointed after the election of the General, by the same congregation which has elected him; four others appointed by the General himself; Legal Agents, one of whom is destined to be with the Pope, and the others with the Catholic Potentates in Europe: Visitors, one for each province; a Secretary-general, resident in Rome; an officer of the General, &c. In the colleges, as well as in the Houses, Missions, and Novitiates, there are various subordinate agents, entitled Associates, Advisers, Proxies, Ministers, &c. &c. Over this whole body in all its ramifications of persons, interests, and duties, the General exercises supreme and unlimited power, and is the absolute monarch over the whole Society: implicit obedience to his will is included in the vows of every Jesuit.

*See "*La Morale Pratique des Jesuites*," Vol. I. towards the end.

‘ In order that the General may attain the important end of increasing the influence of the Society in all its parts, it is necessary, not only that his office should be perpetual, but that the whole authority should centre in the General alone, and that he should possess unlimited power in the Society; and the Constitutions provide accordingly. Of course, no other person in the Society has any other power than what he may communicate, for such time, and in such measure, as he shall approve; while his own power is indefinite, and extends to Missions, to Colleges, to Houses of Profession, to things, to possessions, and to persons. The entire direction and administration of every thing is virtually vested in him; emanates only from him; and reverts to him alone: nothing is done without his orders, or by virtue of his power; and every thing passes under a condition of an account being rendered to him, while he is accountable to no one.’ Vol. II. p. 247.

With such absolute authority over the property, the consciences, and the persons of the whole Society of Jesuits, the General, who resides at Rome, must be a dangerous personage; and it deserves the most serious consideration, whether the implicit obedience which every Jesuit owes to the head of his Order, can possibly permit his becoming, with good faith, a dutiful subject of the civil state. It is a gross fallacy to allege that the government of either the Pope or the General of the Order of Jesuits, is spiritual. Secular interests and secular policy are identical with both of them. On the oath of allegiance, as applying to the Jesuits, the Author’s remarks, Vol. I. p. 386, are worthy of being recommended to the attention of the reader.

The morality of the Jesuits, which received the most complete exposure from the wit and eloquence of the Provincial Letters, is of the most criminal character, adapted to sanction vice in all its gradations, and to harden the heart in the practice of iniquity, by the apologies for sin which the arts of its patrons have devised.

‘ At one time, excuse is suggested by what is called *invincible ignorance*; at another, by *the want of actual consideration of the evil of the action*; on some occasions, *the particular direction of the intention* is to be regarded; at others *mental reservation* is permitted. Sometimes, *the authority of some learned Doctor* shall qualify the nature of a crime; at other times, the great secret of *the Doctrine of probability* shall explain away its intrinsic evil: on some occasions the lawfulness of the pleasures of sense, as considered in themselves, is maintained; and their excess alone is held to constitute the crime which is prohibited. In this manner, almost every transgression against divine or human laws disappears; usury and duelling are sanctioned; debauchery is commonly no other than a venial sin; defamation and slander, vengeance and murder, are only the lawful results of a justifiable defence; the procuring of abortions under certain circumstances, only an allowed protection of character; theft but an

authorized way of procuring justice; perjury, no other than the innocent effect of a mere *jeu-de-mots*, by which a person has appeared to say what he never intended to say, and to promise what he never meant to perform.' Vol. II. p. 382.

An Appendix, consisting for the most part of Extracts from the Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Education of the Lower Orders, printed in June 1816, is subjoined. It is decisive on the point that the Bible is, in Roman Catholic communities, a prohibited book; and this point being established, it can no longer be doubted what are the nature and tendency of Popery. There must be something radically corrupt and mischievous in a system which lays its foundations on the ignorance of mankind, and forbids the reading of the Scriptures by the common people. Whether this conduct can proceed from any other principle than the support of priestcraft, which might and would be endangered by men's having access to the Scriptures, it is not difficult to determine. If God has made a revelation of his will, it is as important for one man as for another, and as much his right to learn and know it. To prevent the access of any rational person to the unconfined use of the Bible, is nothing else than an insult to God and man, and can only result from a policy antichristian and wicked. How long will men yield themselves to be the dupes of priests and the atrocious frauds which they study to put in practice? Much as we fear we have already trespassed upon the patience of our readers, we shall insert two of the answers given by Dr. William Poynter, Roman Catholic Bishop, and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, to the questions put by the Education Committee.

Q. According to the discipline of your Church, are children and the unlearned allowed to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue?—
A. They are, under certain regulations.

Q. Of what nature are those regulations?—That they should not read them in the vulgar tongue, *without the permission of their pastors.*

Q. Then you conceive that the religious instruction which might be conveyed by teaching them (the children of the poor Roman Catholics in London) to read the Protestant Scriptures would not better their moral condition, in your view?—*Certainly not.*—(LET ALL READERS NOTICE THIS.)

To the work before us we have endeavoured, both by our own remarks, and by as copious extracts as our limits allow us to elect, to do justice. It is one of the few works to which, in the present critical and alarming times, when all that is valuable and dear to man is exposed to peril, we can accord the praise of being instructive and admonitory as the exigence requires. Its value and utility cannot fail of being duly appreciated and highly rated by the Christian philanthropist whose studies have been

directed to the causes of some of the greatest evils with which mankind have ever been visited, and who must ever be of opinion, that so long as a religious tyranny which unites in the objects of its despotic rule the subjugation of the human conscience and the control of secular states, shall exist, the peace, the liberties, and the lives of men, must be in jeopardy. The Author, whoever he may be, has prepared for the consolation of his own mind in the day of evil, should it ever come, by the fidelity and ability with which he has performed his duty. He has spared no labour to make his work worthy of the public attention. To materials obtained from the best sources, by the most patient research, he has given as much order as the nature of them could well admit, and has clothed them with language of great perspicuity and vigour, which frequently derives no inconsiderable portion of its excellence from the high moral tone of the sentiments which it embodies. The nature and object of these volumes fully entitle the Author to address his country in the language of the Athenian orator, which he has adopted as a motto, and with which he concludes the History of the Jesuits :
 " I present these considerations as the result of accurate and
 " solemn investigation : they are offered in behalf of you all ; in
 " the cause of truth, your constitution, and your laws ; for your
 " common salvation, your religion, your honour, and your
 " liberty !"

Art. IV. *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's late Ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through its numerous hitherto undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lew Chew ; with an Account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar.* By John M'Leod, Surgeon of the Alceste. 8vo. 12s. Plates. Murray, London. 1817.

WE had intended to blend this Article with one which will in our next Number, we expect, be devoted to the larger work of Mr. Ellis ; but on looking through Mr. M'Leod's volume, for the purpose of obtaining a general notion of its contents, we have found in it so much of interest and novelty, that we cannot feel satisfied without giving it a separate analysis, and putting it fairly and singly forward, on the ground of its own merits. Mr. M'Leod is a man of sense and observation ; he has made active use of his eyes and intellect ; and, if his style is never very highly wrought, and even, sometimes, a little defective in point of correctness, there is yet a plain, manly, seaman-like distinctness and strength in his language, a clearness in his descriptions, and a vein of genuine English humour in his way of telling a story, that altogether afford ample compensation for the neglect of refinement. At the same time, we would suggest to Mr. M. the expediency of abstaining for

the future from all light and jesting mention of any thing in the slightest degree connected with religion; to do this is neither wise nor manly; it will not, assuredly, commend the writer to the good opinion of those whose approbation is the most to be desired. There is not, indeed, much of this in his narrative; still, there is something, and whatever is in the smallest portion tinctured with this offensive levity, should be carefully expunged.

We shall not, in this place, enumerate the names of the individuals attached to the late Chinese Embassy, nor advert to any of the arrangements connected with it; and we shall consider the voyage of the *Alceste* with as little reference as possible to the circumstances of the Mission. The adventures of the political voyagers were, in truth, rather dull and insipid; their business lay in a tedious and unvaried country, and with a very unentertaining people, and their discussions chiefly turned upon points of wearisome ceremony; but to the Commander of the *Alceste*, we are indebted for considerable discoveries, and to the Surgeon of that frigate, for a very lively and instructive narrative of interesting and important events. The squadron, of which Captain Murray Maxwell was the commander, comprised the *Alceste* frigate, of forty-six guns, His Majesty's brig *Lyra*, Captain Basil Hall, and the General Hewitt Indiaman, Captain Campbell.

On the 9th of February, 1816, the ships sailed from Spithead; on the 18th, reached Madeira, and on the 4th of March crossed the line, the usual ceremonies being observed by the crew. On the 16th, the squadron separated; the two smaller vessels 'were directed to make the best of their way to the Cape of Good Hope,' while the frigate stood over to the American coast, and on the 21st, reached Rio Janeiro. The death of the Queen of Portugal, which took place the day before their arrival, had put a stop to all public amusements, the reigning Prince was closely shut up, and 'swarms of priests occupied every avenue to the palace, and hung in clusters on the staircases. St. Sebastian seems to be a soil, in which these members of the *Autos da Fé* still thrive well.' The funeral took place by torch-light, and the principal mourners, eight noblemen on horseback, with their large broad-brimmed hats, long black robes, and glittering stars, presented to the lively spirits of our countrymen, 'the whimsical combination of a coal-heaver, a priest, and a knight.' 'They do Buonaparte, here, the honour of being very much afraid of him; and keep a bright eye to windward, lest he should break adrift from St. Helena, and come down upon them before the wind.'

They quitted Rio Janeiro on the 81st of March; in less than

three weeks, they reached the Cape; and on the 8th of June, anchored in Anjeri Road, Java. Here they overtook the other ships, and such was the superior rate of sailing of the *Alceste*, that it enabled her to touch at Rio Janeiro, 'without in any way delaying the general passage; as notwithstanding this, she nearly overtook her consorts at the Cape. The same was the case here, though she remained ten days behind, being able to afford them, in such a run, a start of 1000 or 1500 miles.'

On the 28th of July, the ship anchored off the mouth of the Pei-Ho; but as the Chinese were not quite prepared for them, it was some days before a regular communication was established. The first appearance of the two delegated Mandarins, did not strike our Author with much reverential feeling. He compares them, with their 'short jacket or gown,' and 'crape petticoats,' to 'bulky old women,' and this irreverent disposition does not appear to have diminished on further acquaintance. Off Macao, the squadron had been joined by the *Discovery* and the *Investigator*, two 'surveying ships' in the service of the East India Company, and it was now arranged, that a separation should take place, for the purpose of exploring the Gulf of Pe-tche-lee. Whether it was politic or not, thus to run the hazard of alarming the jealous fears of the Chinese, we shall not now inquire; but the result of this cruise has certainly been very gratifying, inasmuch as it has rectified several prevailing errors respecting the geography and hydrography of this part of the world, and added materially to our knowledge of the coast and islands of this extensive Gulf. The *Alceste* and *Discovery* stood to the North-eastward, and coasted along the hitherto unexplored shore of the Gulf of Lea-tong. From incidental observations in this volume, and from the map in Mr. Ellis's *Journal*, we collect that the head of this Gulf was not examined. On the 24th of August, 'about noon,' they were gratified with the sight of the Great Wall. They were then in Lat. 39°, 29' North, Long. 120°, 6' East, and this stupendous object winding over the loftiest hills, in extended and majestic sweep, bore N. W. by W. its 'nearest and lowest point being then distant about six or seven leagues.' They now stood across toward the coast of Chinese Tartary, and landed. The inhabitants were extremely inquisitive, but not uncivil. They testified an inordinate partiality for anchor-buttons, and very little appetite for Spanish dollars. The Chinese language, dress, manners, and religion, were prevalent here. The people displayed remarkable neatness in their houses and gardens, and 'there was an air of comfort about their villages, not always to be found in the more civilized parts of Europe.' They afterwards discovered a cluster of islands, and determined the shape and direction of the

narrow promontory which forms the eastern boundary of the Gulf of Lea-tong. In the mean time, Captain Hall had 'surveyed the western and southern shores of the Gulph of Pö-tche-lee, which were found to be in general low.'

'On the 26th we weighed from Zeu-a-tau, and next morning arrived at Oie-aie-oie, a very extensive and secure harbour, the Lyra sounding the passage in. On our entrance a number of Mandarins (or, as the seamen termed them *mad marines*) came on board to pay their respects; and an old turret on the face of a hill fired three popguns by way of salute, turning out about a dozen and a half of soldiers, who looked a good deal like the stage-military in an old-fashioned play.'

A different arrangement was now made, the Company's ships returned to Macao, while the frigate and brig stood over for the purpose of exploring the coast of Corea. The result of their investigation was the discovery that our maps of this part of the world are altogether erroneous; that the land hitherto taken for continent, is, in fact, broken into innumerable islands; and that the real line of coast lies upwards of a hundred miles, 'high and dry up the country, according to the existing charts.' It is, indeed, somewhat curious to compare former delineations, such for instance as that in Arrowsmith's Asia, with that in Mr. Ellis's map, though of indifferent execution, and to observe of what mere guesses and approximations science is sometimes made up. The first cluster of these islands was named Sir James Hall's Group. 'The natives here exhibited, by signs and gestures, the greatest aversion to the landing of a party from the ships, making cut-throat motions by drawing their hands across their necks, and pushing the boats away from the beach; but they offered no serious violence.'

By the representation of their dress, habits of life, and dwellings, given in an annexed plate, it would seem that these islanders enjoy the comforts and some of the luxuries of life; and from subsequent portions of the work, it would appear not improbable that these violent and repulsive gestures were only designed to intimate their own danger if detected in holding communication with foreign visitants. On the 4th of September, the vessels cast anchor in 'a fine bay formed by the main land to the northward and eastward,' in front of a village, with a larger town at some distance. Here they were visited by a chief with a numerous retinue, one of whom, to the great amusement of our countrymen, received a smart *bamboozing*; 'and as the culprit squalled, a number of his companions standing round him joined in the howl.' These visitors behaved with great propriety, and carefully examined and noted down every particular relating to the ships; but when the boats were manned, and, with Captain Maxwell, rowed for the shore, the agitation of

the old chief was excessive; and when they landed, he exhibited all the signs of extreme despondency and grief. 'It was explained as well as could be done that no injury was intended, and that we were friends. He pointed to the sun; and describing its revolving course four times, he drew his hand across his throat, and dropping his chin upon his breast, shut his eyes, as if dead; intimating that in four days, he should be in danger of losing his head if he permitted further intrusion. The party made an appeal to his hospitality, by making signs of hunger; but this failed of their object, for though it brought refreshments, it procured no invitation into their houses; they were therefore rejected,

and by way of a hint that this was not our mode of treating strangers, invited them to return to the frigate where they should dine handsomely, and meet with every respect. The old man, who had observed attentively, and seemed perfectly to comprehend, the meaning of the signs, answered by going through the motions of eating and drinking with much appearance of liveliness and satisfaction, patting his stomach afterwards, to say all was very fine; then looking grave, he drew his hand across his neck, and shut his eyes; as if to say, "what signifies your good dinners when I must lose my head."

He afterwards, on board the *Alceste*, wrote some characters on a slip of paper, to which he required an answer; the paper was retained, and when shewn at Canton to Mr. Bannerman, turned out to be, "I don't know who ye are; what business have ye here?" a very pertinent inquiry, and to which it would not have been easy to give a satisfactory reply. He appeared very grateful to Captain M: 'for not insisting upon going into the town,' and received a Bible which he carried on shore, with much care, most likely supposing it to be some official communication.

When they left this place, which was named Basil's Bay, they stood to the southward, through innumerable and lofty islands, inhabited, and of small extent; the outer group was called the Amherst Isles, and the inner, the Corean Archipelago. The inhabitants were on the whole friendly, but averse to intercourse with the voyagers, motioning to them to depart, and making the usual signal with their hands across the throat. Corea, or Kaoli, is tributary to the Emperor of China, and sends, in acknowledgement of fealty, a triennial embassy.

His Corean Majesty may well be styled "king of ten thousand isles," but his supposed continental dominions have been very much circumscribed by our visit to his shores. Except in the late and present embassy, no ships had ever penetrated into the Yellow Sea; the Lion had kept the coast of China aboard only, and had neither touched at the Tartar nor Corean side. Cook, Perouse, Bougainville,

Broughton and others, had well defined the bounds on the eastern coast of this country, but the western had hitherto been laid down on the charts from imagination only, the main land being from a hundred and thirty, to a hundred and fifty miles farther to the eastward, than these charts had led us to believe.'

The language of Corea is affirmed to have 'no resemblance in sound to the colloquial language of China,' though the 'literati' use the Chinese written character.

After disengaging themselves from this wilderness of isles, they passed a volcano, of which, at the distance of two or three miles, the sulphurous smell was 'very strong.' In their approach to the islands of Lewchew, (the Lekeyos of the charts,) the ships were in some danger, especially the smaller one, from that terror of seamen, a strong wind on a lee shore.

The *Lyra*, indeed, could not have tacked in such a swell, and was almost too near to attempt wearing. Both ships, therefore, stood on with every sail they could carry, on the starboard tack, endeavouring to weather the reef. Much anxiety existed, at this moment, on board the *Alceste*, for the fate of the Brig; the breakers rearing their white tops close to leeward of her, and rolling, with terrific force, upon the rocks. By steady steerage, however, and a press of sail, she at last passed the danger, and bore up through a channel formed by the reef and some high islets to the southward, very much to the satisfaction of all concerned; and she was followed by the frigate.'

The morning view presented to the Navigators, the refreshing scenery of a highly cultivated shore, and the approach of boats from the land, offering them vegetables and fresh water, and pointing out the safest anchorage. The ships made sail in the direction pointed out, and came to in front of 'a considerable town, with a number of vessels at anchor under it, in a harbour, the mouth of which was formed by two pier-heads.' The natives, to whom the sight was altogether new, crowded to the shore, and the ships were speedily visited by the 'people in office,' who made the usual inquiries. The general answer to this was correct, but we are sorry to say, that it was judged expedient to practice deception on these good people, by informing them that the ship had sprung a leak, and by turning the rock in the hold, filling the well, and setting the chain-pumps to work. The natives gazed with astonishment and sympathy at the volumes of water thrown out on the main deck, and without delay collected a strong party of their carpenters, and brought them on board to assist in repairing the damage. When this kind offer was evaded, with an intimation, that fresh provisions and water would be most acceptable, an immediate and liberal supply was furnished of 'Bullocks, pigs, goats, fowls, eggs, and other articles, with abundance of excellent sweet potatoes, vegetables, fruit then in season, and even candles and

'fire-wood.' For all these receipts were taken, but though payment was repeatedly tendered, none would be accepted. After a short period, they were visited by a man of rank, who was handsomely entertained, and by whom they were hospitably feasted in return. A proposal to 'walk over' the city was, however, civilly put aside, and a degree of caution was, at first, very properly exercised towards the new comers, who attributed much, even of the slight restriction imposed upon them, to the interference of *Bonaparte*, a native, so termed by our countrymen from his 'dark and peculiar aspect,' and from his supposed inclination to keep them at greater distance. The lower orders conducted themselves with the greatest courtesy. When the officers left the public dinner, the natives drew up on both sides of the way, to gratify their curiosity, in the utmost regularity; the inner row formed of the smallest boys kneeling; the second of larger children 'squatting;' the next rank, of men, and the tallest stood behind, or mounted on stones or hillocks. The most entire confidence was, at last, established, and Captain Maxwell was permitted to land his stores for inspection, and to establish his rope-makers and artificers of various kinds, at convenient points of the shore. They provided all kinds of accommodation to the utmost extent of their power, and even felled wood for spars, and towed them alongside. The island of Lewchew is about sixty miles long, and twenty broad, and is the principal of a group of thirty-six, subject to the same monarch. Its early history is, as usual, involved in obscurity and fable, and the few main points on which dependence can be placed, contain very little interest or variety. It is situated in the happiest climate in the globe; the scenery is delightful, the people healthy, active, and apt in receiving instruction. Madera Cosyong, one of the most assiduous in his attention to our countrymen, is described as a finished gentleman. He paid great attention to every word he heard spoken, wrote it in his memorandum book, and in a few weeks made such a proficiency in the English language, as to converse without an interpreter. The ready and accommodating politeness of this people was altogether extraordinary. When the health of the king of Lewchew was drunk in a bumper at Capt. Maxwell's table, a Lewchewer immediately rose, and addressing the Captain through the interpreter, very feelingly expressed his gratification at the compliment; and precisely as a European gentleman would have done under similar circumstances, proposed, in return, a bumper to the king of the *Engelees*. Though much of the volume yet lies before us, we cannot refuse space to an extract or two, in further illustration of the character and condition of this amiable people. After describing the scenery

in the neighbourhood of the ships, Mr. M'Leod proceeds as follows :—

‘ At a short distance from this eminence, the traveller is led by a footpath to what seems only a little wood ; on entering which, under an archway formed by the intermingling branches of the opposite trees, he passes along a serpentine labyrinth, every here and there intersected by others. Not far from each other, on either side of these walks, small wicker doors are observed, on opening any of which he is surprized by the appearance of a court-yard and house, with the children, and all the usual cottage train, generally gambolling about : so that, while a man fancies himself in some lonely and sequestered retreat, he is, in fact, in the middle of a populous, but invisible, village.’

While the ships were here, a young man, whose case had long been hopeless, died ; and while the English carpenters made his coffin, the natives dug his grave. When the funeral was in preparation, a number of the principal inhabitants, dressed in their mourning habits, ‘ white robes with black or blue sashes,’ were observed to be in waiting. While the arrangements were making for the ceremony, they were closely attentive to the proceedings ; and when they had ascertained the plan by which they were adjusted, took their place in the procession, exactly where nothing less than the most consummate feeling of propriety could have directed them. The dead man’s

‘ messmates bore the coffin, covered with the colours ; the seamen ranged themselves two and two, in the rear of it : next were the midshipmen ; then the superior officers ; and last of all the Captain, as is usual in military ceremonies of this kind. The natives, who had been watching attentively this arrangement, and *observing the order of precedence to be inverted*, without the least hint being given, but with that unassuming modesty and delicacy which characterize them, when the procession began to move, *placed themselves in front of the coffin*, and in this order marched slowly to the grave..... They took the directions for the shape of a stone, to be placed at the head of a tomb, which, as a mark of respect, they had already begun to erect over the grave. This was soon finished, and the shape of the English letters being drawn with Indian ink, they, notwithstanding the simplicity of their tools, cut out, with much neatness, the following epitaph, which, when explained to them, seemed to be highly gratifying :—*Here lies buried, aged 21 years, William Hares, seaman of his Britannic Majesty’s ship Alceste. Died Oct. 15, 1816. This monument was erected by the king and inhabitants of this most hospitable island.* The day after the interment they went to the tomb, with their priests, and performed the funeral service according to the rites of their own religion.’

Their skill in medicine and surgery is very small ; their agriculture is simple ; their dancing is performed on one foot only. It is somewhat singular, that ‘ almost the whole animal crea-

'tion here is of diminutive size,' though all are excellent in their kind. Bullocks, goats, and pigs, are small, and the lords of the creation are themselves reduced to the average height of five feet two inches, but at the same time 'sturdy, well built, and athletic.' The origin of these islanders is decidedly not Chinese, but rather Corcan or Japanese. They are of fair complexion. They seemed to be entirely without weapons of war. The effects of fire-arms excited their utmost astonishment, and they begged that their birds might not be killed, as they were 'glad to see them flying about their houses.' Their language is a dialect of the Japanese. A few days before the departure of the ships, a man of high rank, said to be next heir to the throne, visited them, and a pleasant interchange of entertainments took place. Nearly at the same time, a proposal was made by 'some great man,' probably the king, to the boatswain's wife; great promises were made, and we are sorry to say, that the overture was not instantly rejected; two days were taken for consideration, and ultimately the husband refused to part with his wife; we are surprised that Captain Maxwell should permit this hesitation. On the 27th of October, the ships unmoored, and the Lewchewers in their best apparel, proceeded to the temple, and 'offered up to their gods a solemn sacrifice, invoking them to 'protect the *Englees*.' How long shall this admirable people be destitute of religious truth? The parting was extremely affecting; the friendly natives crowded on board to shake hands; they took leave with tears; and 'even hard-faced Buonaparte 'was not unmoved.'

When Captain Maxwell reached Macao, he found the Chinese disposed to throw every possible obstacle in his way, and to treat him with all imaginable insult. The return of the embassy was known, and the Viceroy of Canton, released from the apprehensions which he had felt of detection and punishment, was disposed to visit upon our countrymen, all the vexations which his fears had occasioned him. He harassed the traders, refused the General Hewitt permission to load, and treated Captain Maxwell with studied insolence. Captain M. applied for permission to pass up the river to a safe anchorage; this was refused, with an order that he should provide a security merchant to answer for his good conduct. Captain Maxwell intimated in reply, that a repetition of such a demand would put him under the necessity of ordering the messenger, a mandarin, to be thrown overboard, and stated his intention of waiting for a pass forty-eight hours, and that if, at the expiration of that time, it had not reached him, he should sail without it. The pass never came, the Chinese pilot 'sneaked off,' the locks and flints of the carronades, to the infinite delight of the crew, were inspected, and Mr. Mayne, the master, volunteered to carry the

ship up. The Bocca Tigris, or Bogue, the channel up which the ship had to sail, was strongly fortified, and one hundred and ten pieces of cannon were so disposed, as with moderate skill, to make an assailant repent of his temerity. In addition to these defences, the Chinese '*grand fleet*' of war junks was ready for action. While the vessel was under way, a linguist came on board from the Mandarins, desiring 'in a high and domineering tone, that the ship should be directly anchored, and that, if we presumed to pass up the river, the batteries would instantly sink her.' Not satisfied with this piece of official insolence, he added some impertinent personalities to the Captain. Captain Maxwell 'calmly observed that he would first pass the batteries, and then hang him at the yard-arm, for daring to bring on board a British man-of-war so impudent a message.' His boat was cut adrift, and he was conveyed below. The junks now began to fire with blank cartridge, which was returned by the ship, *as a salute*.

'On the next tack we passed close to these warriors, who remained quiet until we got inside of them, and opened Chumpee; when that fort, little Annan-hoy, and the junks (now under weigh) began to fire with shot. At this moment the wind becoming light and baffling, we were obliged to drop anchor in Anson's bay, in order to hold the ground we had gained, and that they might not suppose they had driven us back; and in the act of wearing for this purpose, we gave the admiral of the junks a single shot only, by way of a hint. They immediately ceased firing; and their junks anchoring near us, all remained quiet until a little after eight o'clock, when a light breeze sprung up, which enabled us to lay our course, and the anchor was again weighed. The moment this was observed by the junks, they beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up sky-rockets, to give the alarm, and in an instant the batteries were completely illuminated, displaying lanterns as large as moderate sized balloons, (the finest mark imaginable for us) commencing also a warm, but ill-directed fire from both sides. Steering a steady course, the ship maintained a slow and regular fire, as the guns could be brought to bear, without yawing her. From the lightness of the breeze, which the cannonade seemed to lessen, it was a considerable time before we got abreast of the largest battery. At last, when within pistol-shot of the angle of it, and just before they could get all their guns to bear into the ship, a whole broadside, with cool aim, was poured in among them, the two-and-thirty pounders rattling the stones about their ears in fine style, and giving them at the same time three *roaring* cheers. This salvo was decisive at this particular point; their lights disappeared in a twinkling, and they were completely silenced. The Chinese linguist, who had crawled below, when he saw matters taking a serious turn, and having observed there was no joking in the case, began in real earnest to think, as one part of the promise had been fulfilled, that *his time had now arrived*. Coming trembling upon deck, he prostrated himself, and kissing the Captain's feet, begged for mercy. At that moment, hearing the

order given to 'stand by the larboard guns for Tiger Island' (on which we then supposed there was a battery) he said with a rueful countenance, "what! no hab done yet?"—"not half done"—was the reply.—"How many guns have you got on Tiger Island?"—but, without waiting to answer this question (or, indeed, reflecting in his perturbation that there were none at all) he wrung his hands, groaned heavily, and dived again below.'

These prompt and decided measures produced a very wholesome effect; permission was given by the crest-fallen viceroy, for the General Hewitt to *load immediately*; and a high Mandarin waited upon Captain Maxwell 'to welcome him into the river, and compliment him with all possible politeness.' Without a single casualty on our side, the Chinese lost in this foolish business forty-seven men killed, besides the average proportion *spoiled*, i. e. wounded. An additional advantage produced by it to the English, was, that it compelled the Viceroy to lay aside his intention of offering further and grosser insults to the Embassy, and 'commanded as brilliant an entry for the Embassy as ever had been witnessed on any other occasion.' Mr. M'Leod seems to have a mortal antipathy against every thing Chinese; their music he describes in the following choice phrase.

'By collecting together in a small place, a dozen bulls, the same number of jack-asses, a gang of tinkers round a copper caldron, some cleavers and marrow-bones, with about thirty cats; then letting the whole commence bellowing, braying, hammering, and catterwauling together, and some idea may be formed of the melody of a Chinese Orchestra.'

While they lay here, a circumstance occurred which shewed at once the selfish apathy of the general character of the Chinese, and that the general rule is not without exception. In November, 1816, a small boat, containing three men, a woman, and a child, was run down at midnight by a junk, while several others were sailing near, without the smallest effort on the part of any of them to save a single individual. Providentially, their shrieks were heard on board the *Alceste*, and the Hon. Mr. Stopford, the officer in charge of the watch, with several others, jumped into a boat, and came up in time to save the three men; the woman and child were lost. The next day

'one of them returned on board with a *cumshaw*, or present, of three wild ducks, which he presented on his knees to the gentleman who had saved him, stating that by the junk running over their *Sanpan*, he had lost his wife and a *bull-child* (his only mode of expressing a boy) and must himself with the other men have perished also but for the assistance we afforded them. Pleased with this appearance of heart and gratitude, where so little was expected, some money and provisions were given him for his ducks, and he was allowed to bring on board fish and other articles for sale, which, from becoming rather a favorite, soon enabled him to repair the ~~loss~~ of his boat.'

The Embassy, after a separation of nearly five months, rejoined their naval friends at Canton. The transactions which there took place between Lord Amherst and the Viceroy, we shall refer to elsewhere. On the 9th of January, 1817, the ships quitted China. At Manilla, the *Lyra* parted company, and sailed for India. A few interesting particulars are detailed respecting the Philippine Islands, for which we must refer to the volume, and pass on to that moment when every possible precaution being taken, the leads going in both chains, 'men locking out at the mast-heads, yard-arms, and bowsprit end, the captain, master, and officer of the watch' on deck, and keenly observant, just as they were clearing the straits of Gaspar, and leaving behind 'the last danger of this sort between them and England,

'the ship, about half-past seven in the morning, struck with a horrid crash on a reef of sunken rocks, and remained immoveable! It was soon indeed but too evident, that any attempt to move her would be attended with the most fatal consequences; for, on each side of the rocks on which she hung, the water deepened from ten to seventeen fathoms immediately around her; and from the injury received, she must have gone down in a few minutes, had she forced her way over this narrow reef.'

Captain Maxwell, in this trying exigency, conducted himself to admiration. He landed the Ambassador on the island, about three miles and a half distant, exerted himself to secure the articles of most pressing necessity, and maintained, by his calmness and resolution, the most complete control over the crew. Neither does Lord Amherst appear to have failed in the smallest portion of that dignity and self-possession which were now especially required from a man in his prominent station, as an example to others. After the necessary deliberation, it was determined that his Lordship and suite should embark in the barge and cutter, and endeavour to reach Java. After what Mr. M'Leod calls a '*fête champêtre* in this wilderness, in which 'salt was received with the same horror as arsenic,' forty-seven persons entered the boats, and among them a Mr. Somerset, 'who had come out,' as Mr. M. dryly remarks, 'to see a little of the world.' Their stock of provisions was exceedingly slender, and their supply of water (none had been found on the island) fearfully small. The number left behind was 200 men and boys, and one female, and of these, the most immediate anxiety was for a sufficient supply of water. For two or three days much misery was experienced from thirst; but at length, after digging upwards of twenty feet, muddy fresh water was procured; and afterwards from another well, it was obtained in larger quantity, and of better quality. In the mean time, the wreck remained stationary, and hands were busily employed in

stripping it of every thing useful; but on the third day after the ship had struck, the party stationed at the ship were surrounded by a number of Malay proas, well armed, and full of men; not a moment was to be lost, they sprung into the boat along side and made for the shore, closely pursued by the pirates, but happily in vain. Soon after it was reported that 'the savages,' armed with spears, were landing. 'Under all the depressing circumstances,' says Mr. M., 'attending shipwreck; of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; and menaced by a ruthless foe; it was glorious to see the British spirit staunch and unsubdued.'

The stock of arms was small, consisting of a dozen cutlasses, thirty muskets and bayonets, and seventy-five ball cartridges; but every man, with right good will, contrived to arm himself in one way or another; and even a man who had been severely bruised by the falling of the masts, and was unable to stand, employed himself in *fishing*, with rope-yarn, the blade of an old razor, to the end of two sticks, that if they came 'within reach of his hammock he might mark them.' An *abbatis* was formed, and though the present proved a false alarm, it was afterwards strengthened into a strong fortification. The next day, the second lieutenant, Mr. Hay, with the boats, drove the pirates from the ship, but not until they had set fire to her, and by this dastardly and atrocious act, conferred upon our countrymen an unintentional benefit, as it enabled them to get at many articles which floated up when the decks were burnt away; among other things, a number of muskets and boarding pikes were secured, and from the loose powder which had been preserved, about sixteen hundred ball cartridges were made up.

'Wednesday, at day-light, two of the pirate proas, with each a canoe astern, were discovered close in with the cove where our boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, (a straight forward sort of fellow) who had the guard that night at the boats, and of course slept in them, immediately dashed at them with the barge, cutter, and gig. On perceiving this, they cut adrift their canoes, and made all sail; they rather distanced the cutter and gig, but the barge gained on them. On closing, the Malays evinced every sign of defiance, placing themselves in the most threatening attitudes, and firing their swivels at the barge. This was returned by Mr. Hay with the only musket in the boat, and as they closed nearer, the Malays commenced throwing their javelins and darts, several falling into the barge, but without wounding any of the men. Soon after, they were grappled by our fellows, when three of them having been shot, and a fourth knocked down with the butt-end of the musket, five more jumped over-board and drowned themselves, (evidently disdaining quarter) and two were taken prisoners, one of whom was severely wounded.'

The proa went down almost immediately. The ferocity of the Malays was so untamable, that one of them, nearly dead,

snatched at a cutlass which lay within his reach, and it was with difficulty wrested from him. The aspect of these wretches is described as truly hideous: they are 'an unjoyous race, and seldom smile.' At the same time, men so desperate in evil, might, if rightly taught, exert admirable energies in good; the conduct of the Malay officers and men in Ceylon*, is a proof of their firm and honourable character, under circumstances favourable to its development. The dangers and emergencies of our countrymen began now to multiply, but their spirit, borne up by the admirable conduct of Captain Maxwell, never gave way. The Malay fleet was increased to a formidable amount, and demonstrations were made of a combined attack by sea and land. Preparations were made to receive them, and to seize their vessels when near the shore, but to the great disappointment of the besieged, the assault was not made. The number of the proas still continued to increase, and the little stock of provisions in Fort Maxwell to diminish alarmingly. Desperate measures seemed necessary, and were actually under discussion, when a square-rigged vessel was discovered in the horizon, standing towards the island under crowded sail; the pirates made off, and the party were shortly in communication with the Company's cruizer, Ternate. On the 7th of March, the whole were embarked either in the ship or in the boats, which, from the smallness of the vessel, were appropriated to a portion of the crew, and on the 9th reached Batavia. The whole time of their stay on the island called Pulo Leat, was nineteen days, and the Providential interferences in their favour are thus enumerated.

'We had great reason to be thankful that the ship did not fall from the rocks on which she first struck, into deeper water, for then all must have perished;—that no accident happened to the boats which conveyed the embassy to Batavia, for in that case, we should never have been heard of;—that we found water;—that no mutiny or division took place among ourselves;—that we had been able to stand our ground against the pirates;—and that the Ternate had succeeded in anchoring in sight of the island; which she was only enabled to do by a fortuitous slant of wind for an hour or two. Had we been unfortunate in any one of these circumstances, few would have remained to tell our tale.'

So decidedly Providential was this preservation, that the ship Charlotte, which sailed from Batavia at the same time with the Ternate, and for the same purpose, after beating against wind and current from the 24th of February to the 16th of March, was unable to fetch further than the south-east end of the isle of Banca, the current constantly sweeping them to leeward as soon as they opened the straits. Mr. Mayne, the master of the Alceste, with two other gentlemen of that ship, who were now on board the Charlotte, anxious respecting the fate of their

* See Page 230 of our present Vol.

friends, 'resolved to shove off in the barge,' with a small store of provisions for their use. They rowed till the following day before they came in sight of the spot where they had left their companions; instead of whom they found a large flotilla of Malays, by three of whom they were instantly chased. The crisis was dreadful; they rowed for life, but the Malays 'in addition to their sails, pulled furiously, and were gaining fast.' Our countrymen had seized their arms and were preparing to make their lives a bloody purchase, when a heavy squall came on, which compelled the pirates to strike sail, while the boat, 'carrying through all, got a-head and escaped.'

On the 12th of April, the Embassy, with the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, embarked for England in the *Cæsar*, Captain Taylor, and landed on their native isle, August 17,

'not merely with the common feeling of happiness which all mankind naturally enjoy on re-visiting the land of their birth, but with those sensations of pride and satisfaction with which every Briton may look round him, in his own country, after having seen all others.'

During the passage, the ship took fire, but it was soon extinguished. On board the vessel was an Ouran Outang, of which an interesting description, but not containing any thing particularly novel, is given. Another passenger was of a very different kind, and a full account is given of his appearance and manners; this was a Boa Constrictor, 'somewhat small of his kind, being only about sixteen feet long, and of about eighteen inches in circumference, but his stomach was rather disproportionate to his size.' There were originally two, but one of them had escaped from his confinement, 'and very soon cleared the decks, as every body very civilly made way for him. Not being used to a ship, however, or taking, perhaps, the sea for a green field, he sprawled overboard and was drowned.'

The other was safely secured in a properly constructed cage, and six goats were provided as 'live stock' for his consumption. A most horrible description is given of the terror and sufferings of one of these animals when put into the cage of the dreadful reptile. The snake at first scarcely observed the 'poor animal,' but at length fixed upon it 'a deadly and malignant eye.'

'The first operation was that of darting out his forked tongue, and at the same time rearing a little his head; then suddenly seizing the goat by the fore leg with his mouth, and throwing him down, he was encircled in an instant in his horrid folds. So quick, indeed, and so instantaneous was the act, that it was impossible for the eye to follow the rapid convolution of his elongated body. It was not a regular screw-like turn that was formed, but resembling rather a knot, one part of the body overlaying the other, as if to add weight to the muscular pressure, the more effectually to crush his object.'

The gradual process by which this tremendous animal devours

his prey, has been so often described, that we shall not repeat it here, but we cannot refrain from expressing our aversion to the inhumanity which did not at least try the experiment, whether the snake would not have relished the goat fresh-killed, as well as when offered to it living. Mr. M'Leod expresses his feelings of 'horror and disgust' upon this subject with discrimination and energy. The reptile died between the Cape and St. Helena, and on dissection, 'the coats of his stomach were discovered to be excoriated and perforated by worms.'

At St. Helena, Lord Amherst and the principal officers were introduced to Napoleon, who, as usual, captivated the whole party by his address. 'Although there was nothing *descending* in his manner, yet it was affable and polite, and whatever may be his general habit, he can behave himself *very prettily* if he pleases.' His health is good, and his corpulence has been much exaggerated. His interview with Lord Amherst was private. When Captain Maxwell was introduced, he reminded him that he had formerly taken one of his frigates in the Mediterranean:—'*Vous etiez très méchant,--Eh bien!* your Government must not blame you for the loss of the *Alceste*, for you have taken one of my frigates.' He inquired of 'young Jeffery Amherst, what presents he had brought from China;' of Mr. M'Leod, what time he had served; of Mr. Abel, he made inquiries in Natural History; of Mr. Cook, if he was a descendant from Captain Cook. Dr. Lynn was examined in Medical Science. He questioned Mr. Griffith, the Chaplain, respecting the religion of the Chinese, and expressed his wishes that he might be 'made a prebendary.' In this way he accommodated himself to every one, going round the whole circle, and bowed to each as they retired.

We again recommend this volume as containing an uncommon variety of interesting matter. We wish that the surgeons of our ships of war, many of them men of talent and science, and with great opportunities of observation, would favour us in this unpretending and accessible way with the result of their adventures and inquiries. It is by spinning out the matter of lively octavos into tedious and unreadable quartos, that knowledge is oppressed and over-laid.

Art. V. *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits and Present State of the Gypsies*; designed to develop the Origin of this singular People, and to promote the Amelioration of their Condition. By John Hoyland, Author of an *Epitome of the History of the World*. 8vo. pp. 255. Price 7s. York, Printed for the Author; Darton and Co. London. 1816.

THE existence of such a people as the Gypsies, scattered over all the countries of Europe, and inhabiting the very

heart of our island, yet perfectly distinct in their origin, and separated by their mode of life from the rest of the population, is a phenomenon which might seem to have deserved a much greater degree of attention, even on the score of a philosophical curiosity, than it has hitherto attracted. But when we take into consideration the degraded moral condition of this vast aggregate of uncivilized beings, estimated at between seven and eight hundred thousand, independently of the Gipsies in Egypt and of some parts of Asia, and reflect 'that the greatest part of these people are idlers, cheats, and thieves,' contributing neither to the improvement of the country, nor to the support of the state, 'what a field,' as Grellman remarks, 'does this open for the contemplation of Government!' What scope, we may add, for the exertions of a well-directed philanthropy! It is remarkable how completely the Gipsies of our own country have been hitherto overlooked in all the schemes of benevolence, as if they were objects too near home to need the offices of the Christian missionary, yet too foreign to come within the sphere of domestic exertions; as if their vagrant habits rendered them the outcasts both of law and of humanity, and the mark of Cain was indelibly sealed upon their foreheads, to repel all intercommunication with them as the subjects of a mysterious punishment. How often has the traveller, while contemplating the variety of hill and wood and valley, witnessed the picturesque effect of a gipsy camp thrown out from the evening shades by its gleaming fire; seen the

'column of slow-rising smoke

'O'er-top the lofty wood, that skirts the wild,'

and looked upon the family group merely as figures in the landscape! Persons, too, of real sensibility, who have been ready to weep over the superstitions of India, have, perhaps, in their walks of pleasure, passed by the wretched descendants of one of the most wretched castes of that country, not reflecting that the very people they met with are as utterly abandoned to their own rites, and depraved customs, as the Pariars of the East, and that they possess claims not less powerful on that Christianity which has hitherto left them to be confirmed in all that is degrading to our nature. Till very lately, the existence of the Gipsies, as a distinct nation, had been by many regarded as questionable, as if they were distinguished from the rest of the population by nothing but a capricious choice of a precarious mode of life; and the fact of their having a language peculiar to themselves, other than a sort of gibberish, or slang dialect, has been extensively discredited. Mr. Hoyland remarks on the singular omission, 'that scarcely any of the splendid histories of counties in England, even those in which the Gipsies abound,' have in the least noticed them. This deficiency the

present work amply supplies, and the motives which prompted the undertaking, reflect the highest honour on the Author's benevolence. Mr. Hoyland states that having

had frequent opportunity of observing the very destitute and wretched condition of the Gipsy race in the counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Herts, the impressions received from viewing a state so derogatory to human nature, induced him to make numerous inquiries, in order to ascertain if necessity compelled their continuance, under circumstances so deplorable as their condition exhibited.'

The result of these inquiries, instituted in most parts of the nation, prosecuted, it is evident, with indefatigable diligence, and aided by several benevolent coadjutors, present altogether a most interesting mass of information, of great public utility.

Mr. Hoyland has availed himself of the best accessible historic authorities, for elucidating the origin of this singular people, who, there appears to be good ground to believe, were originally of the lowest class of Hindoos, having emigrated, it is supposed, from Hindoostan about A. D. 1408. Their language is undoubtedly a species of Hindoostanee, as is shewn by comparison of grammatical peculiarities as well as of a number of words taken down as specimens of their language from English Gipsies, and from Turkish Gipsies in Hungary, printed in the seventh volume of *Archæologia*; also by selections from the Vocabulary compiled by Grellman, the learned author of a Dissertation on the subject; and by words obtained, as a translation of familiar English words, from Gipsies in the immediate neighbourhood of London. Throughout the countries of Europe, during the four centuries that they have wandered about as outcasts, they appear to have preserved among themselves, and transmitted unimpaired to their descendants, together with other invariable characteristics of their origin, while speaking the languages of the respective countries they inhabit, one common language of their own to which they appear to be attached, yet which serves them for no other purpose that we are acquainted with, than that of concealment. The combined influence of time, climate and example, has not effected any material alteration in their state. A recent traveller states that he met with numerous hordes in Persia, with whom he had conversed, and found their language the true Hindoostanee. In Russia, he found them, both in language and manners, the same, corresponding exactly to the Gipsies of our own country. In Poland and Lithuania, as well as in Courland, they exist in surprising numbers. In Hungary, their number amounts to about 50,000, and they are scarcely less numerous in other parts of Europe, every where exhibiting the same deeply rooted attachment to their ancient habits, and half-savage customs, and the same features of an oriental character, as vagrants, thieves, and fer-

tune-tellers. How far the treatment they have received from civilized nations, among whom they have been universally objects of contempt, or persecution, has tended to keep them in their present state of intellectual debasement, by strengthening their prejudices, and driving them to the usual resources of indigence, demands the serious and dispassionate consideration of every friend of humanity. In our own country, hunted like beasts of prey from township to township, advertised as rogues and vagabonds, even rewards being offered for their apprehension, their condition is daily becoming more and more deplorable, while no asylum is offered them, and no means are devised of remedying the defects of their habits, or of holding out to the well-disposed, encouragement to reformation.

‘ Looking at their condition among the various inhabitants of Europe, dignified with the Christian name, the writer has often been reminded of the universality of the Gospel call, as illustrated in the parable of the great supper. After the invitation had been given throughout the streets and lanes of the cities, the command to the servants was, “ Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in.” ’

The following interesting particulars of information were comprised in Reports received from most of the counties of England, in answer to a series of questions proposed by the Author in a circular.

- ‘ 1. All Gipsies suppose the first of them came from Egypt.
- ‘ 2. They cannot form any idea of the number in England.*
- ‘ 3. The Gipsies of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, parts of Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire, are continually making revolutions within the range of those counties.
- ‘ 4. They are either ignorant of the number of Gipsies in the counties through which they travel, or unwilling to disclose their knowledge.
- ‘ 5. The most common names are Smith, Cooper, Draper, Taylor, Boswell, Lee, Lovell, Loversedge, Allen, Mansfield, Glover, Williams, Carew, Martin, Stanley, Buckley, Plunkett, Corrie.
- ‘ 6 and 7. The gangs in different towns have not any regular connection or organization; but those who take up their winter quarters in the same city or town, appear to have some knowledge of the different routes each horde will pursue; probably with a design to prevent interference.
- ‘ 8. In the county of Herts, it is computed there may be sixty families having many children. Whether they are quite so numerous in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire, the answers are not sufficiently definite to determine. In Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, greater numbers are calculated upon. In various counties, the attention has not

* Supposed to be about 18,000, of which the children are calculated to form 12,000.

men competent to procuring data for any estimate of families or individuals.

' 9. More than half their number follow no business; others are sellers in horses and asses; farriers, smiths, tinkers, braziers, grinders, cutlery, basket-makers, chair-bottomers and musicians.

' 10. Children are brought up in the habits of their parents, particularly to music and dancing, and are of dissolute conduct.

' 11. The women mostly carry baskets with trinkets and small wares; and tell fortunes.

' 12. Too indolent to have acquired accounts of genealogy, and perhaps indisposed to it by the irregularity of their habits.

' 13. In most countries there are particular situations to which they are partial. In Berkshire is a marsh, near Newbury, much frequented by them; and Dr. Clarke states, that in Cambridgeshire, their principal rendezvous is near the western villages.

' 14. It cannot be ascertained, whether from their first coming to the nation, attachment to particular places has prevailed.

' 15, 16 and 17. When among strangers, they elude inquiries respecting their peculiar language, calling it gibberish. No person is known that can write it, nor any written specimen.

' 18. Their habits and customs in all places are peculiar.

' 19. Those who profess any religion, represent it to be that of the country in which they reside: but their description of it seldom goes beyond repeating the Lord's Prayer; and only a few of them are capable of that. Instances of their attending any place of worship are very rare.

' 20. They marry for the most part by pledging to each other, without any ceremony. A few exceptions have occurred when money is plentiful.

' 21. They do not teach their children religion.

' 22 and 23. Not one in a thousand can read.

' 24 and 25. Some go into lodgings in London, Cambridge, &c. during winter; but it is calculated three fourths of them live out of doors in winter, as in summer.'

Most of the above answers were confirmed by Riley Smith, who, during many years, was accounted the chief of the Gipsies in Northamptonshire. This man, who was much in request as a musician, had the address to marry the cook of a very respectable family, and obtained a farm near Bedford; but being unsuccessful in agriculture, he returned to his former occupation. Besides the real Gipsies, there are numerous itinerant hordes, it seems, who traverse the country with carts and asses for the sale of earthenware, and are known under the name of potters, whose habits and manner of life are very similar to theirs; and, indeed, they confess that Gipsies have intermingled with them. These people also are without education, and though there is reason to believe many of them have acquired property, they make all contributions to the service of the State, and all parochial assessments. It is but justice, however, to state, that

ideas of independence prevail among the Gipsies, which prevent their applying to parishes for assistance. Few instances occur of their begging in London. 'In the minutes of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on Mendicity, there is only one example of a Gipsy girl begging in the streets.'

The *routing* of the Gipsies, as it is termed, from various parts of the south of England, has occasioned their appearing lately in greater numbers in the northern counties. 'The winter before the last, severe as it was,' Mr. Hoyland states, 'a gang of about fifty or sixty, lay upon Bramley-moor, three miles from Chesterfield.' In the summer of 1815, a numerous horde who had been driven from the township of Rotherham, had two encampments in the neighbourhood of Sheffield; there were also encampments of Gipsies at Borough-bridge, at Knaresborough, and at Pocklington, in the east-riding of Yorkshire. A few continue all the year in London, excepting during their attendance at fairs in the vicinity; others go out twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, carrying their implements with them, and are found sometimes assisting in hay-making and hop-picking, in Kent, Surry, and Sussex. Among those who have winter quarters in London, from Michaelmas till April, a few take in summer still wider circuits, extending to Suffolk, Herefordshire, Wiltshire, and even South Wales. In fact, there is reason to think the greatest part of the Island is traversed in different directions by hordes of Gipsies.

One of the most important facts mentioned by Mr. Hoyland, is the disposition and even anxiety manifested by some of those who winter in towns, to obtain for their children the benefit of education. Uriah Lovell, the head of one of the families, paid sixpence a week for each of his three children who attended during four winters, a school for the Irish kept by Partak Ivery. Partak, on being called upon to verify this statement, confirmed the account, adding that there had been six Gipsy children at his school, who, when placed among others, were reducible to order.

Mr. Hoyland deserves the warmest thanks of every feeling heart for having thus fairly placed the subject before the public, on whom it now devolves to obviate the reproach which the neglect of this unfortunate race, if persisted in, would leave on the national character. The suggestions of different correspondents in the eleventh Section, will be found highly deserving of attention.

Art. VI. Commentaries on the Law of Moses. By the late Sir John David Michaelis, K.P.S. F.R.S. &c.

(Concluded from page 430.)

THE subjects included in these volumes are so numerous and multifarious, as to prevent our entering into any detailed examination of them. We shall therefore do little more in conducting our review of them to its conclusion, than transfer for the use of our readers, and as specimens of the various articles comprised in the Commentaries, the contents of some pages of the work selected from its different divisions. Not only was the Book of the Law ordered by the Hebrew Legislator to be deposited beside the Ark of the Covenant (Deut. xxxi. 26.) for the purpose of preserving his law in its original purity, but he also commanded that it should be engraven on stones. His direction to this effect occurs Deut. xxvii. 1, 8. In the explanation of this passage the expression, "Thou shalt plaster them with plaster," שרת אתם בשיר, is understood by some Expositors, as meaning that the stones should be coated over with lime, and the laws cut through this coating, and Kennicott in his *second Dissertation on the printed Hebrew Text*, supposes that they might have been cut out in black marble, with the letters raised, and the hollow intervals between the black letters filled up with a body of white lime, to render them more distinct and conspicuous. Neither of these explanations satisfies Michaelis, who attempts the solution of the difficulty, in the following manner.

' I rather suppose, therefore, that Moses acted in this matter with the same view to future ages, as is related of Sostratus, the architect of the Pharos, who, while he cut the name of the then king of Egypt, in the outer coat of lime, took care to engrave his own name secretly in the stone below, in order that it might come to light in after times, when the plaster with the king's name, should have fallen off. In like manner, Moses, in my opinion, commanded that his laws should be cut in the stones themselves, and these coated with a thick crust of lime, that the engraving might continue for many ages secure from all the injuries of the weather and atmosphere, and then, when by the decay of its covering it should, after hundreds or thousands of years, first come to light, serve to shew to the latest posterity whether they had suffered any change. And was not the idea of thus preserving an inscription, not merely for hundreds, but for thousands of years, a conception exceedingly sublime? It is by no means impossible that these stones, if again discovered, might be found still to contain the whole engraving perfectly legible. Let us only figure to ourselves what must have happened to them amidst the successive devastations of the country in which they were erected. The lime would gradually become irregularly covered with moss and earth; and now, perhaps, the stones, by the soil increasing around

and over them, may resemble a little mount, and were they accidentally disclosed to our view, and the lime cleared away, all that was inscribed on them 3500 years ago, would at once become visible. Probably, however, this discovery, highly desirable though it would be both to literature and religion, being in the present state of things, and particularly of the Mosaic law, now so long abrogated, not indispensably necessary, is reserved for some future age of the world. What Moses commanded, merely out of legislative prudence, and for the sake of his laws, as laws, God, who sent him, may have destined to answer likewise another purpose; and may chuse to bring these stones to light at a time when the laws of Moses are no longer of any authority, in any community whatever. Thus much is certain, that no where in the Bible, is any mention made of the discovery of these stones, nor indeed any farther notice taken of them, than in Josh. viii, 30—35, where their erection is described; so that we may hope they will yet be one day discovered. Moses's whole procedure in this matter, is precisely in the style of ancient nations, who generally took the precaution, now rendered unnecessary by the invention of printing, to engrave their laws in stones; only that he studied, by a new contrivance, to give to his stony archives a higher degree of durability than was ever thought of by any other legislator.' Vol. I. pp. 357, 358.

The splendid discovery here anticipated, will, we fear, never be made. The conceit here attributed to Moses, never, we imagine, entered the mind of the Hebrew legislator, who, in whatever way the words of the law might be inscribed on the stones, clearly intended that they should at all times be legible to the people. The opinion of Houbigant, who interprets the phrase *שֵׁרָת אֲתָם בְּשֵׁר*, as an order by which Moses directed the stones that he had commanded to be erected for the purpose of exhibiting the law to the Israelites, to be strongly cemented together with mortar made of lime, is so satisfactory, as to exclude the probability of Kennicott's notion, and to place the conjecture of Michaelis among the wildest of suppositions.

The laws of Moses were ordained for a people, who, at the time of their delivery, were not in possession of landed property; he could therefore proceed to the enactment of statutes for the appropriation and regulation of the land which they expected to acquire in Canaan, unfettered by previously existing ordinances. The principle which he adopted, and ordered to be observed by the Israelites, was, that the land should first be divided by lot, and in equal portions among them, and then become absolutely inalienable, continuing for ever the property of the descendants of the original possessor. The statute on this point, stands in the xxvth chapter of Leviticus, and occupies a considerable part of that chapter. To Michaelis it seems highly probable, that the law relative to the inalienability of property, is altogether an imitation of the Egyptian plan, and

that in the time of Moses the Egyptians may likewise have had a year of jubilee. As the family of the original proprietor were, in cases where a sale of property had taken place, to resume the possession of his estate every fiftieth year, the year of jubilee, only the crops could in fact be sold; and with respect to these there was established a law of redemption, or right of repurchase, which put it in the power of a seller, if before the return of the year of jubilee, his circumstances permitted him, to buy back the yet remaining crops, after deducting the amount of those already reaped by the purchaser, at the same price for which they were originally sold; and of this right, even the nearest relation of the seller, or, as the Hebrews termed him, his *Goël*, might likewise avail himself, if he had the means.

* The advantages of this law, if sacredly observed, would have been very great. It served, in the *first* place, to perpetuate that equality among citizens, which Moses at first established, and which was suitable to the spirit of the democracy, by putting it out of the power of any flourishing citizen to become, by the acquisition of exorbitant wealth, and the accumulation of extensive landed property, too formidable to the state, or, in other words, a little prince, whose influence could carry every thing before it. In the *second* place, it rendered it impossible that any Israelite could be born to absolute poverty, for every one had his hereditary land; and if that was sold, or he himself from poverty compelled to become a servant, at the coming of the year of jubilee, he recovered his property. And hence, perhaps, Moses might have been able with some justice to say, what we read in most of the versions of Deut. xv. 4. *There will not be a poor man among you.* I doubt, however, whether that be the true meaning of the original words. For in the 11th verse of this same chapter, he assures them that *they should never be without poor*; to prevent which, indeed, is impossible for any legislator, because, in spite of every precaution that laws can take, some people will become poor, either by misfortunes or misconduct. But here, if a man happened to be reduced to poverty, before the expiry of fifty years, either he himself, or his descendants, had their circumstances repaired by the legal recovery of their landed property, which though indeed small, then became perfectly free and unincumbered. In the *third* place, it served to prevent the strength of the state from being impaired, by cutting off one, and perhaps the whole, of the emigration, viz. poverty. No Israelite needed to go on that ground. Here, to be sure, the extraordinary calamity that might make the lands lose their value was not accepted. But it was enough that in ordinary cases the law made it the interest of the people to remain contented with their small portions. In the *fourth* place, as every man had his hereditary land, it had its manifest tendency to encourage marriage, rather than to impair it. In the land being divided into various small portions, each

by the father of a family, acquainted with it from his infancy, and naturally attached to it as the unalienable property of his family, could not fail, in consequence of this law, to be better managed and more productive, than large estates in the hands of tenants and day-labourers could ever have been. And, *lastly*, this institution served to attach every Israelite to his country in the strongest manner, by suggesting to him that, if he had to fight in its defence, he would at the same time be defending his own property, which it was, moreover, out of his power to convert into money, wherewith he might betake himself to a more peaceful habitation elsewhere.' Vol. I. p. 379—383.

No forms of marriage are prescribed in the Mosaic code. The legislator was satisfied with those which he found in use among the people, and left it to future dispensers of the law to allow what ceremonies every age might challenge as its own customs: forms of this kind, being quite arbitrary, may therefore change, while the laws themselves continue the same. The most prudent plan that a legislator can adopt with regard to forms of marriage, is, says Michaelis, to fix nothing, but leave every age to follow its own customs, and regard *that* as marriage, which, according to the existing custom of the time, has, *bona fide*, been considered as marriage.

'No danger could, by his law, hence arise to the woman; for, allowing that a man had betrayed her into the belief that she might become his wife without the legal ceremonies, and that in this belief she had granted him the rights of a husband, he would find in the end that he had deceived himself and not her. For whoever seduced a virgin, was obliged to marry her, and not only so, but to purchase her from her father at the advanced price of 50 pieces of silver; and forfeited, after all, the right enjoyed in cases of regular marriage, of giving her a bill of divorce. Exod. xxii. 15, 16; Deut. xxii. 28, 29. Thus, by the very artifice to which seducers in England often recur but too successfully, she would become his wife by a tie utterly indissoluble; and were the English law to make the seduction of a woman, by a pretended marriage, felony, like rape, unless when she herself should intercede for the seducer, and at the same time resolve to be legally re-married to him, we should soon cease to hear of any more such villainous practices in that country.' Vol. I. p. 476.

Paley has well remarked that, 'if we pursue the effects of seduction through the complicated misery which it occasions, and if it be right to estimate crimes by the mischief they knowingly produce, it will appear something more than mere invective to assert, that not one half of the crimes for which men suffer death by the laws of England, are so flagitious as this.*' The laws of England, in fact, do not class seduction in the list of crimes. No punishment is provided for it *per se*. A pecuniary satisfaction may be obtained by a civil process, and this

* Paley's Philosophy, Vol. I. p. 303.

can only be come at 'by one of the quaintest fictions in the world, by the father's bringing his action against the seducer, 'for the loss of his daughter's service, during her pregnancy 'and nurturing.' Seduction was most effectually prevented by the Mosaic law.

Michaelis supposes that he has been able to trace to their origin several of the peculiarities of the Mosaic law. One of the most singular of these is what has been termed the Levirate law, which prescribes that, when a man died without issue, his brother should marry the widow he left, with the express view, that the first son produced from the marriage should be ascribed, not to the natural father, but to his deceased brother, and become his heir. This regulation was, in the Mosaic code, the limitation and mitigation of a consuetudinary law, several centuries older than the laws of the Hebrew legislator.

'The law which obliged a man to marry the widow of his childless brother, was much more ancient than the time of Moses; having been in use in Palestine among the Canaanites, and the ancestors of the Israelites, at least more than 250 years previous to the date of his law, and indeed with such rigour as left a person no possible means of evading it, however irksome and odious compliance with it might appear to him. That the Mosaic statute considerably mitigated its severity, will appear from comparing the story of Judah, and his daughter-in-law (Gen. xxxviii.) Tamar, with the provisions of that statute. Whence so strange a law could have arisen, remained altogether unknown, until very lately that *Euler* learned it from the Russian Generals; and *Süssmilch* from *Euler's* communication declared the mystery to the world, in his work, entitled (*Göttliche Ordnung in Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts*, that is), *The Divine plan, in the changes that occur in the numbers and circumstances of the human race*. It has been commonly believed that its only foundation was the peculiar notion of the Israelites on the subject of having descendants, who, by bearing their name, might serve in some measure to immortalize them; and this fancy in regard to honour may, no doubt, have been a reason with Moses for retaining a law, of which he does not appear to have very highly approved; but it can hardly have been the sole or first cause whence it originated. For as we see from the story of Tamar, this very Levirate-law was long before the time of Moses in force among the Canaanites; a people who did by no means entertain any such genealogical ideas with regard to honour and posthumous fame, and who, at a former period, would seem to have scarcely had a marriage among them, but to have lived in *concubitu promiscuo*.* And what is still more remarkable, the Mongols, who inhabit quite a different region of Asia, and give themselves very little concern about their genealogies and descendants, have a law which, in like manner, enjoins the marriage

* I here refer to § VI. of my Dissertation, *De Troglodytis Scititis*; only remarking that these Troglodytes, who inhabited Mount Sair, were Canaanites.

of a brother's widow.* Some have on this ground been disposed to consider the Mongols as descendants of the ten tribes that were carried captive into Assyria; but the situation of the two countries, their languages, their customs in other respects, and even the striking peculiarity of the features of the people, all concur very strongly to refute that opinion.† If they are to furnish a proof of Levirate-marriage, why were they not rather made Canaanites than Israelites? Had the patrons of that opinion read Moses with so little attention, as to have forgotten the narrative given in the 38th chapter of Genesis?

‘The truth is that we have no ground for considering the Mongols as either the one or the other; and *Süssmilch*, without having the Mosaic statute at all in his view, has traced the source of Levirate-marriage so distinctly, that we have only to read, in order to be convinced.

‘It is the practice of polygamy, either at home, or among opulent neighbouring nations, that has originally given occasion to the Levirate law, and that by the following gradual process.

‘Among the Mongols, whose daughters are frequently bought by their richer neighbours that live in polygamy, young women are so scarce that every man cannot procure himself a wife; and hence has arisen one of the most shameful customs that can possibly be conceived. All the brothers of a family are satisfied with one and the same wife, whom they purchase in common, and on this footing, that that the eldest brother is to regard, and breed up as his own her first son: the second, her second; and so on, to whomsoever of the brothers he may naturally and properly belong; which, indeed, in the case of so many being concerned, it would not be easy to ascertain. This is the substance of what *Süssmilch* learned from *Euler*, and *Euler* from the Russian Generals, who were acquainted with those countries; and it has furnished us with a clue by which we can trace the progress and effects of polygamy in its different degrees of refinement.

‘For we have only to suppose it, in a small degree, refined, and conceive the case of a brother, not in absolute poverty, and possessed of some feelings of jealousy, honour, delicacy, love, or whatever you chuse to call it; and the result will naturally be the following:—As young women are scarce and dear, one only of many brothers will marry, who has saved as much as enables him to purchase a wife. When he dies, his widow, with the inheritance, will, whether she have sons or not, devolve to his next brother. A little farther degree of refinement will except from going with the inheritance the widow, who, by having had sons, has in a manner repaid the price which she cost; while she, who has yet had no sons, still conti-

* See Du Halde's *Description de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, tom. iv. p. 48.

† I here refer to my Dissertation, *De X. Tribuum exilio*, where I have likewise shewn that the ten tribes that were carried into captivity, were by no means so great a people as they are commonly represented, and that their posterity very probably returned back into Palestine.

nues a part of the inheritance, and belongs to the next brother. Thus far the law only gives the surviving brother a right to the widow as a part of the inheritance, but there thence arises on the other hand a reciprocal right on the widow's part to him. If she may not marry any other man, and if a breach of chastity expose her to the punishment of adultery, she certainly acquires a right to insist on his marrying and cohabiting with her. And this will assume an appearance of still farther refinement, if it be understood that she is actuated herein not by the impulse of incontinence, but by a principle of affection and duty towards her deceased husband, to whom, as he left no sons, she would fain erect a memorial. In this way the natural impulse is clothed in the garb of decency, in conformity to the prevailing ideas of the people. At last, however, a compulsory law is introduced, obliging the surviving brother to marry his sister-in-law: and whoever refuses to do so, is *not* only regarded as pouring unjust contempt on *her*, but as destitute of all love to the deceased brother, whose name he will not help to preserve.

'And thus we have the complete detail of the progress of the Levirate-law.' Vol. II. p. 22—28.

Such is the process by which Michaelis obtains the Levirate-law. Whatever objection may exist against the reception of it as a true account in the mind of any reader, the singular and offensive custom on which he founds it is not more extraordinary than some other usages which have obtained among rude tribes. So late as the eleventh century, it was not uncommon, according to Lord Hales, (*Annals of Scotland*, p. 89.) in Scotland, for sons to marry the widows of their deceased fathers, provided they were not their own mothers. A wise and good legislator could scarcely have been inclined to patronise such a law. Nor would it probably have existed in the Mosaic code, but on the principle which supplied the reason for admitting some other legislative measures into it—the point of honour. In the present instance, the point of honour was conceded by the lawgiver, who, extending his forbearance and tenderness to a long continued custom, studied so to modify it by positive statute as to guard against its rigour and evil effects. He expressly prohibited the marriage of a brother's widow, if there were children of his own alive. He provided, by easy means, for dispensing with the obligations of the law in cases where there was a declared unwillingness on the part of the brother, whose refusal subjected him to a slight punishment. And he strictly limited the operation of the law, to the brother of the deceased husband.

The laws in the Hebrew code, relating to the avenger of blood, are among the most curious and singular of legislative enactments, and are explained by Michaelis with great copiousness of illustration. From these discussions, we shall extract as largely as our limits will admit.

'I must now speak of a person quite unknown in our law, but very

conspicuous in the Hebrew law, and in regard to whom Moses has left us, I might almost say, an inimitable, but at any rate, an unexampled proof of legislative wisdom. In German, we may call him by the name which Luther so happily employs, in his version of the Bible, *Der Bluträcher*, the blood-avenger; and by this name we must here understand "the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to seek after and kill the murderer with his own hand; so much so, indeed, that the neglect thereof drew after it the greatest possible infamy, and subjected the man who avenged not the death of his relation to unceasing reproaches of cowardice or avarice." If, instead of this description, the reader prefers a short definition, it may be to this effect; "the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to avenge his kinsman's death with his own hand." Among the Hebrews this person was called גֹּאֵל, *Goël*, according, at least, to the pronunciation adopted from the pointed Bibles. The etymology, of this word, like most forensic terms, is as yet unknown. Yet we cannot but be curious to find out whence the Hebrews had derived the name, which they applied to a person so peculiar to their own law, and so totally unknown to ours. Unquestionably the verb גָּאַל, *Gaal*, means to buy off, ransom, redeem; but this signification it has derived from the noun, for originally it meant to pollute, or stain.

If I might here mention a conjecture of my own, *Goël of blood*, (for that is the term at full length) implies *blood-stained*; and the nearest kinsman of a murdered person was considered as stained with his blood, until he had, as it were, washed away the stain, and revenged the death of his relation. The name, therefore, indicated a person who continued in a state of dishonour, until he again rendered himself honourable, by the exercise and accomplishment of revenge, and in this very light do the Arabs regard the kinsman of a person murdered. It was no doubt afterwards used in a more extensive sense, to signify the nearest relation in general; and although there was no murder in the case, just as in all languages, words are gradually extended far beyond their etymological meaning. Etymology may show the circumstances from which they may have received their signification; but it is by no means a definition suited to all their derivative meanings, else would it be prophetic. In Arabic, this personage is called *Tair*, or, according to another pronunciation, *Thsair*. Were this Arabic word to be written Hebraically, it would be תַּיִר, (Schaer) that is, *the survivor*. It appears, therefore, according to its derivation, to be equivalent to *the surviving relation, who was bound to avenge the death of a murdered person*. The Latin word, *superstes*, expresses this idea exactly. In Arabic writings, this word occurs ten times for once that we meet with *Goël* in Hebrew; for the Arabs, among whom the point of honour and heroic celebrity consists entirely in the revenge of blood, have much more to say of their blood-avenger than the Hebrews, among whom Moses, by the wisdom of his laws, brought this character, in a great measure, into oblivion.

The 'revenge of blood' was a usage common to mankind,

in that state of nature whence they soon pass into the state of civil society ; and in which, as there existed no magistracy, and human life was ever insecure, murders might have been daily perpetrated, but for the dread of perishing by the hands of an avenger of blood, who would generally be found in the person of a relative or dependant of the murdered party. Traces of this custom may be found in the early history of perhaps all nations, among the Highland clans, as well as among the Arabian hordes. This custom Michaelis considers to be connected with the command of God given to the patriarch Noah, Gen. ix. 5, 6, which he regards as imposing a duty on mankind in general, to provide for their common security, and that he gave every individual a right to put a murderer to death ; a command which remained in force till mankind introduced civil relations, and committed the cognizance of murder, with other crimes, into the hands of magistrates. The most mischievous consequences, it is easy to perceive, must have ensued from a usage of this kind ; danger to the innocent must have been inseparable from the practice of attempting to inflict immediate death upon an offender, while the mind, intent on its revenge, was under no control, and disdained, or was incapable of inquiry. It would be found extremely difficult, however, to suppress this usage in a state of society, though there can be no doubt that it should be abolished. The prejudices of a people must therefore be an object of extreme caution in a wise legislator providing for them a code of laws in the early stages of their political existence. The Mosaic statutes relative to the *Goël*, or blood-avenger, are cited and elucidated by Michaelis, as most admirable examples of this kind of legislative wisdom.

‘ Moses found the *Goël* already instituted, and speaks of him in his laws as a character perfectly known, and therefore unnecessary to be described ; at the same time that he expresses his fear of his frequently shedding innocent blood. But long before he has occasion to mention him as the avenger of murder, he introduces his name in his laws relating to land, as in Lev. xxv. 25, 26, where he gives him the right of redeeming a mortgaged field ; and also in the law relative to the restoration of any thing iniquitously acquired, Num. v. 8. The only book that is possibly more ancient than the Mosaic law, namely, the book of Job, compares God, who will re-demand our ashes from the earth, with the *Goël*, Chap. xix. 25. From this term, the verb *לָאָץ*, which otherwise signifies properly to pollute, had already acquired the significations of *redeeming, setting free, vindicating*, in which we find Moses often using it, before he ever speaks of the blood avenger, as in Gen. xlviii. 15. Exod. vi. 6. Lev. xxv. 25, 30, 33. xxvii. 20, &c. ; and even re-purchase itself is, in Lev. xxv. 31, 32, thence termed *גְּאֻלָּה* *Geulla*. Derivatives in any language follow their primitives but very slowly : and when *verba denominativa* descend from terms of law, the law itself must be ancient.

‘ In the first statute given by Moses concerning the punishment of

murder, immediately after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; although he does not mention the *Goël* by name, he yet pre-supposes him as well known. Exod. xxi. 12, 13. The first passage in which Moses expressly speaks of the *Goël*, as the avenger of blood, is in the xxxvth Chapter of Numbers: but even there, he certainly does not institute his office, but only appoints (and that too, merely by the bye, while he is fixing the inheritance of the Levites) certain *cities of refuge*, to serve as *asyla* from the pursuit of the blood-avenger (vers. 12.) for which there was no necessity, had there been no such person. Now to this *Goël*, although Moses leaves his rights, of which indeed he would in vain have endeavoured to deprive him, considering that the desire of revenge forms a principal trait in the character of southern nations; he nevertheless avails himself of the aid of certain particulars of those rights, in order to bring the prevalent ideas of honour under the inspection of the Magistrate, without hurting their energy, and to give an opportunity of investigating the circumstances of the crime meant to be avenged, before its punishment should be authorized.

‘ We see that sacred places enjoyed the privileges of *asyla*: for Moses himself took it for granted, that the murderer would flee to the altar, and, therefore, he commanded, that when the crime was deliberate and intentional, he should be torn even from the altar, and put to death, Exod. xxi. 14. Among the Arabs we find that revenge likewise ceased in sacred places, as for instance (long before Mahomet’s time) in the country round about Mecca, particularly during the *holy month of concourse*. In such places, therefore, honour did not bind the avenger to put a murderer to death. Now Moses appointed, as places of refuge, six cities, to which ideas of sanctity were attached, because they were inhabited by the priests, Numb. xxxv. 9—35. Deut. xix. 1—10. To these every murderer might flee, and they were bound to protect him, until the circumstances of the case should be investigated; and in order that the *Goël* might not lie in wait for him, or obstruct his flight, it was enjoined, that the roads to these six cities should be kept in such a state, that the unfortunate man might meet with no impediment in his way, Deut. xix. 3. I do by this understand, such a state of improvement as is necessary in our highways on account of carriages, but, 1. That the roads were not to make such circuits, as that the *Goël* could overtake the fugitive on foot, or catch him by lying in wait, before he reached an asylum; for, in fact, the Hebrew word (יָשָׁר) properly signifies *to make straight*; 2. That guide-posts were to be set up, to prevent him from mistaking the right way; and 3. That the bridges were not to be defective;—in short, that nothing should retard his flight.

‘ If the *Goël* happened to find the fugitive before he reached an asylum, and put him to death, in that case Moses yielded to the established prejudices respecting the point of honour. It was considered as done in the ardour of becoming zeal, and subjected him to no inquisition, Deut. xix. 6.

‘ If he reached a place of refuge, he was immediately protected, and an inquiry was then made, as to his right to protection and asylum: that is, whether he had caused his neighbour’s death undesignedly, or was a deliberate murderer. In the latter case, he wa

judicially delivered to the *Goël*, who might put him to death in whatever way he chose. Even although he had fled to the altar itself which enjoyed the *jus asyli* in the highest degree, it could not save him, if he had committed real murder, Deut. xix. 14.

‘ If, however, the person was killed accidentally, and unintentionally, the author of his death continued in the place of refuge, and the fields belonging to it, which extended the distance of 1000 ells all around the walls of the Levitical cities ; and he was there secure, in consequence of the sanctity of the place, without any reflection upon the honour of the *Goël*, even in the opinion of the people. But farther abroad he durst not venture ; for if the *Goël* met with him without the limits of the asylum, Moses paid no respect to the popular *point d'honneur* ; he might kill him without subjecting himself to any criminal accusation. The expression of Moses is, *It is no blood*, or blood-guilt, Numb. xxxv. 26, 27. This confinement to one place may, perhaps, be thought a hardship : but it was impossible in any other way to secure the safety of an innocent man-slayer, without attacking the popular notions of honour ; that is, without making a law which would have been as little kept as are our laws against duelling. But by this exile in a strange city, Moses had it besides in view, to punish that imprudence which had cost another man his life : Allowing that it was an accident purely blameless, still its disagreeable consequences could not fail to make people more on their guard against similar misfortunes ; a matter to which, in many cases, our legislators and our police regulations, pay too little attention. For that very reason, Moses prohibited the fugitive from being permitted by any payment of a fine, to return home to his own city before the appointed time, Numb. xxxv. 32.

‘ His exile in the city of refuge continued until the death of the High-Priest.’ Vol. II. p. 219—224.

The points obtained by these regulations were, that an innocent man could but very rarely be killed by the avenger of blood, and that a judicial inquiry always preceded the exercise of his revenge, which even in the event of its terminating in condemnation, drew after it no fresh bloodshed on the part of the murderer’s family, as the justice of the whole proceeding was universally admitted. Murders, of course, would be much less frequent than when the avengement of blood was altogether arbitrary and subject to no restraint.

The humane provisions of the Mosaic statutes, cannot escape the notice of the most superficial inquirer into the nature of the early Hebrew polity. The stranger, the poor, the widow, and the orphan, are recommended by the Israelitish Lawgiver, to the attention of the people, with such frequency, and by such considerations as were most wisely and powerfully calculated to obtain for them the attentions which their wants and welfare might require. It was obviously the design of Moses to alleviate as much as possible the hardships of their condition, and to provide for their kind treatment in the easiest and best pos-

sible manner. Nor did he omit to include in his legislation the direction of the people's respect to a class of persons who, in modern times and nations, are possibly not regarded with the feelings appropriate to their state. The following may perhaps be the true way of accounting for this difference.

‘ Art. CXL. *Of the Veneration paid to Old Age.* MONTESQUIEU, I think, has remarked, that veneration for old age is peculiarly suitable to a democracy; but although he had not done so, the remark is nevertheless natural. In a monarchy or aristocracy, it is birth and office alone which give rank. The more pure a democracy is, the more are all on an equal footing; and those invested with authority are obliged to bear in mind that equality. There great actions confer respect and honour; and the right discharge of official duties, or the arrival of old age, are the only sources of rank. For how else can rank be established among those who have no official situations, and are by birth perfectly equal.

‘ After this remark, the Mosaic statute, Lev. xix. 32. *Before the hoary head thou shalt stand up, and shalt reverence the aged,* will perhaps be somewhat better understood, and found suited to the republican circumstances of the Israelites. It is indeed, in general, quite conformable to the nature and wishes of the human heart; for while we are all fain to be old, no man has any desire to sink in honour, or to be of less consequence than he was before; and to allow precedence to old age, cannot be a matter that will ever affect a young man very sensibly; for he admits this chronological privilege, and desires not to be, or to appear older than he is. But in monarchies and aristocracies there arises from birth a new order of nobility, and which extends to the sons of those in official situations; and then age ceases to confer dignity, quite happy, if instead of veneration, it only experiences compassion.’ Vol. II. p. 299.

The ascertainment of the Hebrew population by a periodical census, was a fundamental principle of the Mosaic law. In discussing this regulation as a part of the civil police of the ancient Jews, Michaelis takes the occasion of delivering his sentiments on the enumeration of the people ordered by David, which is recorded (2 Sam. xxiv. and 1 Chron. xxi.) as an exercise of his authority displeasing to God, and on account of which the pestilence was commissioned to destroy his subjects. The common opinion is, that David had offended God by his pride, and his desire to gratify it by knowing over how many persons he was king. This is, in the opinion of Michaelis, the worst explanation that can be given, of the unlawfulness of this order. Were God, he remarks, to punish by pestilence every ambitious motion in the hearts of kings, and every sin they commit in thought, pestilence would never cease. It must besides, he thinks, appear very strange, how such a man as Job should have expressed so great an abhorrence at a sin

that consisted merely in pride of heart, and have so earnestly dissuaded David from it.

‘ David’s sin, therefore, or rather (not to speak so theologically, but more in the language of politics) his injustice and tyranny towards a people who had subjected themselves to him on very different terms, and with the reservation of many liberties, consisted in this.—Agitated, in all probability, by the desire of conquest, he aspired at the establishment of a military government, such as was that of Rome in aftertimes, and at subjecting, with that view, the whole people to martial regulations; that so every man might be fully enrolled to serve under such and such generals and officers, and be obliged to perform military duty at stated periods, in order to acquire the use of arms, to form a standing army; the many successful wars he had already carried on, having filled his mind with the spirit of conquest.’ Vol. III. p. 22.

‘ The Author, under the 179th Article, *Of the retention of the property of enemies, that happens to be in our possession at the commencement of a war*, defends the conduct of the Israelites in borrowing the vessels of the Egyptians, which they never returned, in the following manner.

‘ The case was this:

‘ For the celebration of a festival (the passover) which they were to hold while yet in Egypt, it was suggested by Moses (Exod. xi. 2.) to the Israelites, that they should borrow gold and silver vessels from the Egyptians; but neither then, nor previously, is it so much as intimated to them, that they either should, or could keep them: or of what we find on record in Exod. iii. 22. as having been spoken by God to Moses on that point, the Israelites knew nothing. We may, indeed, easily conceive, that had 600,000 men been apprized of this, it could not possibly have remained a secret from the Egyptians; for, among that number of men, and as many women, there must have been some, whom honourable friendship for those who were so ready to oblige them, would have prompted to a disclosure; and although there had not, some babblers would unquestionably have betrayed the secret; and then the Egyptians could not have lent them any thing.

‘ I must believe, therefore, that the Israelites all borrowed the vessels, with the honest intention of restoring them, and without knowing aught of the predetermination and hidden design of Providence. On the very night of their festival they were suddenly hurried away, and driven out of Egypt. They had no time allowed them to attend to any thing, not even so much as to leaven the dough for their bread, for they were compelled to depart on a moment’s warning. On this Pharaoh and the Egyptians insisted, because there was a corpse in every house, and they were afraid of being all dead men, if the Israelites tarried any longer in their land. (Exod. xii. 29—36.)

‘ Now let us consider, what, in such a case, we ourselves could do with borrowed goods, allowing that we were perfectly honest people,

and desirous of fulfilling all our obligations to our creditors, not only according to our conscience, but to the utmost legal strictness. We would not surely leave them behind us on the spot, because they might not thus come again into the hands of the right owners, but be carried off by the person who first happened to find them. On the condition of just leaving it any where at our departure, no man will lend us any thing; but only in the conviction, that we are to keep it in our own custody, and be accountable for it until we can again restore it. We should, therefore, in such a case, as above supposed, take it along with us; but still with the determination of delivering it back to the owner on the first opportunity. And so, in like manner, must the Israelites have acted, if they wished to behave like honest debtors: and, consequently, there is here no reason to charge them with carrying away the borrowed vessels, with any other intention, than that of taking care of them, and restoring them safe to the owners, when demanded, or when an opportunity should present itself.

‘In the course of a few days, however, the state of the case became completely altered. The Egyptians, who had permitted them to depart, yea had thrust them out, all at once changed their minds, and pursued them with a great army. This was a breach of the agreement between the two peoples, and on the part of the Egyptians an offensive war. The case therefore, now wholly hinges on the question formerly stated; May a nation, when unjustly attacked by another, seize the property of its enemy, or of his individual subjects? May it keep what of their goods it has already in possession, and consider them as lawful spoil? If this is allowable, then certainly the Israelites might now retain the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians, and look upon them in that light.’

Vol. III. pp. 44—46.

In reading the description of the Tabernacle, in the book of Exodus, our readers must have noticed many particulars relative to measures and weights in the articles of which it was constructed; but perhaps it never occurred to them, that in the directions given by Moses for the erection of the Tabernacle, and the preparation of its vessels, a standard of weights and measures was provided for the Hebrew nation. Such, however, is the opinion of Michaelis, in Art. ccxxvii. *Of the plans which Moses took for the Regulation of Weights and Measures.*

‘I shall now speak of their measures of length, measures of capacity, and weights, separately, and in succession.

‘1. The longitudinal measure was fixed for future ages in a great variety of ways. The measures of the court of the tabernacle and its hangings; (Exod. xxvii, 8—19.) of the curtains that covered the tabernacle; (Exod. xxvi, 1—18.) of the boards that framed it, which were made of a wood very little apt to alter; (Exod. xxvi, 15, 16.) of the tabernacle itself, which was 30 ells long, and 10 broad; of the altar of burnt-offerings, overlaid with copper; (Exod.

xxvii, 1.) are all specified in ells, and *that* in a book which every Israelite was to read. It is true, that the curtains and the wood might be affected by exposure to the atmosphere, although, perhaps, one error would correct another; but still every Israelite that came to attend divine service, in any future age, would here obtain a pretty accurate view of the ell, and might, at any rate, measure some of these things with more perfect accuracy, and thus judge whether the nation still retained in common use the ancient original ell or not.

‘Still less variation was to be dreaded in those archetypes of the ell, that were kept in the sanctuary itself. Of the table of shew-bread, (Exod. xxv, 23.) the altar of incense, (Exod. xxx, 2.) and the ark of the covenant, (Exod. xxv, 10.) all the dimensions are specified. These were made of *Acacia* wood, and only overlaid with gold. But the most invariable of all the standards of longitudinal measures, as being made entirely of gold, is the lid of the ark, which was two ells and a-half long, and one ell and a-half broad. (Exod. xxv, 17.)’ Vol. III. p. 387.

The Mosaic ell would be ascertained from the remains of the Tabernacle in the time of Solomon, when the Temple was erected; and as the ell was transferred to that building, the ancient measure was thus preserved until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, by whom the Temple was destroyed.

‘2. The measures for corn and wine (*mensuræ aridorum et fluidorum*) were among the Hebrews more uniform in their contents, than ours are. For their *ephah*, or bushel, and their *bath* (for liquids) were equally large. It is very certain that there was a standard of these measures in the *sanctum sanctorum*, and that it stood before the ark of the covenant. Moses was ordered to place an *homer* of manna, (and the *homer* is the tenth part of the *ephah*, or Hebrew bushel,) before God; and it appears that the vessel was not of wood, but of gold; Exod. xvi, 33—36. Heb. ix, 4.

‘3. As to weights, Moses specifies them in the following manner.

20 *gerahs* make one shekel of the Sanctuary;*

3000 such shekels make one *kickar*†, or talent.

‘By this information alone, however, posterity would not have been much benefited; for the question would be, *How much is a gerah?* and if it was replied, *The twentieth part of a shekel?* the question would recur, *And what is a shekel?* And if the answer was *twenty gerahs*, they would have been in the very same predicament in which the evil spirit stood, when he catechised the orthodox collier

* See Exod xxx, 13. Levit. xxvii, 25. Numb. iii, 47. xviii, 16.

† This appears from Exod. xxxviii, 25, 26; where 301,775 shekels are reckoned 100 talents, and 1,775 shekels more. Moses gave no statute relative to the talent, as he did in the case of the *gerah* and shekel; probably, because there was no dispute about the talent, every one reckoning it at 3000 shekels; whereas the one shekel might comprise more, and the other fewer *gerahs*.

on the subject of his belief. If, in the course of time, the shekel became smaller, so likewise would the gerah diminish in the same proportion.

‘But here too a standard was provided. The fifty boards of which the walls of the tabernacle were composed, rested each upon two silver sockets, and every one of these hundred sockets was of the weight of a talent; *Exod. xxxviii, 27.* Here, therefore, they had no fewer than a hundred standards for the talent, by which the shekel could at any future period be determined.’

Vol. III. pp. 390—393.

The superintendents of weights and measures among the Israelites, were, much in the Egyptian style, says Michaelis, the priests and Levites.

It is, we apprehend, quite unnecessary for us, in closing the present Article, to recommend the volumes before us. The attention of our more intelligent readers, can scarcely fail of being excited by the announcement of a work bearing the name of Michaelis, and extending to four octavo volumes. They contain much curious matter, and will furnish instruction and entertainment to the reader. The historical knowledge, the philosophical penetration, and the political and moral reasonings, which pervade the Commentaries, confer upon them no ordinary value. Their utility in elucidating the Mosaic constitution, and in demonstrating the wisdom and integrity of the Hebrew Legislator, is great and important, as they furnish the biblical student many new and strong lights with which he may explore the foundations of revealed religion, and by the aid of which he will perceive their solidity and security. The work, however, is, with all its excellence, far from being a faultless production. Michaelis is not always bound down to the sober consideration of his subject, but sometimes indulges in conjecture, and speculates on circumstances and effects, as connected with the origin and provisions of the Mosaic Statutes, which were probably very remote from the contemplation of the Legislator. There is, occasionally, the apparent assumption of the character of original discovery in some of his illustrations, which his predecessors had in substance furnished, as in the case of the House Leprosy, which Dr. Mead had previously explained. The reader of these volumes will frequently be arrested in his progress through their numerous pages, by statements and opinions at which he must pause to examine and correct. The discussion of some topics to which we can but allude, their nature forbidding distinct mention, is unnecessarily and offensively prolonged. Over passages of this description, the Translator has very judiciously cast a veil, by giving them in a Latin version; nor should we have quarrelled with him if he had more liberally used this freedom. It would have conferred additional

on the work, had it been accompanied with notes to illustrate and amend the text, as in the Introduction to the New Testament, which is so much enriched and improved by Bishop Marsh's additions. This, it seems, was in the intention of the translator, as it also was to prepare a Memoir of the Life and Writings of Michaelis: the former he had, for reasons perfectly satisfactory, relinquished, and the latter object is now arrested in execution, by the death of the Translator.

VII. *Odes and other Poems*. By Henry Neele, f. cap 8vo. pp. 144. Sherwood and Co. 1816.

MR. NEELE has prefixed to his volume some remarks on our English 'Lyrist,' in whose steps he professes that he would be bold enough to aspire to tread; but he claims for this, his 'unaided performance,' the candour of the critic. Our young man takes upon himself, however, to play the part of the critic, without scruple or compunction, deciding with matchless flippancy, that all Akenside's Odes are below mediocrity. Mr. Neele would do well to leave criticism alone. We transcribe the Ode.

' TO TIME.

Inexorable king! thy sway
 Is fix'd on firm but cruel might;
 It rolls indeed the radiant day,
 But sinks it soon in deepest night:
 It bids the little flow'ret spring,
 But while it waves its elfin wing,
 Its fleeting glories go;
 It suffers hope to dance a while,
 Nursing the fondling's fatal smile,
 That tears may faster flow:
 And only bids fair beauty bloom,
 At last to blast it in the tomb.
 Tyrant! he changes every scene,
 While he himself remains the same;
 Old grow the young, and grey the green,
 And cold and cheerless the flame.
 With arrow keen he pierces all,
 Nor stays to see the sufferer fall,
 But wings his way alone:
 Oft too he questions fierce and high,
 And while we pause to make reply,
 The visitor is flown:
 We only mark the change he brings,
 And hear the rushing of his wings.
 Oh! he has many borne away,
 Who seem'd not meant to go so soon,
 Who might have hop'd for closing day,
 But fell before th' approach of noon.

Scarce had their fame been whisper'd round,
 Before its shrill and mournful sound
 Was whistling o'er their tomb :
 Scarce did the laurel 'gin to grow
 Around each early honoured brow,
 Before its grateful bloom
 Was changed to cypress serr and brown,
 Whose garlands mock the head they crown.
 Some linger on forlorn, till life
 Becomes a load they long to leave ;
 The aged finds its folly rife,
 That flatters only to deceive.
 The tree beneath whose cooling shade
 His youthful limbs were blithely laid,
 Sinks with the weight of years ;
 The friends he lov'd, the tales he told,
 The very fields are growing old,
 And cheerless all appears :
 While he himself is fading fast,
 And death (deliv'rer !) comes at last.
 A few more lays be sung and o'er,
 The hand is cold, the harp unstrung :
 The hand that swept shall sweep no more,
 The harp that rang no more be rung.
 The sun that warm'd the minstrel's heart,
 And kindred fervour would impart,
 Then gleams upon his sod ;
 The breeze that used around him wave,
 Shakes the lorn thistle o'er his grave,
 But cannot wake the clod :
 Tir'd nature nestles in the shroud,
 Tho' requiem winds are piping loud.' pp. 5—7.

Among the miscellaneous poems, we were particularly pleased
 with the stanzas on Melancholy, on account of their truth and
 simple beauty of expression. We give the last two verses.

* The moon is powerless with her beam,
 To ripen or to warm ;
 Yet when she gazes on the stream,
 Reflects in it her form.
 So melancholy never taints
 The mind that owns her care,
 With health or warmth ; but only prints
 Her own cold image there.' p. 141.

We shall make room for one more extract.

STANZAS.

* And where is he ? not by the side
 Whose every want he loved to tend ;
 Not o'er those valleys wandering wide,
 Where sweetly lost, he oft would wend ;

That form beloved he marks no more,
 Those scenes admired no more shall see,
 Those scenes are lovely as before,
 And she as fair—but where is he?
 No, no, the radiance is not dim,
 That used to gild his favourite hill,
 The pleasures that were dear to him,
 Are dear to life and nature still;
 But ah! his home is not as fair,
 Neglected must his gardens be,
 The lilies droop and wither there,
 And seem to whisper, “where is he?”
 His was the pomp, the crowded hall,
 But where is now this proud display?
 His riches, honours, pleasures, all
 Desire could frame—but where are they?
 And he, as some tall rock that stands,
 Protected by the circling sea,
 Surrounded by admiring bands,
 Seemed proudly strong—and where is he?
 The church-yard bears an added stone,
 The fire-side shews a vacant chair,
 Here sadness dwells and weeps alone,
 And death displays his banner there;
 The life is gone, the breath has fled,
 And what has been no more shall be,
 The well-known form, the welcome tread,
 Oh where are they, and where is he?” pp. 109—112.

The volume is, upon the whole, highly creditable to the talents of the Author, as a display of youthful genius. Let him never be content to do less than his best.

Art. X. A Catechism on the Nature of a Christian Church. With Scripture Proofs. By R. M. Miller. Price 6d. or 5s. per dozen. Williams. 1817.

WE notice with the highest satisfaction an unexceptionable exposition of the principles of Nonconformity, in a catechetical form, free from all controversial matter, and adapted to promote the religious knowledge and practical benefit of candidates for church fellowship, and members of Christian churches. It is needless to say how much such a work was wanted. That the deficiency has not been long since supplied, must be attributed to a notion which has been too prevalent, that the principles of Dissent must necessarily assume the form of polemical discussion, or mix themselves with topics of political interest; and that they could not therefore be submitted as the matter of religion to the minds of young persons, with the pure spirit of piety. *Miller* ministers and pe-

rents, for having provided the best answer to all such objections, in this little performance. It is compiled with the most careful adherence to the plain import of Scripture. The questions are very short, the answers simple, pertinent, and supported by Scripture proofs at length. We have seen a Catechism recently published, written by the Rev. Mr. Orme, of Perth, which we highly approve, but which appears to us defective in this very respect, as the Scripture authorities are merely referred to. We cannot too strongly recommend this Catechism for general circulation.

Art. IX. Pamphlets on the Commutation of Tithes.

(Concluded from Page 266.)

IN a preceding Number, we took a rapid view of the influence of Tithes upon agriculture; of the objections which existed to the Tithe-laws upon political and moral considerations; and of the expedients which had been suggested for the removal of those objections. We adverted too to the circumstance, that in the discussion which had recently arisen upon the subject of Commutation, it had been thought proper to canvass the origin and nature of that species of property, and to re-assert the elevated character of the title under which it is held. But it may probably be inquired, If the *abolition* of Tithes is an event neither in discussion nor in prospect; if the expediency of *Commutation* is the only question; why cannot a commutation be proposed or effected without any inquiry as to the original character of the property to be commuted, or the solidity of the right by which it is claimed? It is for Mr. Coxe, and those who think proper to follow the course which he has adopted, to answer that question as they can. Had those gentlemen thought fit to confine themselves to the discussion of the merits and demerits of the proposed plans of Commutation, the 'indefeasible' right of church property might in all probability have reposed undisturbed in the tomes of Gibson and Spelman, or 'wheresoever else the same is, or may be, to be found.' What then is the history of this discussion? It is shortly this. An outcry—whether reasonable or unreasonable, is not now the subject of inquiry—but an outcry was raised against the increasing oppression of the Tithe-laws, upon the agricultural classes of the community, and Parliament was thronged with petitioners, praying for some modification of that system, which should relieve them from the hardships which they proffered themselves ready to prove at the bar of the House. Certain persons, in their zeal for the interests of the Church, immediately stepped forward to stem the clamour; which, if it was an unreasonable clamour, or was thought *by them* to be an unreasonable clamour, they were most assuredly right in doing. But with what weapons? With the weapons of common sense, and of fair

reasoning? No; but with the arbitrary caveat of 'sacred—
'indefeasible—unalterable property:' with the *noti me tangere*
of 'irrevocable, prescriptive right.' Prescriptive right? It would
naturally be inquired, Is Parliament—is the supreme legislature
of the country, to be talked to about the *prescriptive* right of
any thing which may be found, on fair and full inquiry, to be
enimical to the best interests of the nation? Why, the right
to feudal services was a prescriptive right; the right of the
Monastic orders to their privileges, was a prescriptive right;
the right of fifty other things equally unfitted to stand against
advancing intelligence, was a prescriptive right; and where are
they? Upon these positions, however, many of the opposers of
Commutation deemed it advisable to take their stand, and here
heretofore it became the duty of those who entertained a firm
persuasion of the fallacy of those positions, to meet them. Thus,
a subject which had slept for upwards of a century, has been
again brought before the public eye; and we fear the Church has
few thanks to make to those who have voluntarily undertaken
to wield the pen in defence of her prescribed endowment.

Before we entered, however, upon any examination of what
the respective parties in difference have to say for themselves on
this topic, we thought it more satisfactory to take a calm review
of the grievances upon which the outcry for relief was founded;
since admitting, as we do, the evil inseparably incident to all
great changes, we think it incumbent on all who come forward
to impeach long established ordinances, to make out a case of
more than petty hardship, or theoretic faultiness. If the claim
of a Christian ministry to Tithes, should turn out to be ever so
mistaken,—if it should be found to be ever such a reproach to
a reformed church, to have adhered to one of the most ground-
less usurpations of Papacy; still, so long as no positive evil,
political or moral, emanated from the existing system, we should
have been the last to agitate the public mind on a question
which, involving, as it does, 'so great a quantity of interest,'
must unavoidably call into action feelings which no good man can
recognise with satisfaction. Hasty as the statement was which
we gave of the existing evils of the Tithe-laws, we believe it
was sufficient to shew that if we, and many greater than we,
have not greatly erred in our testimony, those evils are any
thing but petty or theoretic. We do not indeed expect that
our remarks should come home to every one with that weight to
which we faithfully believe them to be entitled. Every one
has a sensibility for the effects of what are called *good times* or
bad times; every one can exult at the appearance of general
thrift, and can deplore the distresses of insufficiency; but every
one cannot tell how deeply important are those domestic politics
which are engaged in securing the production of unexhausted

fluence for millions and millions of human beings, all craving a ceaseless supply of the matter of existence and enjoyment. It requires a mind initiated in the perception of complicated modes of relation, and accustomed to look beyond the mere matter of fact of our daily occasions, to trace the springs of public prosperity to their remotest causations, to detect the principles of the vast system of socialized existence, to perceive the link of universal dependency, and to discover 'that God has 'so ordered the world, that all his creatures must flourish or 'decay together.* So far as this habitude of mind is wanting, so far will the view of the evils of the Tithe system be reduced to the mere detail of local animosities and individual grievances; while, on the other hand, in proportion as the understanding is elevated, these minor hardships of its immediate machinery will be overlooked, in the deeper contemplation of the waste of property, the check to enterprise, the depression of national wealth, and the corruption of public morals, to which the country is subjected by the existing law.

Now, we do think, that if a case of this magnitude was made out with any thing like fidelity, on a matter of such paramount importance to the well being of these kingdoms, it did become those who might find it their duty to repel the complaint, to weigh, with some degree of seriousness, the foundation upon which they stood, before they ventured to set at nought the requisitions of human prudence, by a retort so unfair, if untrue, as the accusation of impiety. We say unfair, because it must be felt that the operation of this species of defence, in the hands of all those who are too indolent or too interested to detect its absurdity, is to neutralize the whole force of the appeal by the influence of a prejudicial opprobrium, and by so doing, to bespeak the cordial reception of the weak and plausible evasions of alleged facts, to which the opponents of Commutation find it necessary to resort. This renewed attempt to mislead the minds of men, and to disfigure the simplicity of the Christian scheme, by identifying with it the positive institutions of the Jewish priesthood, and the ecclesiastical traditions of corrupted churches, will, however, we have little doubt, find its best and only effectual antidote in the increasing perusal of the Scriptures of the New Testament. It appears hitherto to have been considered that the question as to the sacred character of Tithes, was one which depended for its solution upon the result of laborious scholastic investigation, and could be handled only by the possessors of great Biblical and historical erudition. There are, perhaps, few works in the English language, which, exhibit a greater display of elaborate research, than those which appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, upon the contested question of the right to Tithes in the Christian

* See Armata, Part I.

Church ; and though the present is not an age of polemical learning, it still seems to be considered, that the subject has a prescriptive right to be arrayed in the same imposing apparatus of the Cabala. In this, as in some other instances, it is our lot to conceive that the force of usage has little but itself to recommend it, and we have the temerity to believe that an unlearned Christian, who has no beam in his eye, is as capable of coming to a correct conclusion on the proper means of support for a Christian ministry, as if he had devoted half his life to the investigation of those ponderous tomes and obscure records from which Spelman, and Selden, and Comber, compiled their elaborate works. We mean any thing rather than to depreciate the value of learned investigation ; we are the last to sneer at the researches of the antiquary ; but our reverence for human attainments is not to make us lose sight, as we fear too many do, of those simple and obvious truths which God has revealed to babes and sucklings.

But we may perhaps be told that the pretensions of the modern advocates for Tithe, are not altogether of the aspiring character which we have alluded to ; that their claims to Divine sanction are of a more indirect nature ; and that a kind of compromise has taken place, by virtue of which the imperious requisitions of *jus divinum* have been relinquished for a mere demand of reverence to an institution of Divine *original*, and religious sanctity.* We confess this is a subtlety beyond the reach of our comprehension. The support of the Christian ministry, by Tithes, either has the Divine sanction, or it has not. We know of no intermediate proposition. It is nonsense to say that our reverence to the revealed will of God requires us to pay Tithes, *because* the payment of them is neither enjoined nor prohibited by the Christian Scriptures, even were the assertion maintainable ; and as to Tithes being of Divine *origin*, if this is all which is to be contended, the fact would, with just the same degree of effect, maintain the right to call for the observance of any other positive institution, recorded in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Whatever then be the precise language of the present advocates for Tithes, we apprehend that if we are to attribute any meaning to that language, we must understand them as asserting that Tithes are countenanced by Divine sanction. But perhaps our readers may be more successful in extricating them from the dilemma than we have been, and we therefore extract those passages from the pamphlets of Archdeacon Coxe, which throw any light on his view of the subject.

* “ What,” says the Rev. Mr. Fisher, “ has been so long sanctified by law, and by *religion*, by statute, by canon, and by custom, it is not necessary to support at length.” *Letter to F. Lewis, Esq. M.P.*

* Its advocates, you say, speak of it (the institution of Tithes) as of great antiquity. Truly I know none of its opponents who have yet called its antiquity in question. In our own country it can be traced to the earliest period of our authentic history ; *but its principle is derived from a high and sacred source, of which no believer in Revelation can speak without respect.** First Letter.

‘ I did not ground the title of the Church of England to its property *exclusively* on *divine right*, nor did I deny the power of Parliament to alter and amend the laws. I do not shrink from any of the sentiments which I formerly expressed : and I still maintain the *sacred origin* and high antiquity of tithe, in contradiction to the positions which it is the object of your reply to establish.’ Second Letter.

‘ You enumerate the authorities which support your opinion against *divine right*, and return to your leading principle, and the biblical and historical disquisitions on which it rests. I shall first examine your authorities, and then scrutinize your scriptural, historical, and legal inquiry. And first, as to your authorities.

‘ Before you commence your inquiry, you make fair professions of impartiality and candour ; you say, p. 10. ‘ the subject has been discussed by various eminent and well informed men, at too much length to allow me to give more than an abstract of some of their opinions.’ From this declaration, who would not suppose that you had consulted the writers on both sides of this *complicated question*, which embraces a wide field of divinity, law, and history. Has this been your conduct? No, Sir, quite the contrary. You have principally consulted Selden’s History of Tithes, a very learned and laborious work, but extremely partial and prejudiced ; for he wrote it to throw an odium on the clergy, at a time when the puritans were beginning to form their hostile attempts against the church and the throne: it is accordingly filled with numerous misrepresentations, false conclusions, wilful omissions, and garbled passages, or perverted authorities.

‘ On this account his antagonist, Comber, justly accuses him in these words, which may be no less justly applied to you :—“ He that reads the book itself will find that (*forgetting these fair professions*) he conceals some of the best proofs for tithes, rejects others, and questions all that seem to establish the divine right, or universal practice of tithes; greedily searching after, and plausibly setting off, all that appears against it.” In these circumstances you ought to have consulted with care and diligence those writers, no less learned and able than Selden, who have *refuted or controverted* his opinions ; for you cannot be ignorant that his book occasioned a long and vehement controversy, and that his positions were *completely refuted*, specifically and directly by Bishop Montagu and Dean Comber, by Archdeacon Tillesley, and a clergyman of the name of Nettle, and incidentally by Bishop Stillingfleet, in his Rights and Duties of the Clergy, Prideaux, and many other divines.

* This is precisely that species of rhetorical trickery to be most severely deprecated in the discussion of such subjects. Meaning nothing, it passes with the thoughtless for a great deal.

‘ Your next authority is Sir Simon Degge. The passage which you have quoted he does not give *as his own opinion*, but *as that of the common lawyers*, in opposition to the canonists; and the maxim which they lay down is what no one now doubts, namely, that where the common and canon law differ, the common law is to be preferred. You have, however, not chosen to insert a passage from the same author, which, though not quite so well sprinkled with law latin, might yet have taught you to consider the subject with *more caution*. He tells you—“ Be they due *jure divino, jure ecclesiastico, or jure humano*, I conceive the difference cannot be great, since, as it must necessarily be confessed, they have been given and consecrated *Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ*, and so being dedicated to God and his service (in my poor judgment) the taking them away from the proper use and end cannot be less sacrilegious than if they were, without dispute, *jure divino*.”

‘ Your quotation from Rayner only proves the opinion of Anthony Pearson, and what is reported of Wickliffe, who indeed was so extravagant in his conceits, or so hostile to his order, as to declare that the clergy, instead of having temporal possessions, ought to subsist by begging. You, however, omit another passage which was not exactly to your purpose, and therefore I shall take the liberty to submit it to your consideration. I think it deserves your attention, as shewing in what light your favourite lawyer might possibly have regarded the advocates for a forcible commutation of tithe. “ Several solemn determinations, recorded in the course of these sheets, must convince the most sceptic reader that the rector demands his tithes as his legal property and inheritance, of common right: and the vicar, by virtue of his endowment, or by prescription or usage; and that consequently they both have severally and respectively a most just, equal, and apparent claim to the coercion of the civil power, to recover such their lawful dues, as much as any heir of the kingdom, when the possession or enjoyment of any part of his paternal or other estate is illegally detained from him. So that the popular clamour raised against this reverend order of men cannot have originally proceeded from want of, or defect in, their title to such demands: no, the very contrary, in my most humble opinion, hath been the cause of their injurious treatment; for the indisputable clearness of the clergyman’s title to tithes hath occasioned all the malevolent complaints made against them, which have been propagated by designing men, interested to vilify these sacred characters, in order to conceal their own iniquitous practices, put in use for the shameful purpose of cheating and robbing this holy body of the only subsistence provided for them, and which is allowed them BOTH BY THE LAW OF GOD AND MAN.”

‘ — Were the question relating to the *divine right* of the clergy to tithe to be decided by the number of opinions, I could produce against you the early fathers, councils, popes, emperors, and kings; and finally the almost universal sentiment of christendom, during a long series of ages. To descend to later times: without reckoning the clerical antagonists of Selden, his authority is fully counterbalanced

by that of Sir Henry Spelman, who was equally distinguished both as a lawyer and antiquary, and who wrote a learned and laborious treatise, *PROVING the divine right to tithes*, about the same period when Selden produced the work from which you have so liberally borrowed.

‘ I have therefore shewn that the principal authorities to which you appeal are either questionable, or without weight ; and that the others either speak doubtfully on the subject, or decide against you.

‘ I shall now advert to your biblical and historical investigation of scriptural and other history. This investigation may be divided into two parts :—First, the introduction of tithe into the Christian church in general ; and secondly, its establishment and history in England.

‘ 1. The introduction of tithe into the Christian church.

‘ As I do not mean to make these pages a commentary on difficult passages of holy writ, you must excuse me if I do not follow you in all your references to scripture. For this reason I shall pass over the instances of Abraham and Jacob, and the mode of giving and distributing tithe under the levitical law, because the subjects in discussion are the opinions and practice of *Christians*.

‘ I shall proceed to your first proof. You observe (p. 11) that you “ cannot discover that tithe was ever ordered by our Saviour to be given *after* the change of the law,” &c And again, (p. 29)—“ that the levitical law, which commanded the giving of tithes, &c. was changed by our Saviour himself, as was also the priesthood ; and that the law for giving of tithes was not re-established by Christ must be presumed, because they are not mentioned in the New Testament, as due to the Christian church,” &c.’

‘ I shall not attempt *either to controvert or defend* the principle of *divine right*, which has found many learned and able advocates ; but shall confine my examination to such points as may prove my assertion, that tithe is of divine origin, or derives its principle from Holy Writ.

‘ You are not justified by the authority of Scripture in considering tithe as *abolished* by the change of the law ; nor in presuming that it *must fall of course*, because it was not re-established by Christ, and is *not mentioned in the New Testament as due to the Christian church*.

‘ It would be *superfluous* to investigate the *reasons* why Christ and his Apostles did not positively enjoin the payment of tithes. It is sufficient to observe, that if Christ did not expressly confirm this part of the Jewish institution, yet he was so far from expressly repealing it, that in his censure of the Pharisees, Matth. 23, xxiii, and Luke 18, ii. he mentions the payment of tithe, as “ *what ought to be done*.” St. Paul, also, not only speaks of tithe without any expression indicative of its repeal, but in comparing the rights and privileges of the Christian with the Jewish priesthood, he observes : 1 Cor. 9. xiii, xiv. “ Do you not know that they which minister “ about holy things, live of the things of the temple ? and they “ which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar ?

“ *EVEN so hath the LORD ORDAINED, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.*”

‘ From these expressions, and *many others* scattered through the New Testament, no one who believes Revelation, can doubt, that the ministers of the Christian Church are entitled to a *proper maintenance* by divine ordinance. The quantity and nature of that maintenance are therefore the only points which admit of investigation.

‘ Those who assert the *divine right* of *tithes*, adduce these very expressions, *in proof of their opinion*, and contend that the precept of St. Paul, in particular, implies the payment of *tithe* to the ministers of the Gospel, IN THE SAME MANNER, as it had been previously paid to the Jewish priesthood. Of this opinion were most of the early fathers.

‘ Those who assert the *divine origin* or principle of *tithe*, are content to abide by the *literal* meaning of these passages, namely, that the clergy are entitled to a *proper maintenance by divine command*. The *specific quantity*, or *tithe*, they consider as *established by the early christians*, during, or soon after the apostolic age, in imitation of the precedent given by the Levitical law, and *founded by implication* on the precept of St. Paul.’

We do not follow Mr. Coxe into the succeeding discussion, on the commencement of the payment of Tithes in the Christian Church, because we conceive that the question whether such payment was first enjoined in the third century of Christianity, or in the fourth or fifth, bears with about as much importance upon the real question at issue, namely, the Divine sanction of Tithes, as the other redoubtable points which it has been thought fit to agitate in the course of the controversy, *videlicet*, whether Dr. Watson or Mr. Place, a barrister, was the author of the book commonly called ‘ Watson’s Clergyman’s Law,’* or whether the name of ‘ Pietro Soave Polano,’ annexed to the History of the Council of Trent, is not an anagram for that of Father Paul.

The substance of what we are to glean from the extracted passages, appears to us to be—1st, That Tithes are at all events of Divine origin. 2ndly. That those who have attempted to deny their claim to Divine authority, have been refuted. 3dly.

* “ It is unlucky that you should ground so important an assertion on the authority of a feigned name; for the real author of Watson’s Clergyman’s Law was Mr. Place, a barrister.” *Three Letters*, p. 19. We really do not recollect to have met with any thing more pitiful than this for a long time. Besides, we would beg to ask, If Mr. Place, a barrister, chooses to publish a book, with all accustomed gravity, under the name of Dr. Watson, why has not Mr. Benett, or any one else, a full right to cite that book by the name of Watson’s Clergyman’s Law? If we had occasion to quote a passage from his Majesty’s most gracious Speech of the 17th October, 1796, we are not aware that we are under any obligation, critical or moral, to give our marginal reference to the Speech of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt to both Houses of Parliament.

That Tithes, as payable under the Mosaic dispensation, are not abolished by the change of the Law, nor do they fall, of course, because not re-established by Christ. 4thly. That if Tithes were not established by Christ and his Apostles in form, they were in effect; and that whether those are mistaken who assert that the precept of St. Paul, "Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel," implies the payment of *Tithe*, in the same manner as it had been previously paid to the *Jewish priesthood*, is what Mr. Coxe does not feel himself qualified to decide, as he neither expressly denies nor admits it. Our readers will perhaps be startled at this summary, but we entreat them to turn back again to the extracted pages, to exonerate us from any kind of misrepresentation.

With regard to the argument derived from the Divine origin of Tithes, impotent as it is, we are inclined to qualify our surprise at the misconception, when we look back to the leaning there has been among divines of all ages, and more especially the divines of the Church of England, to identify many of the Apostolic ordinances and precepts, with the positive requisitions of the Mosaic Law. Losing sight of the genuine spirit of the Christian dispensation, and the momentous consequences resulting from Christ's coming in the flesh, and the consequent termination of a human priesthood, a large proportion of our theological writings is occupied in a laborious, not to say pedantic reticulation of the typical observances and injunctions of that particular people, ordained to preserve the remembrance of the promised salvation, with the simple institutions and precepts which were delivered to the believers in Christ, to restrain the abuse of that liberty wherewith he had made them free. By a strange perversion of understanding, the shadow has been called in to define the substance,—the final and perfect revelation of the Divine will and purposes, has been supposed to find its sanctity and its comment in the imperfect anticipations of those who were under the veil; and men, walking in the noon-day light of the Gospel, have returned to seek further illumination from that lesser glory "which was done away," and which the Apostle expressly declares "had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth."

There is a deep fallacy about all this, which we hardly know how to fathom. It is impossible to conceive men in the professional as well as voluntary practice of continual perusal of the Bible, wilfully overlooking or laying aside one of the most prominent doctrines of the Christian revelation. And surely, if there be one doctrinal point in the New Testament, more amply enlarged upon or forcibly impressed than others, it is that which relates to the completion of the purposes of the Law, the termina-

tion of its rites, and the abolition of its sanction, by the fulfilment of those promises to which the Law was subservient, the commencement of that real priesthood in the person of the glorified Messiah, which in Aaron was but a shadow, and the dissolution (or death, as the Apostle emphatically calls it) of that bond wherein the law held the children of disobedience.

Now, it does utterly surpass our conception, how the admission of such a fact as the determination of the priesthood of many by the commencement of that unchangeable priesthood of Christ, can be reconciled with the assertion of the continuing sanction of any one of those ordinances which came with the priesthood of Aaron. "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law. For he of whom *these things* are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood."*

But, says Mr. Coxe 'you are not authorised in considering *Tithe* as abolished by the change of the Law.' There were then, we suppose he intends, some special exemptions from the universal deliverance from the bondage of the commandment; there were some parts of the service of the altar, which the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice and oblation" of him who "entered into heaven itself" and not into "the holy place made with hands," was not of power to dispense with. We have great respect for Mr. Coxe, as a man of talents and as a writer, but he must pardon us if on these points we choose to be guided rather by St. Paul, than by men of later ages. "Now we know (says the Apostle) that *what things soever* the Law saith, it saith to them who are *under the Law*." Rom. iii. 19. Now, whatever differences of opinion might prevail among the converted Jews, or even among the Apostles themselves, with regard to their complete emancipation from the works of the Law, during the existence of the Temple, we are wholly at a loss to discover how those works could become obligatory on the Gentile converts, or how they to whom the Law had never been delivered, could in any sense be said to be 'under the Law.' Were it then even to be admitted, that the entrance of Christ into the holy place, "once for all," fell short of complete effect in dispensing with *all* the works of the Law, we do not see how the argument would be helped, as it applies to the continuance of any Divine sanction for the taking of tithes at this day, since the mere continuance of the institution under the sanction of the law, could affect those only upon whom the Law was obligatory previous to such partial abolition, and consequently would attach upon none but the descendants of Abraham. But

the argument in favour of Tithes, from the sanction of the Law, fails in every point of view; for, if there be any obligation to pay them by reason of a positive law, that obligation can necessarily be discharged no otherwise than by paying them to that description of persons, and for those purposes, to which they were ordained by such positive law. It is incumbent on those, therefore, who would support the right to Tithes upon this argument, to refer us to the persons who are qualified, either by fulfilling or representing the character designated by the law, to give us a discharge from its penal sanction. That all right to such character *in proprio jure* has ceased to exist, the Jews themselves will inform us, having, with a degree of propriety which bears rather hard upon the argument, discontinued the payment of Tithes ever since the destruction of the Temple; and to assert that any pretensions to such character exist, *juro representationis*, in the Christian ministry, is to evince a more profound ignorance of the Christian scheme, than any person of liberal education would choose to be reproached with; since it is one of the most obvious doctrines of the New Testament, not only that the priesthood of Aaron terminated on the commencement of the priesthood of Christ, but that the latter priesthood became eternal and unchangeable in Him, "seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us." If, therefore, there be any priesthood upon earth, it must be by virtue of that unity of title which believers acquire in the Divine prerogatives of the Messiah, and by which, as all believers are co-heirs with him of his kingdom, all believers may likewise be said to be priests with him, and constitute, as St. Peter expresses it, "a royal priesthood." * Now, how believers are to pay Tithes to themselves, Mr. Coxe has not informed us, nor do we believe that this mode of discharging the obligation, were it practicable, is such a one as would meet with his approbation.

We proceed then to the consideration of the next argument, namely, the sanction given to Tithes by the founders of the Christian Church; for the supporters of an endowed church lay their claims to Divine authority *quâcunque viâ data*, and

* 1 Pet. ii. 9. Hence, in some of the remonstrances against Tithes at the period of the Commonwealth, it was contended, that Tithes ought not to be paid, among other reasons, "Because the requiring and paying of tithes is an implicit denying that Christ is come in the flesh." For if there be not a change in the law, then the priesthood of Aaron remains. Heb vii. 12. And if that priesthood remains, then Christ is not yet come. The law was our schoolmaster unto Christ, and after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. Gal. iii. 24, 25. If we must still be in bondage under the elements of the world, then God hath not yet sent forth his Son, as appears in Gal. iv. 3, 4, 5.* See Appendix to Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes*, p. 81.

if, say they, tithes are not now due by the Levitical law, they are to be considered as authorized by the ordinances, or countenanced by the expressions of Christ and his Apostles.

We apprehend this assertion owes its existence to the same ignorance or forgetfulness of the circumstances of the Christian dispensation, as the argument which we have just been considering, and requires little more than a simple recurrence to those circumstances, to be disposed of. Jesus Christ, while in the flesh, was most undoubtedly under the Law, and therefore, as concerning his manhood, was as much bound to obedience to the works of the Law, as any other of the descendants of Abraham. Jesus Christ, indeed, was not only under the Law, as man, but as more than man, he came to fulfil the Law, which no man had ever done; and by perfect obedience, under all the infirmities of humanity, at once to establish the justice and vindicate the righteousness of God, and to become the justifier of them to whom, by faith, his obedience should be imputed.

Upon these points, we conceive, there can be no difference between us and Mr. Coxe.

Now, if Christ was under the Law, he was as much under one part of it as another; as much under the ceremonial law as under the moral law. Supposing, therefore, that the Evangelists had actually recorded instances of the payment of Tithes by Christ, or his Apostles by his direction, what would that concern believers? Jesus Christ was circumcised; he was presented in the Temple; he observed the Passover, the feast of the Dedication, the Jewish Sabbath:—all these facts are distinctly recorded; but it certainly does not follow that they are examples. Besides, the fact which a Christian minister would have to make out, is, not that Christ *paid* tithes to the Levites, but that he *claimed* them *himself*; and as, during the mission of Christ upon earth, his character of priest had not commenced, there could of course be no shadow of reason to found such claim upon.

It is next to be observed, that during the abode of Christ in Judea, not only was he himself subject to the works of the Law, but that the Law was likewise in full force on all by whom he was surrounded. The approach of the event which was to exempt them who believed in him, from “being subject to ordinances,” could in no ways diminish the rigour of the existing yoke. Jesus, therefore, in addressing the Jews, addresses them uniformly as *Jews*; he exhorts them to obedience to the works of the Law, at the same time that he enjoins repentance as the fittest preparation for the approaching promulgation. He is occupied, not in announcing to them the final emancipation from the bondage of the Commandment, which should be procured by the shedding of his blood, (a

doctrine which appears to have been reserved for a more advanced state of the Christian converts,) but in calling their attention to the spirituality of the Law, as the means of convincing them how far their ritual observances fell short of any such obedience as could be relied upon for acceptance with God, and thereby preparing their minds for the reception of the Gospel. All this, we conceive, must be very clear to all persons who read their Bibles with attention. What does it avail then for the purpose in question, that among the other works of the Law to which Jesus exhorted the obedience of the Jews, he should have included the payment of Tithes, as one of the things which they, being under the Law, were right in doing with the most scrupulous exactness, but which did not exempt them from the observance of the weightier matters of the Law, or entitle them to "pass over judgement and the love of God?"

Besides, the argument, if any, to be derived from this saying of our Saviour, is ultimately involved in precisely the same absurdity as the argument from the Levitical law; for if that saying imposes any obligation on us to the payment of Tithes, we must discharge the obligation, by paying Tithes in that sense in which the words are used in the passage in question; and can never plead as a performance, the doing of a totally different thing, with a totally different meaning, because that thing happens to be designated by a synonymous

In reference to the support to be derived by the advocates of Tithes, from any other expressions of our Saviour or the Apostles, more immediately addressed to the circumstances of the Christian church, we shall content ourselves with extracting a few passages from Milton's "*Likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church,*" as containing, in an impressive form, the substance of what must occur to those in the practice of unprejudiced perusal of the Scriptures. It is remarkable, that the passage alluded to by Mr. Coxe, as that advanced by some writers to prove Tithes an apostolic ordinance, is the very text chosen by Milton to demonstrate their absolute exclusion from the Christian regimen.

'Hire (says he) of itself is neither unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, signifying no more than a due recompense or reward; as when our Saviour saith, "the labourer is worthy of his hire." That which makes it so dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the hireling a word always of evil signification, is either the excess thereof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the excess thereof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of Constantine, who out of his zeal

‘ thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing father of
‘ the Church, might be not unfitly said to have either over
‘ laid it, or choked it in the nursing. Which was foretold, as
‘ is recorded in ecclesiastical traditions, by a voice heard from
‘ heaven on the very day that those great donations and Church
‘ revenues were given, crying aloud, “ This day is poison
‘ poured into the Church.” Which the event soon after veri-
‘ fied, as appears by another no less ancient observation, “ That
‘ Religion brought forth wealth, and the daughter devoured
‘ the mother.”

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‘ Not only the excess of hire in wealthiest times, but also the
‘ undue and vicious taking orgiving it, though but small or mean,
‘ as in the primitive times, gave to hirelings occasion, though
‘ not intended, yet sufficient to creep at first into the Church.
‘ Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility
‘ to remove them quite, unless every minister were as St. Paul,
‘ contented to teach gratis ; but few such are to be found. And
‘ therefore we cannot justly take away all hire in the Church,
‘ because we cannot otherwise quite remove all hirelings, so
‘ are we not for the impossibility of removing them all, to use
‘ therefore no endeavour that fewest may come in ; but rather,
‘ in regard the evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent
‘ and unavoidable, to use our utmost diligence how it may
‘ be least dangerous : which will be likeliest effected if we
‘ consider, first, what recompence God hath ordained should
‘ be given to ministers of the Church ; (for that a recompence
‘ ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received,
‘ our Saviour himself from the very light of reason and of
‘ equity hath declared, Luke x. 7, “ The labourer is worthy
‘ of his hire ;”) next, by whom ; and lastly, in what manner.

‘ What recompence ought to be given to Church Ministers,
‘ God hath answerably ordained according to that difference
‘ which he hath manifestly put between the Law and the
‘ Gospel. Under the Law he gave them tithes ; under the
‘ Gospel, having left all things in his Church to charity and
‘ christian freedom, he hath given them only what is justly
‘ given them. That, as well under the Gospel, as under the
‘ Law, say our English divines, and they only of all protestants
‘ is tithes ; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give
‘ them of his own the tenth or twentieth ; but that the law
‘ therefore of tithes is in force under the Gospel, all other pro-
‘ testant divines, though equally concerned, yet constantly deny.
‘ For although hire to the labourer be of moral and perpetual
‘ right, yet that special kind of hire, the tenth, can be of no
‘ right a necessity, but to that special labour for which God
‘ ordained it. That special labour was the levitical and cere-

' monial service of the tabernacle, Numb. xviii. 21, 31, which is
 ' now abolished, the right therefore of that special hire must
 ' needs be withal abolished, as being also ceremonial. That
 ' tithes were ceremonial is plain, not being given to the Levites
 ' till they had been first offered a heave offering to the Lord,
 ' ver. 24, 28. He then who by that law brings tithes into the
 ' Gospel, of necessity brings in withal a sacrifice and an altar;
 ' without which tithes by that law were unsanctified and pol-
 ' luted, ver. 32, and therefore never thought on in the first
 ' Christian times, till ceremonies, altars, and oblations, by an
 ' ancienter corruption were brought back long before. And
 ' yet the Jews, ever since their temple was destroyed, though
 ' they have rabbis and teachers of their law, yet pay no tithes,
 ' as having no Levites to whom, no temple where to pay them,
 ' no altar whereon to hallow them: which argues that the
 ' Jews themselves never thought tithes moral, but ceremonial
 ' only. That Christians therefore should take them up, when
 ' Jews have laid them down, must needs be very absurd and
 ' preposterous. Next it is as clear in the same chapter, that
 ' the Priests and Levites had not tithes for their labour only
 ' in the tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other
 ' part nor inheritance in the land, ver. 20, 24, and by that
 ' means for a tenth, lost a twelfth. But our Levites under-
 ' going no such law of deprivation, can have no right to any
 ' such compensation, nay, if by *this* law they will have tithes,
 ' can have no inheritance of land, but forfeit what they have*.

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* In Mr. Gourlay's *Right to Church Property secured*, a pamphlet
 conspicuous for an originality and vigorousness of remark, of the
 highest order, and sometimes almost amounting to sublimity, there
 is the following new and striking observation. ' When this order
 ' was first appointed, there was a peculiar adaptation of the scheme
 ' of tithe to the purposes and views of the institution of the priest-
 ' hood. The priesthood was a whole tribe, and the sacred duties
 ' were hereditary. The tribe of Levi, having a tenth of the gross
 ' produce of the soil, would multiply nearly after the same rate as
 ' the other tribes of Israel; and thus the proportion of priests, in
 ' point of number, to the rest of the people, would always be main-
 ' tained nearly the same.

' When tithes are appropriated to a certain fixed number of priests,
 ' the issue is very different. With increased cultivation, tithes in-
 ' crease greatly, and also the population. The limited number of
 ' priests, under the increase of tithe, have their relative situation
 ' in society very much changed. They become richer; and as indo-
 ' lence and vice are the natural concomitants of wealth, less duty
 ' will be performed in the priestly office, in the inverse ratio of its
 ' need, increased by a growing population.

' This statement exhibits a striking contrast between the divine

‘ Although it be sufficient to have proved in general the
 ‘ abolishing of tithes, as part of the judaical or ceremonial law,
 ‘ which is abolished all, as well that before as that after Moses ;
 ‘ yet I shall further prove them abrogated by an express ordi-
 ‘ nance of the Gospel, founded not on any type, or that muni-
 ‘ cipal law of Moses, but on moral and general equity given us
 ‘ instead.’ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. ‘ Know ye not, that they who mi-
 ‘ nister about holy things, live of the things of the temple ; and
 ‘ they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar ? So
 ‘ also the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel,
 ‘ should live of the Gospel ?’ He saith not, should live on things
 ‘ which were of the *temple*, or of the *altar*, of which were
 ‘ tithes, for that had given them a clear title : but abrogating
 ‘ that former law of Moses, which determined what and how
 ‘ much, by a later ordinance of Christ, which leaves the what
 ‘ and how much indefinite and free, so it be sufficient to live
 ‘ on : he saith, “ The Lord hath so ordained, that they who preach
 ‘ the Gospel should live of the Gospel,” which hath neither
 ‘ temple, altar, nor sacrifice : Heb. vii. 18, “ For he of whom
 ‘ these things are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which,
 ‘ no man gave attendance at the altar :” his ministers, therefore,
 ‘ cannot thence have tithes. And where the Lord hath so or-
 ‘ dained, we may find easily in more than one evangelist : Luke
 ‘ x. 7, 8, “ In the same house remain, eating and drinking such
 ‘ things as they give : for the labourer is worthy of his hire, &c.
 ‘ And into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you, eat
 ‘ such things as are set before you.” To which ordinance of
 ‘ Christ it may seem likeliest that the Apostle refers us, both
 ‘ here and in 1 Tim. v. 18, where he cites this as the saying of our
 ‘ Saviour, “ That the labourer is worthy of his hire.” And
 ‘ both by this place of Luke, and that of Matt. x. 9, 10, 11, it
 ‘ evidently appears that our Saviour ordained no certain main-
 ‘ tenance for his apostles or ministers publicly or privately, in
 ‘ house or city received ; but that, whatever it were, which might
 ‘ suffice to live on : and this not commanded or proportioned by
 ‘ Abraham or by Moses, whom he might easily have here cited,
 ‘ as his manner was, but declared only by a rule of common
 ‘ equity, which proportions the hire as well to the ability of him
 ‘ who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recom-
 ‘ mends him only as *worthy*, not invests him with a *legal right*.
 ‘ And mark whereon he grounds this his ordinance ; not on a
 ‘ perpetual right of tithes from Melchisedec, as hirelings pretend,
 ‘ which he never claimed, either for himself or for his ministers,
 ‘ but on the plain and common equity of rewarding the labourer ;

and human establishment of Tithe. The one might go on for ever
 in beautiful uniformity. The other must vibrate upon a point, and
 the least shiver will destroy its necessary equilibrium.’

‘worthy sometimes of single, sometimes of double honour, not proportionable by tithes; and the Apostle in this fore-cited chapter to the Corinthians, ver. 11, affirms it to be no great recompense if carnal things be reaped for spiritual sown; but to mention tithes, neglects here the fittest occasion that could be offered him, and leaves the rest free and undetermined. Certainly, if Christ or his Apostles had approved of tithes, they would have, either by writing or tradition, recommended them to the church, and that soon would have appeared in the practice of those primitive and the next ages.’

Upon the principle *audi alteram partem*, we should now recommend our readers to turn to the parade of fathers, and councils, and canons, and to amuse themselves with the judicious typographical arrangement of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in the pages of Dr. Comber, and the other writers of his school; and if they agree with Mr. Coxe, that those who deny the Divine authority of Tithes have been refuted, we have nothing further to do than to wish them joy of their sentiment.

If, on the other hand, the view which we have taken of the Scripture doctrine, is borne out by an accurate attention to the circumstances and nature of the Christian scheme, the real question as to the *matter of right* between the defenders of Tithes and the advocates of Commutation, in spite of all the lofty announcements and pious pretences of the former, must necessarily amount to nothing more than this; whether or not the State, having, at a distant period of time, sanctioned a mode of levying a provision for the support of the ecclesiastical establishment, which at that period might be well enough adapted for the purpose in a secular point of view, and the future evils of which, neither were nor could be foreseen, is to be irrevocably bound by that disposition, now that a total change of economy has destroyed the adaptation of the system, and rendered it productive of mischiefs which become every day more obtrusive, more alarming to the civil interests of the State, and of more demoralizing tendency both to the payer and the receiver of the tax. The assertion of the affirmative of this proposition, must, we conceive, stagger every person acquainted with the spirit of the British Constitution. The author of the “*Sacred and Indefeasible Rights of the Clergy*,” has adverted to this point with considerable perspicuity.

‘During the last Session of Parliament, (he remarks) numerous petitions were presented to the Legislature, from almost every part of the Kingdom; complaining of and praying relief from (what petitioners alleged to be) the oppressive burthens imposed upon them by the Church. To counteract those petitions, and with a view to maintain inviolate the supposed rights of the Ecclesiastical order, meetings of the Clergy were held in different parts of the country.’

‘ The claims set up at those Meetings, and which it was contended were inherent and indefeasible, appear to me to be at variance with the free spirit of our Constitution, and consequently subversive of the rights and liberties of the people. The Clergy, I am inclined to believe, found their claims to tythes, not as formerly, upon Divine right, but upon the law of the land ; and as the Constitution of this country guarantees to the people the right of repealing as well as of making laws, it follows that the *indefeasible* rights of the Clergy must cease, the moment the people exercise their indisputable prerogative in repealing the Law under which they claim.

* * * *

‘ The powers of Parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, are so transcendant, that they can make, enlarge, repeal, abrogate, and expound all law, civil and ecclesiastical ; they can alter, new-model, or abolish the established religion of the country, as was done by the Eighth Henry and his family ; they can regulate and change the succession to the crown, as was done in the cases of Henry VIII. William III. and the house of Brunswick ; they can alter the constitution of the kingdom, and even of parliaments themselves ; witness the acts of union, and the statutes for triennial and septennial parliaments.

* * * *

‘ The advantages which the people of this country derive from its representative form of government, are not confined to the making of laws for their guidance and protection, they have a right even to try experiments in legislation, and in fact this is constantly done : acts of the legislature are every day new-modelled, repealed and abrogated ; by what rights or power then are the people to be restrained from annulling a pernicious and oppressive law, imposed upon their forefathers, by superstition and credulity.’

We should however remark, that the view of the English constitution taken by the Lord Chief Justice Coke, is not sanctioned by Mr. Coxe ; and he shall speak for himself ; for even Chief Justices (we say it with all becoming reverence) may be mistaken. The Legislature it appears, according to the opinion of the Archdeacon, have no power to act without the express and special consent of the clergy themselves : such at least is the necessary implication of the following passage.

‘ The clergy of the present day have but the usufruct, and are incompetent, even if they are willing to dispose of the inheritance of their order. They can neither be bribed nor compelled to consent for their successors in all future ages whom they do not represent ; as to exchange a right which is prescriptive or fundamental, for property of any kind, which can only be secured to them by the validity of recent convention.’—*First Letter*, p. 28.

How much, then, is it to be lamented that this did not occur to the Romish clergy, the whole host of regulars and seculars, when they were called upon by the unauthorized voice of Parliament, to relinquish their wealth and their splendour ! What

piles of sumptuous architecture, what trentals and obits, what copes and crucifixes, have we not lost by their inadvertency !

It is a remark, however, that we cannot help making, that it is not within the scope of our recollection, to produce a single instance of such a proposition having been ever attempted to be propounded in support of any other tax than that particular one which is appropriated to the maintenance of the established clergy. It is an uncontroverted proposition, that the State is under a civil obligation to provide for the subsistence of its immediate servants,—to provide for the subsistence of its poor :—we will suppose, (to place the defenders of Tithes upon the best footing that we can,) that it is as uncontroverted a position, (which however is not the fact,) that the State is under a civil obligation to provide for the support of a religious establishment. Be it so. How are the advocates of Tithes the better for it ? We do not recollect that in the innumerable discussions which have taken place on the subject, it was ever attempted to be asserted, that the State has not a right to re-model the provision which it has heretofore made for the support of its poor ; or to exchange one mode of effecting that provision for another, if one mode should be found beneficial to the moral character of the poor, and consistent with the civil interests of the nation, and another destructive of them both. And yet the poor must no more be permitted to starve, than the clergy to beg. The one are as much entitled to a security for their subsistence, as the other for their competence, as a matter of civil obligation on the State. How comes it then, that we hear every day of new plans for securing the subsistence of the poor, varying in their complexions and principles with all the variations of human conceptions, and views, and prejudices, and not one word of inquiry drops as to the *right* of the State to tamper with their legal provision ; while, as soon as the most cautious suggestion is made as to the propriety of re-considering the legal provision of the clergy, it is immediately silenced with the jargon of irrevocable prescriptive right ?

The clergy may perhaps say, that they are degraded by the parallel, and they may deny its applicableness. We reply, that nothing can be further from our thoughts than any abasing intention, and that the parallel itself is strictly accurate. For, learned as the clergy mostly are in the legal history of tithes, can they require to be told, that whether they claim under the sanction of the Apostolic ordinance, or under that of the legal establishment of tithes by the mandates of English kings and prelates, their claim extends no further, by either of those authorities, than to be tenants of those very contested tithes in common with the poor and necessitous ? Need we remind them of the tripartite division of tithes, respecting which so much

has been written? How comes it then, we may fairly ask, that that very property in which the poor were jointly interested, by unity of title, should as to them be for ever extinguished, while, as to their co-sharers, it is 'irrevocable and indefeasible'? Is there no parallel here? Are the clergy degraded by having their substantial endowments named in contact with the scanty pittance of the worn-out labourer, the halt, the impotent, and the blind? Let them then first reproach their more humble predecessors for having submitted to accept a provision out of the same fund which had been provided for those ignoble purposes, and let them tell us how it came to pass, that when these needier partakers of the Church's goods were first robbed of 'what had been so long sanctified by law and by religion, 'by canon, and by custom,' they found no kind advocates to cry out, 'Woe unto them who withhold what God and the Church have given!'

Before we conclude these protracted remarks, into which we have been somewhat indignantly led by a series of perversions and absurdities almost unequalled in any modern controversy, we desire again to caution our readers most earnestly against any misconception of the object which we have had in view. What our views are of the real ground upon which tithes stand at this day, we have explicitly avowed at the close of our former Article; and to that statement we request our readers to turn. We have entered upon the preceding examination of the claims again asserted with respect to Tithes, not as the advocates of revolutionary measures, but because those claims, groundless as they are, are brought forward with all the confidence of uncontested certainty, to set at defiance propositions of the most important and beneficial nature, called for by the united voice of the nation. When Anthony Pearson published his "Great Case of Tithes truly stated," in 1657, he expressed one of the motives to compiling that work to be, that 'such a collection might have this further service, that in time to come, it might prevent authors from advancing reasons and arguments for the Divine right of Tithes, as some had done very lately, which were fully answered and confuted so long ago.' But Anthony Pearson has long since been consigned to the undisturbed dust of the upper shelf, and the overweening assurance of the thoughtless and the half-informed, has again called for the trying drudgery of exposing the most inconsistent and absurd assertions. Here, however, our duty stops. Whatever jurisdiction we may claim in the commonwealth of letters, we presume not to dictate to those in whom the right of civil legislation is constitutionally vested. It is a subject of lamentation to all who are tremblingly alive to the interests of humanity, and who look forward to higher stages of the advancement of common-weal, that in radi-

cal change of almost every kind, there is, and must be so long as human institutions continue to be governed by the uncontrollable laws of nature, essential and inseparable evil. In the beginnings of reformation, this evil is sensibly and severely experienced; while the benefits resulting from the change, are perceived only as they are slowly developed by the hand of time, and as the temporary inconveniences which obscured them, are subsiding into oblivion by the same process. It is owing to this, in a great degree, that in all measures of political economy, questions of right or wrong are unavoidably converted into questions of expediency; and that a mixed mode of reasoning has been insensibly appropriated to legislative discussion, very nearly to the exclusion of pure logic, and of abstract truth. It seems to have been irrevocably ordained, that the material world, in all its advances towards the limited boundary of sublunary excellence, should still remain at an immeasurable distance from the intelligent principle; and that while the advancement of the latter knows no obstacle but the finite power of human apprehension, and the lingering dominion of federal prejudices, improvements in the latter 'to be permanent, must be almost * insensible, and growing out of the original systems, however * imperfect they may have been.*'

We are fully aware that the force of this admission must apply to any radical alteration of the Tithe-system, existing as it has done through successive centuries, in actual co-operation, and connecting itself, in innumerable ramifications, with recognised rights and properties of the most multifarious descriptions. We are aware that in these times, any *radical* change of that system, would, as a consequence of its interference with the long established adjustments of *meum* and *tuum*, and to the extent of that interference, wear the character of a revolutionary measure; and in the re-adjustment of the rights and properties whose balances or relations had been disturbed by the change, would create difficulty and discussion of no trivial extent. Furthermore, we are aware that any *radical* change in the Tithe-system is not destined to be the spectacle of this generation; nor probably of that which is to succeed it; and even did we think that event more probable, or more desirable than we do, we do not believe that any lucubrations of ours would be very likely to accelerate it. Not one iota the less, however, has truth an imperative claim to be asserted, because it is armed with no power but its own; and if the advocates of a corrupt system, trembling, as such persons are apt to do, where no fear is, think it their duty to come forward to levy fresh contributions on the credulity of mankind, we think it our duty to tell them, that the

* See our extracts from *Armata*, p. 145.

Bible is no longer a sealed book ; and that there are those who do and will read it to better purpose than to pervert the word of God to the support of human traditions and usurpations.

We now gladly take our leave of the disputants for and against tithes. It has been remarked of indexes and abridgements by one whose powerful mind disdained the aid of them, that they 'are most profitable unto the makers thereof.' Of controversial writings, the exact reverse of the proposition is, we believe, in a great majority of cases, the truth. In the very nature of controversy, it generally happens that both parties are more or less in the wrong, for controversies are, in nine cases out of ten, the result of accident ; and that species of half information which is the very parent of argument from the boldness of assertion and contradiction which it inspires, very naturally leads the parties to commit themselves in the outset. In this, indeed, there could be no kind of harm, could controversy be divested of personal feeling ; but here the unphilosophical repugnance to correction, and the haughty spirit of vindication, place themselves invincibly in the way, and induce a degree of wilful blindness which is almost more hopeless than the actual cataract.

Far as the productions which daily come before us may be from flattering the idea, we are yet sometimes enthusiastic enough to indulge a hope, that a time may come when controversy shall be conducted on principles purely mathematical ; when assertion shall no longer supply the place of proof ; when adroitness of personal obliquity, and the cunning trickery of words, shall no more baffle the force of logical deduction ; and when the refutation of an antagonist's position shall no longer rest upon a wilful perversion of his terms, or an artful misrepresentation of his reasoning.

In the mean time, however, the by-stander may profit. Having no personal sensibilities to be compromised, he has the advantage over both parties ; and unconcerned whether the laurels be ultimately borne off by A or by B, he has nothing to do but to avail himself of the individual exertions of both ; exertions, as it often happens, which nothing but the vehemence of dispute would have excited.

ART. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

. *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

Nearly ready for publication, The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq. printed from the original MSS. in the Library at Wotton, embracing the greatest portion of the Life of the celebrated Author of "The Sylva," a Discourse on Forest Trees, and other works of long established literary celebrity. This extremely curious and valuable journal contains his observations and remarks on men, manners, the politics, literature, and science of his age, during his travels in France and Italy, his residence in England towards the latter part of the Protectorate, and his connexion with the Courts of Charles II. and the two subsequent reigns, interspersed with a variety of novel and interesting Anecdotes of the most celebrated Persons of that period. Added to this, will be, original Private Letters from Sir Edward Nicholas, (Secretary of State to King Charles I.) during some important periods of that reign, with the King's answers in his own handwriting, now first given to the world; also, selections from the Correspondence of John Evelyn, and numerous Letters from Sir Edward Hyde (Lord Clarendon) to Sir Edward Nicholas, and Richard Brown, during the Exile of the British Court. The whole highly illustrative of the events of those times, and affording numerous new facts to the historian and politician. The work will be comprized in Two Volumes, royal 4to. and will be embellished with authentic portraits, engraved by the best artists, partly from the most exquisite drawings of celebrated masters, now in the possession of the Evelyn family, comprising original portraits of John Evelyn, of Sir Richard Brown, of Mary, his daughter, wife of John Evelyn, and of Sir Edward Nicholas, views of Wotton House, one of which is worked from an original etching by John Evelyn, and other interesting plates.

Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Ministry, of the late Rev. William Goode, A.M. Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, are preparing for publication, by Charles Bowdler, Esq. and will be prefixed to a volume of his Discourses on the names and titles given to the Redeemer.

A new Edition of Mr. Steven's "Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland: with Remarks on the Education of the lower Classes in that Country," is in the press, and will be published in December.

Lord Orford's Letters.—In the press, and speedily will be published, in one Vol. royal 4to. Letters from the Hon. Hor. Walpole, to George Montagu, Esq. from the year 1736 to 1770, now first published from the Originals in the possession of the Editor.—A very few Copies will be printed on Imperial Paper: such Gentlemen as are desirous of having this size, are requested to transmit their Names to their respective Booksellers, or to the Publishers; and, to render this Volume uniform with Lord Orford's former Works, an extra Title will be printed.

Dr. Carey has nearly ready for the press, (on the plan of his "Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana") a "Clavis Metrico-Nasoniana," calculated to accompany the future Editions of the Dauphin Ovid.

Dr. Carey has likewise in forwardness, an "Elocutory Edition of Thomson's Seasons," with Metrical Notes to each line, to regulate the enunciation, as in his "Introduction to English Composition and Elocution."

A work of imagination, entitled Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus, in Three Vols. will be published towards the close of the present month.

In the press, in one volume 12mo. The Christian's Treasure, or a Companion to the Christian's Inheritance, (Clarke's Promises) being the Doc-

and Preceptive Parts of the Old and New Testament, appropriately arranged under different heads.

A large Volume 12mo. The *Juridical Botanist's Companion*, or Compendium to the Vegetable Kingdom. By Robert John Thornton, M.D.

the 1st of January, will be published. No. 1, price 3s. to be continued monthly, of "the Poor Man's Book."

Tenant-Colonel Johnson is preparing for publication, A Narrative of a Land Journey from India, performed in the course of the present year through the principal Cities of the East, part of Armenia, Georgia, over the Caucasus into Russia, through the country inhabited by the Cossacks of the Don, to Warsaw, and thence by Berlin to Hamburgh.—The work will be accompanied with Engravings illustrative of the more remarkable antiquities in those Countries, the customs of the Inhabitants, and other interesting Subjects, from Drawings executed in the Course of the Journey.

Nichols will shortly publish, in 8 vols. 8vo. *The Life and Errors of Dunton*, Citizen of London; the Lives and Characters of more than 1000 contemporary divines, and persons of literary eminence. To these are added, Dunton's Conversations in Ireland; Selections from his genuine Works; and a faithful portrait of the Author.

A new Edition in February will be published, of a Translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, by the Rev. J. H. Hunt, A.M. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

He is in the press, and speedily will be published, carefully revised, and considerably enlarged, a Second Edition of *Discussions of the Divine Government*; designed to shew that every thing is in the direction of Infinite Wisdom and goodness, and will terminate in the introduction of Universal Purity and blessedness. By T. Southwood Smith,

A Narrative of Discoveries in Asia. By C. Burkhart, who has been for many years travelling in the countries of Egypt, under the auspices of the American Association, is in the press.

Rev. Charles Clarke will soon publish a work describing the Hundred Years of the Modern World, and of the three Kingdoms of Nature.

Tales of Wonder, of Hamour, and of Sentiment, by Anna and Annabella Plumptre, in three duodecimo volumes, are nearly ready for publication.

Mr. Matchett, of Norwich, is preparing a Topographical Dictionary of the County of Norfolk, to be comprised in a large octavo volume, embellished with maps and views.

Mr. Munday, of Oxford, will soon publish, a new and improved Guide to the City of Oxford and its Vicinity.

The Rev. D. W. Garrow, Rector of East Barnet, has in the press, a History of the Town of Croydon, with its Hamlets and Manors.

Capt. Basil Hall, of the *Lyra*, has a work in the press, on the late Embassy to China, which will relate chiefly to the nautical surveys and discoveries, and be accompanied with charts.

Original Letters, from Richard Baxter, Matthew Prior, Lord Bolingbroke, Alexander Pope, Dr. Chéyney, Dr. Hartley, &c. with Biographical Illustrations, edited by Rebecca Warner, near Bath, will soon appear in an octavo volume.

A new Edition of Langdale's Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire, with considerable additions, is in the press.

A new Edition of Barnabee's *Journal*, with the Text restored from the earliest impressions of the work, and a Biographical Account of the Author, will soon appear.

In the press, *Sensibility, the Stranger, and other Poems*. By W. C. Harvey.

C. Phillips, Esq. Barrister, has in the press, the Life of the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, late Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in a quarto Volume, with a portrait and vignette.

Dr. James Johnson is preparing, in an octavo volume, an Essay on the Prolongation of Life and Conservation of Health, translated from the French of M.M. Gilbert and Halle, with Notes.

John Brown, Esq. will soon publish, *Psyche, or the Soul*, a Poem, in five Cantos.

The Transactions of the Association of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, Volume I. is printing in octavo.

Madame de Stael's new work on the French Revolution, is printing both in French and English, under the superintendence of Mr. William Schlegel, the literary executor of the Baroness. The Work will be comprised in three octavo

volumes, and will appear in London and at Paris on the same day.

In the press, and in a few days will be published, A Sermon on Nonconformity, preached at White Row, London, before the Monthly Meeting of Congregational Ministers, and printed at their request. By Mark Wilks.

Preparing for the press, by Mr. Mac-

kenzie, the second Edition, corrected, and enlarged, of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Calvin."

The Rev. Daniel Tyerman, of Newport, Isle of Wight, has in the press, a Volume of Essays on the Wisdom of God, which may be expected to appear soon after Christmas.

Art. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THEOLOGY.

The Sorrows of Britain, her sad forebodings, and her only refuge: a Sermon on occasion of the great national calamity of the Death of H. R. H. the Princess Charlotte Augusta. By John Pye Smith, D.D. Second Edition. 1s.

The Death of Princes improved. (A Discourse on the same occasion,) delivered at the Independent Meeting, St. Neot's. By Rev. T. Morell. 1s.

A Sermon preached at Salter's Hall, (on the same occasion.) By Rev. H. Lacey. 1s.

The Sun gone down while it was yet day. Preached on the same occasion, at Baker-street, Enfield. By Rev. W. Brown. 1s.

The Trophies of Death, (on the same occasion.) By Andrew Reed. 1s.

A Sermon, (on the same occasion.) By John Styles, D.D. 1s. 6d.

Joy turned into mourning, (on the same occasion.) By William Bengo Collyer, D.D. F.A.S. Fourth Edition. 1s. 6d.

National Mourning, and Devout Submission. The Sun of Britain set. Two Sermons, (on the same occasion.) By Jacob Snelgar. 1s. each.

The Vanity of Man in his best State. A Sermon preached at Hanover-Square, Newcastle, (on the same occasion.) By William Turner. 1s.

The Nation in Tears. A Sermon, (on the same occasion,) preached at Weston Green Chapel, near Claremont. By the Rev. James Churchill, Thames Ditton, Surrey. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon (on the same occasion.) By

William Gordon Pless, Vicar of Cressing, &c. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon (on the same occasion.) By J. W. Cunningham, A.M. Third Edition. 1s. 6d.

A Funeral Sermon, (on the same occasion,) preached in the Parish Church of Blunham, Beds. By the Rev. R. P. Beachcroft, M.A. 1s.

Christian Watching recommended, (on the same occasion,) Preached at the Church of St. Mary le Strand, Westminster. By the Rev. George Richards, A.M. Vicar of Bampton. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Glankeen, (on the same occasion.) By the Hon. and Rev. Richard Boyle Bernard, A.M. Vicar of Glankeen, in the Diocese of Cashel. 1s.

A Sermon, preached at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, (on the same occasion.) By the Rev. John Macauley, LL.D. Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Kildare. 1s.

A Course of Sermons, for the Lord's Day throughout the Year; from the first Sunday in Advent, to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity: including Christmas Day, the first Day in Lent, Good Friday, and Ascension Day. Adapted to, and taken chiefly from, the Service of the Day. By Joseph Holden Pott, A. M. Archdeacon of London, and Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Two Vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.

A Charge delivered at the Primary Visitation of Herbert, Lord Bishop of Landaff, in August 1817. 2s.

* * * The Remainder of the List of New Publications is unavoidably deferred, for want of room, till the Number for January.

GENERAL INDEX.

VOL. VIII. NEW SERIES.

- AGRICULTURAL** improvement seriously retarded by the injurious operation of tithes, 249
- Aikin's annals** of the reign of George the Third, 371, *et seq.* ; difficulties attendant on the narration of the events of receded ages, *ib.* ; circumstances liable to influence the relator of late and present events, *ib.* ; the sacred Scriptures an accurate standard of both modes, 372 ; *author's motives in writing the present work*, 373
- Alceste**, voyage of, to the Yellow Sea, &c. 564, *et seq.*
- Alpha and Omega** ; Maude's sermon on, 384, *et seq.*
- American war**, its causes, &c. by the author of *Armata*, 147, 8
- Angels**, on the ministry of, and extent of their intercourse with the various regions of the universe, 468, *et seq.*
- Apostles**, *their religious experience not much superior to that of other Christians*, 160
- Apostolical preaching** considered, by J. B. Sumner, 90 *et seq.*
- Apostolical succession**, considerations on, 129
- Appeal to Equity**, 242 *et seq.*
- Armata**, 147, *et seq.* ; circumstances which give value to the work, 148 ; great prosperity of the imaginary island of *Armata*, 144 ; *origin, &c. of its political constitution*, 144 *et seq.* ; *causes of the Hesperian (American) war* 147, 8 ; *defect in the Armatan representative system*, 148 ; contents of the second part, 148, 9 ; *author's remarks on the influence of high-bred life on the tone of female character*, 149 ; objections stated, 150, 1 ; *remarks on libel*, 151, 2 ; *probable consequences that would follow the loss of the trial by jury, or of the liberty of the press*, 153 ; *thoughts on religious establishments, and the increase of sectaries*, 153, *et seq.* ; *author's estimate of the present state of periodical criticism*, 157
- Austria, Italy, &c.** tour through, 72, *et seq.*
- Avenger of blood**, Michaelis's remarks on, 591, *et seq.*
- Bathurst, lord**, his motion in regard to tithes, 253
- Beauty and glory of the primitive church**, a sermon, 374, *et seq.*
- Belgium**, Roman Catholic bishops of, their intolerance, 503
- Benett's essay** on the commutation of tithes, 242, *et seq.*
- Benett's reply** to the Rev. W. Coxe, on tithes, 242, *et seq.*
- Benett's reply** to Coxe's three letters, 242, *et seq.*
- Bernadotte**, his great policy in regard to Sweden, 392, 3
- Bertolacci's view** of the agriculture, commerce, and finance of Ceylon, 219, *et seq.*
- Bey of Tripoli** cruelly assassinated by his brother in his mother's presence, 434, *et seq.*
- Bible Class Book**, 275, *et seq.* ; objections to the plan, 276, 7 ; extract from Mr. Hall's speech at the Leicester Bible society, 277 ; probable effect of adopting the work in schools, 278
- Bishop of Peterborough**, his reflections on tithes, 250, 1
- Blucher**, anecdote of, 392
- Boa Constrictor**, description of one, 578
- Botany**, Bingley's treatise on, 189, 191
- Botany**, conversations on, 189, *et seq.*
- Buck**, the Rev. Charles, Styles's memoirs of, 76, 7
- Burder's, G.** beauty and glory of the primitive church, a sermon, 374, *et seq.*
- Burder's, H. F.** duty and means of ascertaining the genuine sense of the Scriptures, 374, *et seq.*
- Byron's Lord, Lament of Tasso**, 291, 2 ; extract, 292

INDEX.

Byron's, Lord, Manfred: a dramatic poem, 62, *et seq.*; character of Manfred, *ib.*; voices of the spirits, 63, 4; soliloquy, *ib.*; death of Manfred, 65, 6

Campbell's, Miss, poems, 386, *et seq.*; stanzas to an old musical instrument, 386; address to Zetland, 387, 8; the soldier's widow, 389; to a hypocrite, 390

Candele, lake of, in the island of Ceylon, surprising works constructed round it, 224

Candian king, his horrible cruelty, 232; his deposition by the British, &c. 233

Candy, in Ceylon, British garrison of, treacherously murdered, 230

Cannibalism practised in the Tonga and F-je islands, 116

Capital, as applied to agriculture, change produced by it, 245

Carstairs, his bold and judicious interference in the affairs of the church of Scotland, 304

Catholicism, its present state in France, 454, 5

Cavern, a remarkable submarine one in the island of Tofoua, 120

Ceylon, history of, 219, *et seq.*; account of the early history of the island, as known to the ancients, 221; specimens of Ceylonese historical legends relating to their origin, *ib.* *et seq.*; island formerly in a more prosperous state, 222; description of the ruins round the lake of Candele, 224; state of the island, when first visited by the Portuguese, 225; Bedas, and Cingalese, *ib.*; the island under the Dutch, *ib.*; shipwreck of Rob. Knox, on the coast of Ceylon, *ib.*; remarkable manner in which he procured an English bible, 225, 6; his escape, after a captivity of twenty years nearly, 227; pride and cruelty of the king, *ib.* *et seq.*; Knox's credulity concerning a noisy devil, 229; Mr. Boyd's account of prostration at the Ceylonese court, *ib.*; origin of the late war between the king of Candy and the British, *ib.*; successful policy of the Candian king, 232; capitulation and massacre of the British troops, *ib.*; heroic bravery of two Malay officers, *ib.*; unsuccessful expedition and retreat of Major Johnson, 231; horrible cruelty of the king, 230; deserted by his subjects, and delivered up to the British, *ib.*; his deposition, 233; commercial consequence of the island, *ib.*; importance and value of Trincomalee, as an Indian port, *ib.* *et seq.*; pearl fisheries of Ceylon, 234; its botany, *ib.*; talipot,

its uses, *ib.*; various inhabitants of the island, *ib.*

Chalmers's discourses on the Christian revelation, &c. 205, *et seq.*; the truths of Christianity cannot be essentially affected by the speculations of science, *ib.*; religion may lawfully receive the aid of science, 206; design of the author, *ib.*; Mr. A. Fuller's remarks on the same topic considered, *ib.* note; Mr. P. not fully qualified for the discussion, *ib.*; striking instance of false analogy in his reasoning, 208; the infidel argument against Christianity, 209; nature and actual range of religion, *ib.*; effect of astronomical reflections on a contemplative mind, 210; argument for the planets being inhabited, drawn from analogy, 211; consequence of pursuing the analogy too closely, *ib.*; extravagant conjecture of the author, 212; improbability of the planets not being inhabited, *ib.*; reflections on the greatness of the Divine Faunce, from a consideration of the stupendous extension of the universe, 213; distance, magnitude, number, &c. of the stars, 214; conjecture that the highest intelligences will never be able to arrive at the limits of the universe, 217; irreligious neglect on the part of many serious persons, of the works of the Almighty, 218; insignificance of our world, in the magnitude of the universe, 354; perverse argument of the infidel, 354, 5; the mind of Sir Isaac Newton, in its most important agencies, incapable of being adequately estimated by many even cultivated men, 355; assertion that Christianity is for the sole benefit of this world, without proof, 356, 7; bearing of the infidel argument on the extent of the Divine condescension, 358; extract, *ib.*; opposite opinion excites an incomparably more exalted idea of the Deity, 359; proofs that the Divine intelligence pervades every part of his creation, 360; argument from the discoveries made by the microscope, 361; extreme absurdity of pretending to decide upon the extent of the power and benevolence of the Almighty Spirit, 362; state of the argument, *ib.*; the infidel objection lies not against the theory which demands to be called Rational, but that denominated Evangelic Christianity, 363; inquiry whether the economy of nature and providence furnishes any thing so analogous to

INDEX.

pensation of redemption, as to
 of an argument from the evi-
 of the one to the probability of
 ver, 363, *et seq.*; inadvertent ex-
 s of the author, 353; ministry of
 , and the extent of their inter-
 with the various regions of the
 re, 468, *et seq.*; reasonableness
 supposit on that each sphere of
 iverse has been the scene of
 stupendous moral phenomena,
 objection to every supposition
 e universe of worlds have suf-
 moral lapse, and have a direct
 it in the economy of redemp-
 170; argument for an ample
 ity of worlds, *ib.*; difficulty of
 lag that the wise int ligeneces
 universe are engaged chiefly
 re destiny of men, 472; inad-
 ce in the author's expression of
 ode of the interposition of
 as manifested in the person of
 esiah, 472, 3; caution against
 mission of a modification of the
 re nature, 473; inadvertency
 author in his mode of setting
 he celebration, by the heavenly
 eases, of the redemption of
 y keeping out of sight what the
 intervention was not designed
 mpilsh, 474; extract, *ib.*; con-
 r an ascendancy over man,
 the higher orders of intelli-
 475; existence of the contest
 ions, *ib.*; remarks on the con-
 discourse, 475, 6
 f. of Sweden, vision said to have
 e by him and his senators, and
 'by them upon oath, 395, 6
 y, Henry's elements of, 477, 8
 sti, Cardinal, (Pope Pius VII)
 age in favour of civil liberty,
 church, Miller's catechism on
 ure of, 603
 church, New Testament descrip-
 37
 essays, by the Rev. S. C.
 1, *et seq.*
 ity, the truths of, cannot be
 ally affected by the specula-
 science, 205
 religion, Mrs. Lucy Hutchin-
 319 *et seq.*
 revelation, Dr. Chalmers's
 ses on, 205, *et seq.*
 sabbath, Wemyss on it, 279
 scheme not to be identified
 e Jewish priesthood, in regard
 s, 606

Church of Scotland. *see* Cook's history,
 8, *et seq.*; 174, *et seq.*; 293, *et*
seq.
 Ciceron and Paul, contrast between,
 21, 2
 Cities of refuge, Michael's remarks on,
 594, 5
 Clavis Book, compiled from the Bible,
 275 *et seq.*
 Clergymen, and sabbath preaching, not
 initiated by Moses, 428
 Clergy of France, detested by the peasantry,
 previous to the revolution, 455
 Climates, cold and warm, great difference
 in the fertility of, 422
 Coal-mines of Durham and Northum-
 berland, Holmes treatise on, 195,
et seq.
 Commutation of tithes, pamphlets on,
 242, *et seq.*
 Consolation to the afflicted, remarks on the
 manner in which it should be administered,
 192, *et seq.*
 Constitution of the order of the Jesuits,
 557, 8
 Cook's history of the church of Scotland,
 8, *et seq.*; advantage of history over
 experience, as a means of instruc-
 tion, *ib.*; execution of the present
 work, *ib.*; plan for the government
 of the new church in Scotland, 9;
 distribution of the ecclesiastical reve-
 nues, 10; pecuniary difficulties of
 the reformed teachers, *ib.*; necessity
 for modifying the ecclesiastical consti-
 tution, 11, 2; resolutions of the conven-
 tion, 12, 3; jealousy of episcopacy,
ib.; impolitic conduct of the Regent Mor-
 ton, 14; character of Andrew Melvil,
 14, 5; exposition of his views of church
 polity, 15, 6; new scheme of ecclesiastical
 polity, 16, *et seq.*; harsh conduct and in-
 gratitude of Melvil, 18; episcopal
 office declared illegal, by the assem-
 bly, 19; Montgomery appointed to the
 see of Glasgow, 21; suspended by
 the presbytery, *ib.*; contest between
 the court and the ministers, 20,
 1; the king's person seized by
 the nobles, *ib.*; flight of the nobles,
ib.; and of the ministers *ib.*; resto-
 ration of the banished lords and de-
 position of Arran, 22, remarkable
 speech of James, 23; author's reflections
 on the conduct of Melvil and his coadju-
 tors, 22, *et seq.*; suspicious conduct
 of the king, 25; proceedings of the
 synod of Ely, 26; banishment of the
 popish lords, 26, 7; injunctions of the
 Assembly on the ministers, 27, 8; seri-
 ous difference between the ministers
 28

INDEX.

- and the king, 28, 9; violent proceedings of both parties, 29; ascendancy of the court, 174; removal of Melvil from being rector of the University, 176; change in the ecclesiastical polity of the church, 176, 7; accession of James to the throne of England, and his conduct towards the Scottish church, 177, 8; assembly at Aberdeen declared illegal, 178, 9; noble stand of the ministers in defence of civil and religious liberty, 180; imprisonment and condemnation of the ministers, 180, 1; eight ministers summoned to London by the king, 181; conduct of James and Andrew Melvil before the Scottish privy council in London, *ib.*; death of Andrew Melvil, 182; proceedings of the assembly at Linlithgow, 183; court of high commission erected in Scotland, 184; attempt of the king to subvert the presbyterian polity, which is finally successful, 185; remarks on the king's prohibitory edict, *ib.*; consecration of the Scotch bishops, 186; king projects further innovations, 186, 7; conduct of the Scotch prelates, and dissatisfaction of the king, 187; determination of Charles to regulate the public worship of Scotland by the forms of the English church, 293; his unconstitutional measures, 294; tumult at Edinburgh occasioned by reading the liturgy, 295; irritated state of the minds of the people, *ib.*; perseverance of the king, *ib.*; framing of the covenant, 297, its reception by the people, *ib.*; hostile inclination of the king, 298; votes of the elders in the presbyteries established, *ib.*; violent conduct of the covenanters, 299; the assembly restore the presbyterian polity, *ib.*; the king obliged to treat with the malecontents, 300; turbulent conduct of the protesters, 301, 2; presbyterian polity again overthrown, after the restoration, 302; re-establishment of episcopacy, 303; its altered form, *ib.*; affairs of the Scotch church, at the revolution, 304; bold and judicious conduct of Carstairs, *ib.*
- Corea, account of, 368
- Court of high commission, its erection in Scotland, 184
- Covenant, Scotch, the framing of it, 297, its first reception by the people, *ib.*
- Coxe's letters to J. Bennett, Esq. on the commutation of tithes, 242, *et seq.*
- Criticism, periodical, present state of, author of Armata's thoughts on, 137
- Decrees absolute, Sumner's remarks on the preacher of, 133, 4
- Dissentarian, primitive, Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson's account of the origin of, 333, 4
- Distress national, one principal cause of, 74, 5
- Diversity of future rewards, 235, *et seq.*; happiness of the saints in heaven represented as a reward, 236; true evangelical sense of the terms merit and reward, 236, 7; points from which the diversity of future happiness is argued, 237; effects of sameness of future reward, 237, 8; opposite circumstances leading to the belief of equality of reward, 238; argument independent of scripture testimony, 239, *et seq.*
- Divine agency, the, pervades every part of the creation, 360
- Divine origin of tithes considered, as connected with the Christian scheme, 612
- Divine Revelation, Hallau's evidences and authority of, 317, *et seq.*
- Drummond's Odin, a poem, 77, *et seq.*; subject of the poem, *ib.*; analysis of the story and illustrative extracts, *ib.*
- Duppo's Life of Raffaello, 339, *et seq.*; difference between English artists and those on the continent, 340; birth and school of Raffael, 341; engaged by the Pope to decorate the Vatican, 341; description of his paintings of the Stanze, *ib.*; 'Fuseli's remarks on them,' 343; Sir J. Reynolds's remarks on the impression made by the first view of Raffael's paintings, 343; extract, *ib.*; Raffael appointed to conduct the building of St. Peter's, *ib.*; estimation in which he was held, 344; his death, 345; 'his character as given 'by Fuseli,' *ib.*; by Sir J. Reynolds, *ib.*; merits of Sir J. Reynolds, as a painter, 346
- Duty and means of ascertaining the genuine sense of the scriptures, a sermon, 374, *et seq.*
- Early mode of admitting members into the Christian church, 140
- Ecclesiastical polity, a platform of, as described by Knox and his associates in the first book of discipline, 9
- Echoir, 488, 9
- Edme-son's poems, 498, *et seq.*; *echoir*, *ib.*; lines on the resurrection, 499
- Epistles, the apostolic, design of them, 159

I N D E X.

- Epistolary writings of the Apostles** seldom understood by the members of establishments, its causes stated, 289
- Establishments**, advantages of, 287; disadvantages, 289; things impracticable in them, *ib.*
- Evil** a negative mode, and therefore without a positive cause, 339
- Explosion of a coal mine at Felling**, account of the dreadful circumstances that attended it, 197, 8
- Fairclough's rule of faith**, in answer to Fletcher's Lectures, &c. 45, *et seq.*; misrepresentations of the author, 46, *et seq.*; his false reasoning, 48, *et seq.*; inquiry into the nature and powers of the church, as described by the Romanists, 52, 3
- Faith**, Fairclough's rule of, in answer to Fletcher's lectures on the principles of the Roman catholic religion, 45, *et seq.*
- Fata Morgana**, St. Pierre's description of, 368, 9
- Fejee islands**, cannibalism a war custom in them, 116
- Felling**, fatal circumstances occasioned by the explosion of a coal mine there, 197, 8
- Female character**, influence of high life on the tone of, 149
- Female society in France**, 463
- Festivals of the Roman calendar**, a great grievance in agricultural districts, 456
- First book of discipline**, its principles stated, 8
- Fisher's letter to F. Lewis, Esq.** on the commutation of tithes, 242, *et seq.*
- Fletcher's principles**, &c. of the Roman catholic religion, 30, *et seq.*; popery ever the same, 31; increase of the papists in England, 33; origin of the present work, 34; subjects treated of, *ib.*; controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants on the standard of appeal in religion, *ib.*: apostolic epistles written to all the members of the Christian society to which they were sent, 36; description of a Christian church, from the New Testament, 37; papal supremacy, 38; objection to the author's explanation of Matt. xvi. 18. 38, *et seq.*; remarks on Paul's withstanding Peter, 42, 3; on the invocation of saints, 43; on the genius and tendency of the papal religion, 44, 5
- France**, by Lady Morgan, 447, *et seq.*
- Fry's lectures** on the epistle to the Romans, 157, *et seq.*; difference of opinion among theological writers of the English church, a proof of the inefficiency of a fixed creed, 158; design of the epistles, *ib.*; author's remarks on the Evangelists, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, 159; his statement of the designation of Paul to the apostolic office, erroneous, 160; religious experience of the Apostles not much superior to that of other Christians, *ib.*; idolatry the great crime of the Gentile world, *ib.* *et seq.*; evils of war, and cruelty towards our fellow creatures, 162; exposition of part of the eighth chapter, 163, *et seq.*; remarks on Macknight on the epistles, 165; extract, 166; author's remarks on Anti-christ, *ib.*; persecution not confined to Catholic communities, *ib.*; parade of modern charitable societies, 167; instance of the influence of secularization in religion, 168; careless writing of the author, 168, 9; divine right and obedience of subjects considered, *ib.*; objection to the author's remarks on weak brethren, 170, 1; his statement of the fundamental principle of the Church of England, erroneous, 171, *et seq.*
- Fuller, Andrew**, his remarks on the consistency of the Scripture doctrine of redemption with the modern opinion of the magnitude of Creation, considered, 207, *et seq.*; note.
- Fuseli's remarks** on the paintings of the Stanze of Raffaele, 542; his character of Raffaello, 545
- Future rewards**, attempt to support the diversity of, 235, *et seq.*
- Geography of Palestine**, 421
- German courts**, anecdotes illustrative of the manners of, 61
- Germany**, &c. James's tour in, 391, *et seq.*
- Germany**, Naylor's civil and military history of, 53, *et seq.*
- Gibbon**, the most offensive writer in the whole republic of letters, 318, note
- Gipsies**, Hoyland's customs, &c. of, 579, *et seq.*; of Hindoo origin, 581
- Gospel**, More's sermons on the leading doctrines of, 280
- Grace**, special, Mr. Sumner's assertion that the doctrine of nullifies the sacrament of baptism, 136, 7
- Greek church**, ceremonies of, 404
- Gregoire's, Abbé**, collection of Negro authors, 463, 4
- Haldane's evidence and authority of Divine revelation**, 517, *et seq.*; infidelity springs from the heart rather

I N D E X.

- than from the understanding *ib.*; character of the majority of infidels, *ib.*; gospel not successfully preached by combating infidel objections, 519; recommendations of the present work, 520, *subjects treated of*, 520, 1; *contrast between Cicero and Paul*, 521, 2; *remarks on the tolerating spirit of polytheism*, 521; causes of its intolerance towards the Christian system, 523; *sophistry of Hume on the subject exposed*, *ib.*; inspiration of the Scriptures considered, *ib.*; 'remarks of Dr. Campbell,' 526; *on the testimony of the Scriptures considered as inspired writings*, 526, 7; *considerations on the suitableness of the scene, and of the period chosen for our Lord's manifestation*, 527, 8; types, *et seq.*; prophecies of the Old Testament, 530, 1; misinterpretation of the Scriptures, the cause of the rejection of the Messiah by the Jews, 532; on the general expectation of the Messiah, *ib.*; supposed allusions of the ancients considered, 533; *Judas's testimony of Christ*, *ib.*; *author's concluding remarks on the testimony of Christ*, *ib.*; *on the testimony of the Apostles*, 534, 5; *provision made by grace, for good works and holy dispositions*, 536; *firm evidence of the scriptures to the minds of real believers*, 537
- Hall's speech at the Leicester bible society, extract from, 277
- Harmonies of Nature, by St. Pierre, 366, *et seq.*
- History, cause of the general taste for, 310; requisites to render it interesting, *ib.*; its general tendency, *ib.*; first exhibited in poetry, 311; its moral efficacy, 311
- History, its advantage over experience, as a means of instruction, *ib.*
- History of the Jesuits, 497, *et seq.*
- Henry, IV. his fear of the Jesuits, 555; remarks on his abjuring the Protestant faith, 556
- Henry's elements of chemistry, 477, 8; advantages of an acquaintance with the general principles of chemistry, *ib.*
- Holmes on the coal mines of Durham, and Northumberland, 195, *et seq.*; importance and superficial extent of this coal formation, *ib.*; its probable duration as a supply to London, &c. *ib.*; national importance of Sir H. Davy's safety lamp, 196; *explosion of a coal mine at Felling, and its dreadful consequences*, 197, 8; contents and character of the work, 198, 9
- Hoyland's customs, &c. of the Gipsies, 579, *et seq.*; gipsies overlooked in all the present schemes of active benevolence, 580; gipsies of Hindoo origin and language, 581; thickly scattered through Europe, *queries relative to the manners and customs of the gipsies*, 582, 3
- Hume's history of England, Mitchell's family edition of, 309
- Hutchinson's, Mrs. Lucy, principles of the Christian religion, and on Theology, 319, *et seq.*; character of the work, 320; *author's account of her design*, *ib.*; *necessity of uniting stability of principle with catholicism of temper and conduct*, 321; *necessity of being well-grounded in the first principles of Christianity*, *ib.*; *on the person and work of the Mediator*, 322, *et seq.*; *nature of true love to God exhibited*, 324, *et seq.*; reviewer's remarks on a disinterested love of God, *ib.* note; *Christian fear of God*, 326; character of the treatise 'On Theology,' and of the age in which it was written, 327; *of the schools and schoolmen*, 327, 8; *definition of theology*, 328; indifference of Christian writers of past times, in regard to the state of the world, 329, *et seq.*; *extract*, *ib.*; *natural theology under a state of corruption considered*, 331; *origin of the ancient philosophy*, *ib.*; *technical knowledge unfriendly to true wisdom*, 331; *nature of true virtue*, 332; *incurable conceit of the wicked*, *ib.*; *origin of the first dissenters*, *ib.* *et seq.*; *author's statement of the Calvinistic system unsatisfactory*; the revolting statements of scripture prove equally against every hypothesis of a religious nature, 336; fatal consequence of admitting existence of which God is not the cause, 336; argument drawn from the unequal distribution of good, 337, 8; on the existence of evil, and its connexion with the doctrines called Calvinistic, 338; language used by many writers esteemed calvinistic, unscriptural, and unphilosophical, 339; evil a negative mode, and therefore has no positive cause, 340
- Hutton, William, life of, 440, *et seq.*; *curious adventure in the neighbourhood of Birmingham*, 443; the author a sufferer in the Birmingham riots, 445
- Idolatry, the great crime of the Gentile world, 160, 1
- Infidelity, a disease of the heart rather than of the understanding, 517

I N D E X.

Inclosures and barren lands, operation of rythes in regard to them, 247, 8

Indifference of Christian writers of past times, in regard to the state of the world, 229, *et seq.* ; reflections of Mrs. Hutchinson on this subject, *ib.*

Innes's sketches of human nature, 286, *et seq.* ; vexations occurring in dissenting churches offer no rational objection to dissent, 286 ; the primitive churches subject to the same trials, *ib.* ; the peace maintained in ecclesiastical incorporations not the effect of Christian principles, strictly so called, *ib.* ; its general causes in those communities, 287 ; advantages of an establishment, *ib.* ; its utility of the present work, 288 ; influence of teachers of secularized habits, in disseminating error, 288, 9 ; disadvantages of establishments, 289 ; cause that the epistolary writings are very generally unintelligible to the members of an establishment, *ib.* ; things impracticable in an establishment, *ib.* ; real state of the primitive church, 291

Inspiration of the Scriptures, Haldane's remarks on, 523 ; Dr. Campbell on, 526

Israelites' borrowing of the Egyptians, Michaelis's remarks on, 597, 8

Israelites, their right to Palestine considered, 423, 4 ; opinion of Michaelis, 424, 5

James I., his interference with the church of Scotland. See Cook's History, &c.

James's journal of a tour in Germany, &c. 391, *et seq.* ; state of the Continent in 1813, *ib.* ; anecdote of Blucher, *ib.* ; political system of Germany, 392 ; deep policy of Bernadotte, 392, 3 ; national character of the Swedes, 394, 5 ; author's proofs of a sanguinary propensity in the Swedes, 395 ; narrative of a remarkable vision, reported to have been seen by king Charles XI, and his senators, and attested by them on oath, 395, 6 ; author's delineation of the Swedish character unsatisfactory, 397, system of Swedenborg, as maintained by his followers, considered in Sweden as a pecuniary speculation, 398 ; preponderance of Russia, 398, 9 ; remarks on its power, 399, *et seq.* ; state of the peasantry, 401 ; corruption of the courts of justice, 402 ; Russian ladies, 403 ; character of the emperor, *ib.* ; ceremonies of the Greek church, 404 ; tendency of the Russian religion, bene-

ficial, *ib.* ; change of the religion of Russia from Paganism to Christianity, 405 ; navigation of the *Msta*, 405, 6 ; state of the Jews in Poland, 406 ; Jewesses, 407

Jay's sermons, Vol. IV, 479, *et seq.* ; author's illustration of the term evangelical, *ib.* ; excellence of his sermons, 480 ; scriptural faith, 481 ; effect of grief on a noble mind, *ib.* ; necessity for pious persons appearing cheerful, 482 ; Christian humility not ignorance, *ib.* ; danger of indecision, 483 ; author's reasons for introducing poetry into his discourses, 484 ; difficulty of exciting attention in a congregation, 485 ; on sanctification, 486 ; love to the Saviour, 487, 8

Jesuits, history of, 497, *et seq.* ; present active proceedings of the Papists, 498 ; reflections on the revival of the Order of the Jesuits, 498, 9 ; design of the author, 500 ; atrocious conduct of the Popes, *ib.* ; glaring inconsistency of the Papists in demanding toleration for a system radically intolerant, 502 ; intolerant proceedings of the Roman catholic bishops of Belgium, 503 ; the system of Popery incurably defective, 504 ; absurdity of Mr. Dallas's reasoning, *ib.* ; the French revolution not occasioned by the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits, 505 ; exhibition of its probable causes, 505, *et seq.* ; moral degradation of the monks in Spain, 507, note ; rise of the infidel party in France, 508 ; Roman catholic system necessitates vice, 509 ; account of relics found in two religious houses in the time of Cromwell, 511, 2 ; account of the Jesuits' establishment at Stony Hurst, 548, 9 ; sketch of the origin of the Order, and its final establishment, 549 ; opposition of the Faculty of Theology, at Paris, *ib.* ; character of the Jesuits, by the Catholic arch-bishop of Dublin, 552 ; their conduct in choosing their second general of the order, 553 ; their extensive power, 554 ; their expulsion from France, and re-admission under Henry IV. 555, 6 ; author's remarks on the abjuration of Protestantism by Henry IV. *ib.* ; secular and ambitious spirit of the Jesuits, 557 ; account of the constitution of the Order, 557, 8 ; its four classes, 559 ; their crafty policy exhibited in the case of Count Zani, 560 ; subdivision, *ib.* ; their morality, 562 ; the Bible prohibited by the Papists

I N D E X.

563; *answers of Dr. Poynter to the Education Committee*, 563

Jews in Poland, state of, 406; *Jewesses*, 407

Jewish Kings, their power very limited, 429

Justification, Sumner's exhibition of the scripture doctrine of, 138

Keats's poems, 267, *et seq.*; modern poetry deficient in thought, *ib.*; prevailing error in regard to poetic composition, 268; character of Wordsworth's and Scott's poetry, 268, 9; contrast between our earlier and present poets, 269; present state of poetry, 270; character of Mr. Keats's poetry, *ib.*; *extracts* and remarks, 271, *et seq.*; hints to the author, 274, 5

Knight on voluntary subjection to God; a sermon, 374, *et seq.*: *the gospel, a dispensation of liberty*, 375, 6

Knox's historical relation of the island of Ceylon, 219, *et seq.*

Lainez, second general of the Jesuits, circumstances attending his election, 553, 4
Lalla Rookh, a poem, 340, *et seq.*

Laws of Moses, Michaelis's commentaries on, 413, *et seq.*; great importance of an acquaintance with them, 417; inquiry, if still obligatory, 418; not the best laws possible, 419; not to be unalterable, 421

Legislature, its right to interfere equally with the provision of the poor, and that of the clergy, 622

Letter, pastoral, on non-conformity, 66, *et seq.*; character of the work, 67; christian peace not to be obtained at the expense of the abandonment of revealed truth, 67; *causes which have operated in attaching some dissenters to the establishment*, 69; additional cause, *ib.*; contents of the letters, and remarks and extracts, *ib. et seq.*; *baptismal regeneration the doctrine of the church*, 71

Levirate law, remarks on, 589, *et seq.*; not peculiar to the Jews, *ib.*

Levites considered by Michaelis as a learned noblesse, 426; their great revenues, 427, and official duties, *ib.*

Lewchew Islands, interesting description of the natives, 569, *et seq.*; their exemplary behaviour at the interment of an English seaman, 571

Libel, remarks on the subject of, 151, 2

Libertie of a Christian, Luther's treatise touching, 494, *et seq.*

Life of William Hutton, 440, *et seq.*

Literature, its great national importance exhibited in the different conduct of the English and French peasantry, 454

Liturgy, tumult at Edinburgh occasioned by reading it in the church of St. Giles, 295

Luther's treatise touching the libertie of a Christian, 494, *et seq.*; character of the writings of the reformers, *ib.*; *saith the sole ground of justification*, 495, 6; Luther's desire of peace, 496

Macknight on the epistles; character of the work, 165

Malay officers, heroic conduct of two in the British service, in the island of Ceylon, 230

Malay pirates, their attack on the shipwrecked crew of the *Alceste*, in Pulo Leat, 576, 7.

Manfred: a dramatic poem by Lord Byron, 62

Mariner's account of the natives of the Tonga islands, &c. 103 *et seq.*; cause of the publication, 106, 7; education, attainments, and early age of the adventurer, *ib.*; enters on board the *Port au Prince*, with Capt. Duck, for the South Seas, 108; humane conduct of Captain Duck, *ib.*; author's interview with the daughter of the governor of Tola, 108, 9; death of Captain Duck, *ib.*; character of Brown, the new Captain, *ib.*; ship anchors at Lefooga, one of the Hapai islands, *ib.*; treachery of the natives suspected, *ib.*; obstinate incredulity of the captain, *ib.*; massacre of half the crew, including the Captain, by the natives, and seizure of the vessel, *ib.*; preservation of Mariner, by command of Finow, the chief, 110; *horrible scene on the deck*, *ib.*; ship burned, and some of the natives drowned in a flood of oil, 111; ill treatment suffered at first by Mariner, *ib.*; placed under the care of one of the king's wives, *ib.*; her affectionate attention to him, *ib.*; Tonga island described, 112; cruel conduct of the late king, (note), *ib.*; conspiracy of some of the chiefs, and death of the tyrant, *ib. et seq.*; divided state of the island at the author's visit, 113; instances of the native cruelty of the present king, 114; Finow's attack on the Tonga people, *ib.*; destruction of the fort and massacre of the besieged, 115; *after prisoners slain and eaten*, *ib.*; this practice introduced from the Fijee islands

INDEX.

- by certain young warriors, *ib.*; occasionally the practice of the Tonga women, 116; an acknowledged war-custom in the Fejee islands, *ib.*; a Tonga woman killed and eaten by her four nephews, 117; Finow's policy and treachery, *ib. et seq.*; striking conduct of some condemned chiefs, 119, curious account of a grotto, and some circumstances connected with it, 120; volcano of Tofooa, *ib.*; author acquires a plantation, 121; *specimen of Tonga poetry*, 121, 2; death of Finow and of his daughter, *ib.*; his character, &c. *ib.*; promising character of his successor, 125, 6; customs of the natives, *ib.*; their religion, 127, 8
- Martin's account of Mariner's residence at the Tonga islands, 105 *et seq.*
- Married women in France, state of, 461
- Maude's Alpha and Omega: a sermon 384, *et seq.*
- Mediator, Mrs. L. Hutchinson's remarks on his person and work, 332
- Melvil, Andrew, his character and arrival in Scotland, 14, 5; his views of church polity, 15; his harsh ingratitude to the archbishop of Glasgow, 18; his violent conduct, 175; his firm conduct before the Scottish privy council in London, 182; his death, *ib.*
- Michaelis's commentaries on the Laws of Moses, 413, *et seq.*; sketch of his life, *ib.*; subjects of his lectures at Gottingen, 414; contents of the present work, 416; importance of an acquaintance with the Laws of Moses, 417; inquiry if the laws of Moses are still obligatory, 418; the Mosaic laws not the best possible, 419; laws of adultery and usury, 420; civil laws of Moses not intended to be unalterable, 421; geography of Palestine, *ib.*; difference of fertility in cold and in warm climates, 422; right of the Israelites to Palestine considered, 423, 4; author's hypothesis, 424, 5; unsatisfactory, *ib.*; the two fundamental principles of the Mosaic legislation, 426; the Levites a learned noblesse, *ib.*; their immense revenues, 427; and official duties, *ib.*; clergymen and preaching on the Sabbath not instituted by Moses, 428; power of the Jewish Kings very limited, 429; remarks on the patterned stones on which the law was cut, 585; law on the unalienability of property, 587, 8; on marriage, 588; Levirate law, 589, 90; not peculiar to the Jews, *ib.*; the avenger of blood, 591; *et seq.*; cities of refuge, 594, 5; on the veneration due to old age, 596; sin of numbering of the people, 596, 7; the Israelites borrowing from the Egyptians, 597, 8; the weights, &c. of the Hebrews, 598, *et seq.*
- Microscope, nature and tendency of its discoveries, as contrasted with those of the telescope, 361
- Miller's catechism on the nature of a Christian church, 603
- Milton on tithes, 216
- Mitchell's family edition of Hume's History of England, 309, *et seq.*; cause of the general taste for history, 310; requisites in history to render itself interesting, *ib.*; its general tendency, *ib.*; history first exhibited in poetical composition, 311; moral efficiency of history, *ib.*; history the vehicle of the writer's opinion, 312; the extenuation of the crimes of the Stuarts, the immediate object of Hume's history, 313; general cast of Hume's writings, 314; school in which he studied, 314, 5; remarks on his choice of the period at which he commences history, 315, 6; a history of England still a desideratum, 316; cause of the influence of Hume, as a writer of history, 317; editor's statement of his plan of this edition, 317, 8; Gibbon the most offensive of authors, 318; note.
- M'Leod's voyage of the Alceste to the Yellow Sea, 564, *et seq.*; gulf of Petchee-lee, 567; jealous policy of the natives, *ib.*; Corra, 568; Lewchew Islands, 569; characters of the islanders, 570, *et seq.*; their orderly and interesting behaviour at the funeral of an English seaman, 571; determined conduct of the captain at Macao, 572, 3; loss of the Alceste, 575; attack of Malay pirates, 576, 7; return of the embassy and crew, 578; description of a Boa Constrictor, 578; visit to Bonaparte, 579
- Monks in Spain, their immorality, 507, note
- Montgomery, Minister of Stirling, appointed to the vacant see of Glasgow, 19; opposition of the General Assembly, *ib.*; Montgomery excommunicated, 20
- Moore's Lalla Rookh, 340, *et seq.*; character of the author as a poet, 341, the 'Veiled Prophet of Khorasan,' 346, *et seq.*; the 'Paradise of Peri,' 349, *et seq.*; song from 'the Light of the Harem,' 352, 3
- Moorish philanthropy, 439
- More's sermons on the leading doctrines of the Gospel, 280, *et seq.*; subjects

I N D E X.

- of the discourses, &c. 281, *et seq.*; the pre-eminence of Christ, 283, 4; indwelling sin, 284; purity of heart, its operation, 285; precious faith, its peculiarity, *ib.*
- Morgan's, Lady, France, 447, *et seq.*; character of her writings, 448, 9; peasantry of France, 449, *et seq.*; their morals and religion, 452, 3; contrast between the English and French peasantry in the choice of books, 454; importance of literature to a nation, *ib.*; present state of Catholicism in France, 454, 5; abhorrence of the French peasantry for the clergy, prior to the Revolution, 455; revival of religion by Bonaparte, *ib.*; great grievance occasioned by the frusts, &c. of the Roman Calendar, 456; resurrection of the French royalist aristocracy, 457; sketch of the present state of French society, 457, 8; strong attachment of the royalists to the *beau siècle de Louis XIV.*, 458, 9; their dislike of the English, 459; rooted hatred of the Prussians, 460; state of married life in France, 461, 2; public women not admitted into good company in France, 463; Abbé Gregoire, 464, 5; sermon in favour of civil liberty, by Cardinal Chiaramonti (Pope Pius VII.), *ib.*
- Moses, laws of, Michaelis's commentaries on, 413, *et seq.*
- Mista, navigation of, 405, 6
- Narrative of a 'ten years' residence at Tripoli, 431, *et seq.*
- National distress, one chief cause of, 74, 5
- Naylor's history of Germany, &c. 53, *et seq.*; Gustavus changes the military tactics of his troops, *ib.*; real motives of Gustavus in defending the liberties of Germany, *ib.*; impression made at Vienna, Madrid, and Heilbron by the death of Gustavus, 55; murder of Wallenstein, 56; death and character of Ferdinand II. 57; character of Richelieu, 59; congress of Westphalia, 60; former manners of the German Courts, 61
- Negro authors, Abbé Gregoire's collection of their writings, 463, 4
- Neele's odes and other poems, 601, *et seq.*; to time, *ib.*; stanzas, 602
- Newnham's tribute of sympathy, 192, *et seq.*; difficulty in administering consolation to sufferers, *ib.*; 193; mode in which consolation should be offered to the afflicted, 193, 4
- Newton, Sir Isaac, the most important agencies of his mind inadequately estimated by even cultivated men, 355
- Nonconformity, pastoral letters on; 68
- Nouradeeu, a Malay officer, heroic conduct of himself and brother:
- Odes and Poems, by H. Neele, 601
- Odin, a poem, by S. W. Drummond, 77
- Ordination by presbyters declared valid by Bancroft, 186
- Order of the Jesuits, its origin, &c. 548, see Jesuits
- Palestine, geography of, 421; right of the Israelites to it considered, 429, 4,
- Paley on tithes, 252
- Paul contrasted with Cicero, 521, 2
- Peace maintained in ecclesiastical corporations, not chiefly the effect of christian principles, 286; its general causes stated, 287
- Peasantry of France, their state, morals, religion, &c. 449, *et seq.*
- Persecution religious, not confined to Catholic communities, 166
- Peter's St., at Rome, built partly under the direction of Raffael, 543
- Philalethes's history of Ceylon, 219, *et seq.*
- Philosophy, ancient origin of, 331
- Planets inhabited bodies, 211, *et seq.*
- Plurality of worlds, argument for, 470
- Poems, by Miss Campbell, 386, *et seq.*
- Poems, by J. Edmeston, 488, *et seq.*
- Poems, by J. Keats, 267, *et seq.*
- Poetry modern, deficient in thought, 267
- Polytheism, its tolerating spirit considered, 523; cause of its intolerance towards Christianity, *ib.*
- Pope Pius VII, extract from a sermon in favour of civil liberty, when Cardinal Chiaramonti, 464, 5
- Popery ever the same, 31; its genius and tendency, 44, 5
- Popes, their atrocious conduct, 500
- Population of Ceylon, 234
- Port-au-Prince south-whaler vessel and? burned, and part of the crew massacred, at the Tonga islands, 100, 10
- Presbyterian polity in Scotland, its intervention by James Ist. 183; restored by the assembly, 299; again overthrown after the restoration, 302; its state under William Ist, 303, 4
- Primitive church subject to internal vexations, 286
- Prostration before the Candian king, 229
- Prussians hated in France, 460
- Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, life of, 532, 2
- Reign of George the Third, Ashmole's annals of, 371, *et seq.*
- Religion of the Tonga islands, 100, 10

INDEX.

a, Sir Joshua, his merits as a
r, 542
his character, 59
church property secured, &c.

Catholic religion, Fletcher's
plex of, 50, *et seq.*

atholic system necessitates vice, 509
Epistole to, Fry's lectures on,
4 *seq.*

self-instructed philosopher, 491
of France, their strong at-
tention to the times of Louis XIV.
?

Ceylon, account of some exten-
sive, 243, 4

its preponderance, 398, 9; power,
state of its peasantry, 401; cor-
ruption of its courts of justice, 402;
and ladies, 403; character of the
mor, *ib.*

religion, its tendency benefi-
cial; its change from Paganism
to Christianity, 405

and inalienable rights of the
r examined, &c. 242, *et seq.*

re's harmonies of nature, 366,
; harmonical relations of the vege-
table world, 367, 8; harmonies of corn,
painting and poetry, *ib.*; descrip-
tion of the Fata Morgana, 368, 9

and schoolmen, Mrs. Lucy Hatch-
er's remarks on them, 327, 8

bishops, circumstances attending
consecration of, 186

cheap repository tracts, 376, *et*
extracts, 377, *et seq.*

d, Church of, see Cook's history
the, a poem, 485, *et seq.*

book of discipline, its leading prin-
ciple

rocted philosopher, or memoirs
of late Joseph Whitehead, 191,
2, by the Rev. W. Jay. 479, *et seq.*
s legends of the early history of the
Isle of Ceylon, 221, *et seq.*

of human nature, 286, *et seq.*
Mastered, on which the law was cut,
Solis's remarks on, 585

rst, Jesuit establishment of, 346, 9
the extinction of their crimes
immediate object of Hume's his-
tory

memoirs of the Rev. Charles
C, 76, 7; contemplation on the pro-
cess of God, *ib.*

P's apostolical preaching consi-
dered, 90 *et seq.*; importance of the
clergy's office, as viewed by the
world, and by the Christian phi-
losopher, *ib.*; legislative interference

misplaced in providing religious in-
struction for the community, 91; in-
conclusive deduction of the author
that high Calvinism is inconsistent
with the Articles of the church of
England, 93; general character of
the work, and spirit of the writer, 94,
5; subjects treated of, 95, a large
proportion of the established clergy
lamentably deficient in personal piety,
ib.; remarks on a local style of
preaching, 97; author's assertion,
that the nature of the church differs,
where Christianity is the religion of a
sect or of a nation, considered, 97;
modern congregations declared to be more
liable to insincerity of profession than
primitive ones, 99, cases when it is the
business of a minister to convert, stated
to be of merely probable occurrence, *ib.*;
apostolical succession, remarks on,
129; connexion between the Divine
foreknowledge and predestination to
life, 131, 2; doctrine of predestina-
tion to death considered, 133; author's
unfair reasoning in regard to those who
preach the doctrines of God, 133, 4; on
human depravity, 135; remarks on
Bishop Hopkins, 136, on baptism, 136,
7; justification, 137, 8; sanctifica-
tion, 139; the personal application
of the gospel, 140; early mode of ad-
mitting members into the church, *ib.* law
notions of the author, in regard to
Christian intercourse with the world, 141
Swedenborg's system, considered in Swe-
den as a pecuniary speculation, 598
Swedes, James's delineation of their
national character, 394, 5; his proofs
of their sanguinary propensity ill-
founded, 395, 397
Sympathy, Newham's tribute of, ad-
dressed to mourners, 192, *et seq.*

Tea tree, preparation of its leaves, 191

Talipot tree, its various purposes 234

Tamo, Lord Byron's lament of, 291, 2

Teachers of secularised habits, their great
influence in disseminating error, 288, 9

Theology, Mrs. Hutchinson on, 327, *et seq.*

Tithes, on the commutation of, 243, *et*
seq.; legal sense of the word tithes,
245; capital, as applied to agricul-
ture, formerly unknown in the king-
dom, *ib.*; change produced by the
employment of capital in agriculture,
247; operation of tithes on inclosures
of barren land, 247, 8; Gourlay on
the effect of tithes on agricultural
improvement, 249; tithes considered
as a kind of bounty on pasturage,
ib.; a principal cause of the high

I N D E X.

- price of corn, *ib.*; a source of continual enmity, 250; remarks of the late Bishop of Peterborough, *ib. et seq.* Paley on tithes, 252; *note*, 253, unsuccessful motion of Lord Bathurst in regard to tithes, 253; real state of the question of tithe, 255; injudicious conduct of the friends of church property, in some late discussions on the tithes, *ib.*; true source of the reasons of the complaints against tithes, 256; tithes, as a check to the spirit of enterprise, considered, 257; majority of the clergy adverse to a commutation of tithes; its probable cause, 258; improbability of the obstacles being removed, 259; real state of the question between the clergy and the agricultural interests, *ib.*; possibility of accomplishing a commutation, 260, 1; a corn-rent the least objectionable substitute, 261; remarks on the bill lately depending in parliament for enabling the clergy to grant levies of tithes, 262; merits of Mr. Newman's bill, 264; reviewer's opinion in regard to the right of the state to tax its subjects for the support of religious offices they do not approve, 265, 6; (*note*,) present inquiry into the original character of the property to be commuted, occasioned by the conduct of the defenders of the tithe system, 605; Christian scheme not to be identified with the Jewish priesthood, 606; *extracts from Archdeacon Coxe, in defence of tithes*, 607, *et seq.*; points chiefly to be considered, 611; Divine origin of tithes considered, as connected with the Christian scheme, 612, *et seq.*; on the sanction given to tithes by the founder of the Christian Church, 614; remarks on the expressions of our Saviour in regard to tithes, 615, 16; opinion of Milton on the same subject, 616, *et seq.*; real state of the question at issue, 620; Archdeacon Coxe on the limited power of the legislature, 621, *et seq.*; the legislature has the right equally to interfere with the provision of the poor and that of the clergy, 622
- Tofooa, volcano and submarine cavern in the island of, 120, 1
- Tonga islands, Mariner's account of the natives of, 105, *et seq.*
- Tour through South Austria and Italy, 72, *et seq.*; distressed state of the inhabitants of Venice, 73; author encounters a Florentine poet, 74
- Tracts, Scotch cheap repository, 376, *Trincomale, its political importance*, 233
- Tripoli, narrative of a ten years' residence at, 431, *et seq.*; description of the Bashaw's wife, 431, 2; terrible dissensions among the bashaw's sons, 432; unsuccessful attempt of Lalla Haiduma to reconcile them, 432, 3; assassination of the Bey by his brother, 434, *et seq.*; Moorish philanthropy, 439, cruelties still remembered with great remembrance by the Mahometans, 439
- Tulchan, a contemptuous epithet applied to certain Scotch bishops, 13
- Types, Haldane's remarks on, 528, *et seq.*
- Vatican, its decoration by Raffael, 541
- Vexations in dissenting churches, no just ground of objection to dissent, 286
- Voluntary subjection to God, a sermon, 374
- Wallenstein, his violent death, 56
- Weights, &c. of the Hebrews, 598, *et seq.*
- Wemyss on the Christian Sabbath, 279
- Whitehead, Joseph, memoirs of the late, 491, *et seq.*; character of his father, *ib.*; sketch of the life of his son, 492, *et seq.*
- Wilks's Christian essays, 1, *et seq.*; the natural condition of the church in the world, *ib.*; late and present state of the church in our own country, *ib.*; proper mode of address, by serious Christians, in the present lax state of Christianity, 3; conduct incumbent on those who address such persons, *ib.*; christian knowledge the basis of true christian courage, 4; firmness in enforcing the doctrines of the gospel absolutely requisite in teachers, 5; subjects of the essays, 6; full assurance of faith, *ib.*; worldly amusements, 7
- Women, public, not admitted into good society in France, 463
- Wordsworth's poetry, character of, 268
- Works of the Almighty, intelligently neglected, 218
- Zani, Count, a testimony of the crafty policy of the Jesuits, 560
- Zelland, stanzas addressed to, 587, 8





